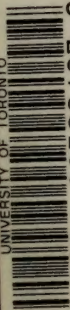
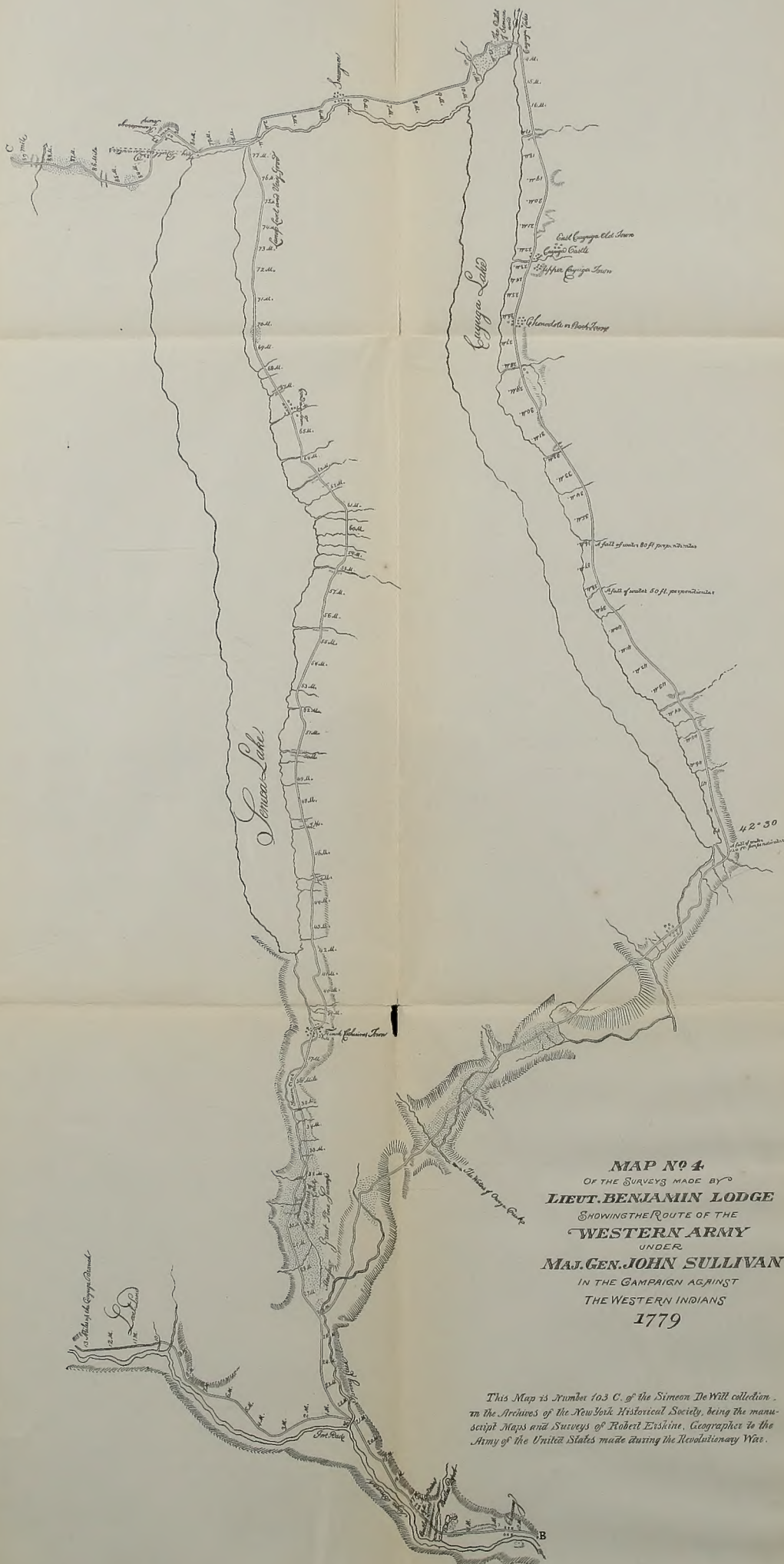


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



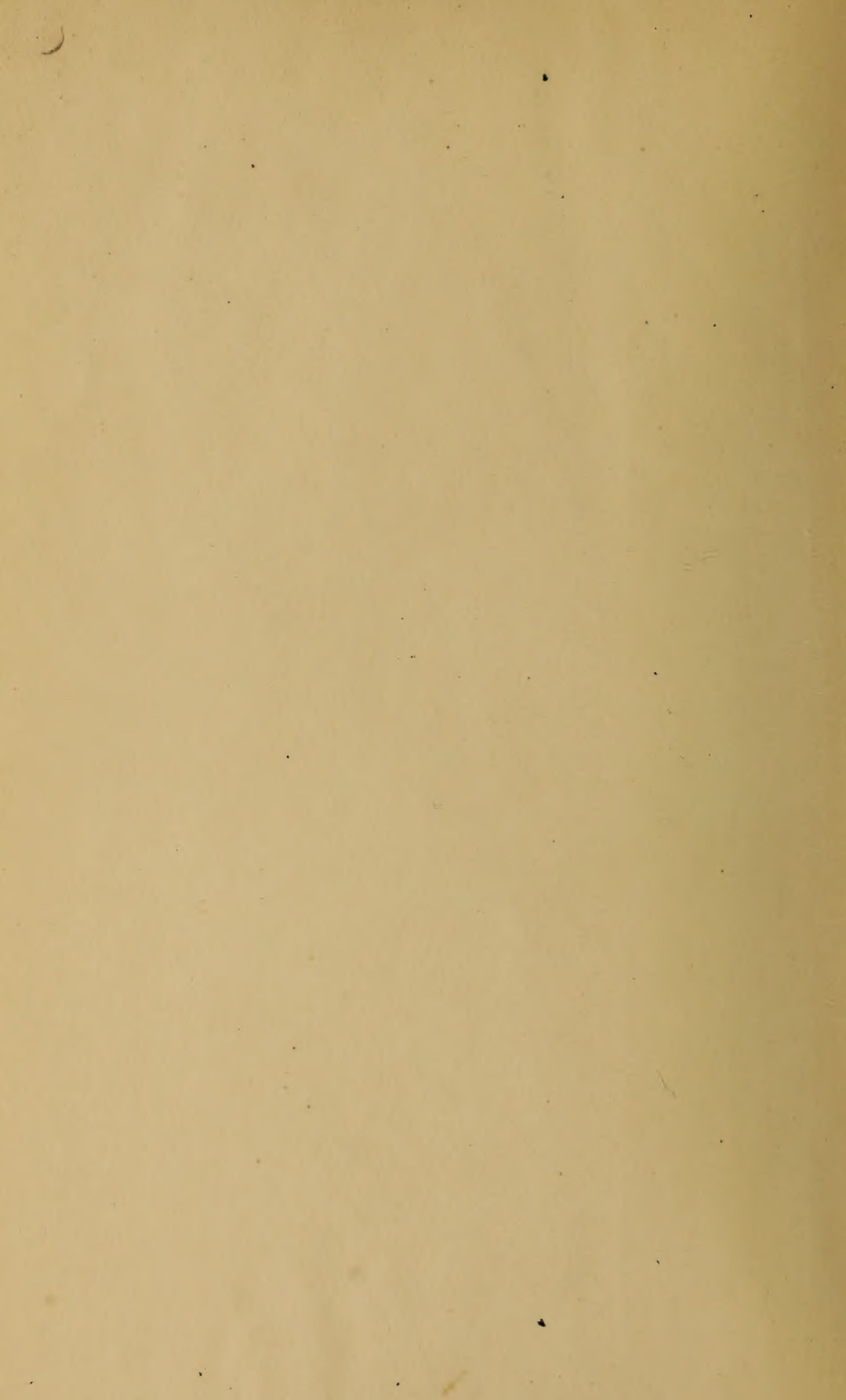
3 1761 00582137 6

General
John Sullivan's
Indian
EXPEDITION.
1779.



MAP No 4
 OF THE SURVEYS MADE BY
LIEUT. BENJAMIN LODGE
 SHOWING THE ROUTE OF THE
WESTERN ARMY
 UNDER
MAJ. GEN. JOHN SULLIVAN
 IN THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST
 THE WESTERN INDIANS
 1779

This Map is Number 103 C. of the Simeon DeWitt collection.
 in the Archives of the New York Historical Society, being the manu-
 script Maps and Surveys of Robert Erskine, Geographer to the
 Army of the United States made during the Revolutionary War.





Jno Sullivan

JOURNALS
OF THE
MILITARY EXPEDITION
of
MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN
AGAINST THE
Six Nations of Indians
IN 1779
WITH RECORDS OF
Centennial Celebrations



PREPARED PURSUANT TO CHAPTER 361, LAWS
OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, OF 1885,

BY

FREDERICK COOK,
SECRETARY OF STATE

AUBURN, N. Y.
• KNAPP, PECK & THOMSON, PRINTERS •
1887.

8380

1576790

l

SEEN BY
PRESERVATION
SERVICES

DATE

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(See Addresses, Biographical Notes, Letters and Poems at Page vi to viii hereof.)

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION, - - - - -	xi
JOURNALS OF OFFICERS, - - - - -	1-312
BARTON, WILLIAM, LIEUT., Gen. Maxwell's N. J. Brigade,	3
BEATTY, ERKURIES, LIEUTENANT, 4th Pennsylvania Reg't,	15
(1). Expedition to Onondaga, April, 1779, - - - - -	16
(2). General Sullivan's Expedition, - - - - -	18
BLAKE, THOMAS, LIEUTENANT, 1st New Hampshire Reg't,	38
BURROWES, JOHN, MAJOR, Spencer's 5th N. J. Regiment,	42
CAMPFIELD, DR. JABEZ, SURGEON, Spencer's 5th N. J. Reg't,	52
DEARBORN, HENRY, LT. COL., commanding 3rd N. H. Reg't,	62
ELMER, DR. EBENEZER, SURGEON, 2nd N. J. Regiment, -	80
FELLOWS, MOSES, SERGEANT, 3rd New Hampshire Regiment,	86
FOGG, JEREMIAH, MAJOR, 2nd New Hampshire Regiment,	92
GOOKIN, DANIEL, ENSIGN, 2nd New Hampshire Regiment,	102
GRANT, GEORGE, SERGEANT MAJOR, 3rd N. J. Regiment,	107
GRANT, THOMAS, of Surveyor's party, - - - - -	137
HARDENBERGH, JOHN L., LIEUT., 2nd N. Y. Regiment,	
With Notes and Maps of Battle-Fields, by General John S. Clark,	115
HUBLEY, ADAM, LIEUT. COL., commanding 11th Pa. Reg't,	145
JENKINS, JOHN, Pa., LIEUTENANT AND GUIDE, - -	168
LIVERMORE, DANIEL, CAPTAIN, 3rd N. H. Regiment,	178
MACHIN, THOS., CAPT., Col. Lamb's 2d N. Y. Art'ly Reg't,	
(1). Col. Van Schaick's Expedition against the Onondagas, -	192
(2). Table of Distances of March of General Sullivan's Army,	194
ROSTER OF OFFICERS OF 1ST N. Y. REGIMENT, - - -	195
MCKENDRY, WM., LT. AND QR. MASTER, 6th Mass. Reg't,	198
NUKERCK, CHAS., CAPT. LIEUTENANT, 2nd N. Y. Regiment,	213

JOURNALS OF OFFICERS.—Continued.

NORRIS, JAMES, MAJOR, 3rd N. H. Regiment, - - -	223
ROBERTS, THOMAS, SERGEANT, 5th New Jersey Regiment,	240
ROGERS, REV. WILLIAM, D. D., CHAPLAIN, Hand's Brigade,	246
ROGERS, WILLIAM, QR. MASTER'S-SERG'T, 2nd N. Y. Reg't,	266
SHUTE, SAMUEL, LIEUTENANT, 2nd New Jersey Regiment,	267
VAN HOVENBURGH, RUDOLPHUS, LIEUT., 4th N. Y. Reg't,	275
WEBB, NATHANIEL, SERG'T MAJOR, 2nd N. Y. Regiment,	285

MAP AND LETTER OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM GRAY,

Survey of Colonel William Butler's line of march, Oct. 2 to	
Nov. 16, 1778, - - - - -	288

MAPS IN THE DE WITT COLLECTION,

List of MSS. Surveys by Captain GRAY, 1778, and Lieutenant BENJAMIN LODGE, of the Sullivan Expedition, made 1779, by order of ROBERT ERSKINE, Geographer to the American Army, now in the Library of the New York Historical Society entitled De Witt Maps, -	291
Letters of General JOHN S. CLARK, describing the same with an account of <i>fac similes</i> made by him for this publication, - - - - -	293
SIMEON DEWITT, appointment as Geographer to the army, in place of Robert Erskine, deceased, - - -	294

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN'S Final Official

Report of Expedition, - - - - -	296
---------------------------------	-----

COLONEL DANIEL BRODHEAD'S Official Report,

Allegany Expedition, - - - - -	306
--------------------------------	-----

LIST OF JOURNALS, no copies of which are now to be found. 310

Letter of Major ADAM HOOPS, (3rd A. D. C. to General Sullivan), Sept. 18, 1841, - - - - -	310
---	-----

LIST OF NARRATIVES, written since the Sullivan Expedition, - - - - - 312

ROSTER OF OFFICERS, in Maj. Gen. Sullivan's Expedition, by HON. CHARLES P. GREENOUGH, Boston, Mass.	313
---	-----

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS.

HISTORICAL ADDRESS, BY REV DAVID CRAFT, 331-388

Comprising a full history of the Expedition against the
Indians in 1779, to which is prefixed a Biographical
Sketch of Major General John Sullivan, - - - 333

APPENDIX TO ADDRESS,

Containing an account of the loss of men, towns destroyed,
also General Washington's instructions to General Sul-
livan, and Biographical Sketches, - - - 380

Clinton, James, Brigadier General, Biographical Sketch, 387

ELMIRA.

CELEBRATION AT NEWTOWN, - - - 389-477

NEWTOWN MONUMENT ASSOCIATION, - - - 391

Centennial Committees and Officers, - - - - 391

The Monument—Inscription on Tablet, - - - - 393

Dedication of Monument—Masonic Ceremonies, - - 394

Masonic Ode by Hon. A. S. THURSTON, - - - - 396

Masonic Historical Address by C. N. SHIPMAN, Esq., - 397

PUBLIC CELEBRATION.

Opening Address by Judge HIRAM GRAY, - - - - 400

Verses of Welcome by AUSBURN TOWNER, Esq., - - 400

Poem by Hon. GUY H. McMASTER, - - - - 402

Address by Hon. ERASTUS BROOKS, - - - - 410

Letter from Ex-Governor HORATIO SEYMOUR, - - - 423

Address by Hon. ELLIS H. ROBERTS, - - - - 425

“ “ General WILLIAM T. SHERMAN, - - - 439, 440

“ “ General H. W. SLOCUM, - - - - 442

“ “ Hon. GEORGE W. CLINTON, - - - - 443

“ “ Hon. E. L. DANA, Wilkesbarre, Pa., - - - 445

“ “ Governor H. M. HOYT, of Pennsylvania, - - - 449

“ “ Governor NAT. HEAD, New Hampshire, - - - 450

“ “ Hon. STEUBEN JENKINS, - - - - 451

“ “ Major DOUGLASS CAMPBELL, - - - - 457

PUBLIC CELEBRATION.—Continued.

Biographical Sketch of Gen. JOHN SULLIVAN by Hon. SYLVESTER	
DANA, N. H., - - - - -	471
General SULLIVAN's Official Report of Battle of Newtown,	473
Names of Persons Responding to Invitations, - -	477
Biographical Sketch of Col. PETER GANSEVOORT, -	479

SENECA COUNTY.

CELEBRATION AT WATERLOO. - - - -	481-535
History of, - - - - -	483
Committees and Officers, - - - - -	485
The Log Cabin, - - - - -	487
Patrons of Husbandry—Veteran Soldiers, - - -	488
Exploring Expedition, - - - - -	489
Decorations on Centennial Day, - - - - -	490
The Outpouring of the Masses, - - - - -	493
Procession and Order of March, - - - - -	495

EXERCISES AT THE FAIR GROUND,

Address of Welcome by JNO. REAMER, Pres't of the Village,	498
“ “ General JOSIAH T. MILLER, Pres't of the Day, -	499
“ “ Ex-Lieut. Gov. WILLIAM DORSHEIMER, - -	501
Poem “ Rev. DWIGHT WILLIAMS, - - - -	506
Letters from invited Guests :	
JEPHTHA R. SIMMS, - - - - -	571
W. C. WATSON, - - - - -	512
M. M. JONES, - - - - -	513
Names of others responding to invitations, - - -	514

THE COLLATION.

Responses to Sentiments and Toasts, - - - -	515
Remarks by D. B. LUM, - - - - -	518
“ “ REV. D. WILLERS, D. D. - - - -	519

SKOL-YASE MONUMENT.

History, Description and Dedication of, - - -	489, 520
Address by Hon. A. L. CHILDS, - - - - -	522
“ “ JUDGE B. F. HALL, - - - - -	523

TABLE OF CONTENTS

v

SKOL-YASE MONUMENT.

Fire-Works and Illuminations,	- - - - -	524
Reception in the Evening,	- - - - -	525
Veterans and Pioneer Settlers,	- - - - -	
Young Ladies in the Procession,—Grangers Represented,		525
Military at Celebration,	- - - - -	527
Historical Paper by S. R. WELLES, M. D.,	- - - - -	528
Biographical Sketch of Colonel PHILIP VAN CORTLANDT.		537

LIVINGSTON COUNTY.

CELEBRATION AT GENESEO,	- - - - -	539-563
History of Preliminary Arrangements,	- - - - -	541
Committees and Officers,	- - - - -	543
Decorations and Processions,	- - - - -	544
EXERCISES AT FAIR GROUNDS,	- - - - -	548
Introductory Address by NORMAN SEYMOUR,	- - - - -	548
Poem by Hon. A. L. CHILDS,	- - - - -	549
Address by Hon. WM. H. BOGART,	- - - - -	552
“ “ General A. S. DIVEN,	- - - - -	553
“ “ G. W. PATTERSON,	- - - - -	555
Removal of the Remains of Boyd and Parker,	- - - - -	
By GEO. H. HARRIS.	- - - - -	556

CAYUGA COUNTY.

CELEBRATION AT AURORA,	- - - - -	565-579
Decorations of the Village,	- - - - -	567
The Procession,	- - - - -	568
EXERCISES AT THE “OLD FOUNDATION,”	- - - - -	568
Remarks by Col. E. B. MORGAN,	- - - - -	568
“ “ Rev. W. S. FRANKLIN,	- - - - -	569
EXERCISES AT ACADEMY HALL,	- - - - -	569
Letter from Ex-Governor HORATIO SEYMOUR,	- - - - -	570
Letters from D. M. OSBORNE and others,	- - - - -	571
Address by Rev. CHARLES HAWLEY, D. D.,	- - - - -	571
“ “ Hon. WM. H. BOGART,	- - - - -	578
The Illumination—Notes,	- - - - -	579

ADDRESSES, BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, LETTERS AND POEMS.

ADDRESSES AT CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS.

BOGART, HON. WM. H.	552, 570
BROOKS, HON. ERASTUS	410
CAMPBELL, MAJ. DOUGLASS	457
CHILDS, HON. ALBERT L.	522
CLINTON, HON. GEO. W.	443
CRAFT, REV. DAVID	336
DANA, HON. E. L.	445
DANA, HON. SYLVESTER	471
DIVEN, GEN. ALEX S.	553
DORSHEIMER, HON. WM.	501
FRANKLIN, REV. W. S.	569
GRAY, HON. HIRAM	400
HALL, HON. BENJ. F.	523
HAWLEY, REV. DR. CHARLES	571
HEAD, HON. N.	450
HOYT, HON. HENRY M.	449
JENKINS, HON. STEUBEN	451
LUM, DAVID B.	518
MILLER, HON. JOSIAH T.	499
MORGAN, COL. E. B.	568
PATTERSON, HON. GEO. W.	555
REAMER, JOHN	498
ROBERTS, HON. ELLIS H.	425
SEWARD, HON. WM. H.	563
SEYMOUR, NORMAN	548
SHERMAN, GEN. WM. T.	439, 440
SHIPMAN, CHAUNCEY N.	397
SLOCUM, GEN. HENRY W.	442
VAN CAMPEN, MAJ. MOSES	561
WELLES, HON. SAMUEL R.	528
WILLERS, REV. DR. DIEDRICH	519

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND NOTES.

BEATTY, LIEUTENANT ERKURIES	- - - - -	15
BLAKE, LIEUTENANT THOMAS	- - - - -	38
BOYD, LIEUTENANT THOMAS	- - - - -	369
BRODHEAD, COLONEL DANIEL	- - - - -	306
BURROWES, MAJOR JOHN	- - - - -	42
BUTLER, COLONEL WILLIAM	- - - - -	373
CILLEY, COLONEL JOSEPH	- - - - -	348
CLINTON, BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES	- - - - -	387
CUMMINGS, CAPTAIN JOHN N.	- - - - -	350
DAYTON, COLONEL ELIAS	- - - - -	363
DEARBORN, LIEUTENANT COLONEL HENRY	- - - - -	62
DUBOIS, COLONEL LEWIS	- - - - -	384
EVANS, REV. ISRAEL	- - - - -	346
FISH, MAJOR NICHOLAS	- - - - -	383
FOGG, MAJOR JEREMIAH	- - - - -	92
FRANKLIN, CAPTAIN JOHN	- - - - -	350
GANO, REV. JOHN	- - - - -	335
GANSEVOORT, COLONEL PETER	- - - - -	479
GOOKIN, ENSIGN DANIEL	- - - - -	102
HAND, BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD	- - - - -	342
HARDENBERGH, LIEUTENANT JOHN L.	- - - - -	115
HARPER, COLONEL JOHN	- - - - -	386
HARTLEY, COLONEL THOMAS	- - - - -	339
HUBLEY, LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM	- - - - -	145
HUNTER, REV. ANDREW	- - - - -	346
JENKINS, LIEUTENANT JOHN	- - - - -	168
KIRKLAND, REV. SAMUEL	- - - - -	385
LIVERMORE, CAPTAIN DANIEL	- - - - -	178
MACHIN, CAPTAIN THOMAS	- - - - -	194
MCKENDRY, LIEUTENANT WILLIAM	- - - - -	198
MAXWELL, BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM	- - - - -	341
MONTOUR, CATHERINE	- - - - -	363
NUKERCK, CAPTAIN CHARLES	- - - - -	213
POOR, BRIGADIER GENERAL ENOCH	- - - - -	341
PROCTOR, COLONEL THOMAS	- - - - -	342
QUEEN ESTHER	- - - - -	350

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND NOTES.—Continued.

REID, COLONEL GEORGE	- - - - -	360
ROGERS, REV. WILLIAM D. D.,	- - - - -	246
SCOTT, MAJOR WILLIAM	- - - - -	373
SHREVE, COLONEL ISRAEL	- - - - -	378
SHUTE, LIEUTENANT SAMUEL	- - - - -	267
SIMPSON, CAPTAIN MICHAEL	- - - - -	371
SPALDING, CAPTAIN SIMON	- - - - -	377
SULLIVAN, MAJOR GENERAL JOHN	- - - 333, 446,	471
VANCORTLANDT, COLONEL PHILIP	- - - - -	537
VAN SCHAICK, COLONEL GOOSE	- - - - -	196
VAN HOVENBURGH, LIEUTENANT RUDOLPHUS	- - - - -	275
WEISSENFELS, LIEUTENANT COLONEL FREDERICK	- - - - -	384
WILLERS, REV. DIEDRICH, D. D.,	- - - - -	519
WILLETT, LIEUTENANT COLONEL MARINUS	- - - - -	196

LETTERS.

BRODHEAD, COL. DANIEL	. . . . .	306
CLARK, GEN. J. S.	. . . . .	293
GANSEVOORT, COL. PETER	. . . . .	372
HOOPS, MAJ. ADAM	. . . . .	310
JONES, MAJ. MORVEN M.	. . . . .	513
OSBORNE, HON. D. M.	. . . . .	571
SCHUYLER, GEN. PHILIP	. . . . .	372
SEYMOUR, HON. HORATIO	. . . . .	423, 570
SIMMS, JEPHTHA R.	. . . . .	511
SULLIVAN, GEN. JOHN	. . . . .	296, 473
WASHINGTON, GEN. GEO.	. . . . .	341, 382
WATSON, HON. WINSLOW C.	. . . . .	512

POEMS AT CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS.

CHILDS, HON. ALBERT L.	. . . . .	549
MCMASTER, HON. GUY H.	. . . . .	402
THURSTON, HON. ARIEL S	. . . . .	396
TOWNER, AUSBURN	. . . . .	400
WILLIAMS, REV. DWIGHT	. . . . .	509

ILLUSTRATIONS.

STEEL PLATE ENGRAVINGS.

MAJ. GEN. JOHN SULLIVAN, from a portrait by Otis,	Frontispiece
BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON, - - -	Page 387
COLONEL PETER GANSEVOORT, from a portrait by G. Stuart, “	479
COLONEL PHILIP VAN CORTLANDT, from a miniature, “	537

MAPS AND PLANS.

(IN POCKET OF COVER)

Route of the Western Army under General Sullivan in 1779.

1. From Easton over the mountains to Wyoming,
2. From Sunbury to Nanticoke Creek,
3. From Nanticoke Creek to Chemung,
4. From Chemung to Kanadesaga including Seneca and Cayuga Lakes and Col. Butler's route along the east shore of Cayuga Lake,
5. From Kanadesaga to the Genesee Castle.

(BOUND OR PRINTED IN BOOK.)

Draft of a part of Schoharie and the west bank of the Delaware, with Col. Wm. Butler's line of march, Oct., and Nov., 1778. - - - - - - - -	Page 288
General Sullivan's Order of March,	“ 66
“ “ “ “ Battle,	“ 67
Map of Battlefield of Newtown,	“ 127
“ “ Groveland Ambuscade,	“ 131
Map of Tioga, (now Athens), Pa.,	“ 580

INTRODUCTION.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE.
ALBANY, March 10, 1887.

}

The Legislature of this State, at its annual session in 1885, passed an act, (Chapter 361, Laws of 1885,) devolving certain duties upon the Secretary of State, to-wit:

“SECTION 1. All the journals extant kept by the officers and soldiers of General Sullivan's army during the campaign of seventeen hundred and seventy-nine, against the Six Nations, shall be collected and published under the direction and supervision of the Secretary of State, embracing records of the battle of Newtown, as celebrated on the battle ground, on the twenty-ninth day of August, eighteen hundred and seventy-nine, including the address of General William T. Sherman, made at the dedication of a monument completed on the battle-field, to the memory of the heroic dead; also the centennial celebration held at Waterloo, New York, September third; at Geneseo, September sixteenth, and at Aurora, September twenty-fourth, eighteen hundred and seventy-nine.

§ 2. The Secretary of State shall cause to be prepared and published a full and correct record of the proceedings of said centennial celebrations, including the official action of the authorities under whose direction the same were conducted, with a record of the military exercises and organizations of those who took part therein, and the historical sketches and addresses prepared and delivered at the centennial celebrations, herein named.

§ 3. Five thousand copies of the papers prepared and published as aforesaid, shall be printed, of which ten copies shall be furnished and distributed by the Secretary of State, to each Senator and Member of Assembly of the year eighteen hundred and eighty-five; ten copies shall in like manner be furnished and distributed to each Senator and Member of Assembly of the year eighteen hundred and eighty-six, who was not a Member of the Legislature of eighteen hundred and eighty-five, and ten copies shall also in like manner be furnished and distributed to each Member of Assembly for eighteen hundred and eighty-seven who was not a Member of the Legislature of eighteen hundred and eighty-five or eighteen hundred and eighty-six, and the remainder of said copies shall be distributed as follows: To the Secretary of State for distribution to the several incorporated historical societies and incorporated libraries of the State, to the persons who made

addresses at such centennial celebrations aforesaid, or to persons officially connected therewith, and to such other persons or institutions as he may deem proper, one thousand copies, and the residue of said copies to be delivered by the Secretary of State to the Regents of the University for exchanges, and for distribution to public libraries or societies outside of this State. * * * *

(As amended by Chapter 54, Laws of 1887.)

The appropriation made in the fourth section of said act of 1885 having been found inoperative and defective, the Legislature at its annual session in 1886 made an appropriation to carry said act into effect. (Chapter 330, Laws of 1886, Page 527, Session Laws of 1886.)

The labor of collecting and preparing for publication the several journals and proceedings of the centennial celebrations required to be published by the act of 1885, was one of such magnitude, that the Secretary of State deemed it necessary to appoint a competent person to specially prepare the compilation for publication.

Such a compiler was found in the person of George S. Conover, Esq., of Geneva, and its former chief magistrate, a gentleman who has devoted much study to the early history of this State, and particularly that of Central and Western New York and the Sullivan Campaign of 1779, and who is a well known authority in Indian Archæology, as also of the history of the locality traversed by General Sullivan in his expedition in 1779.

The plan and methods pursued in collecting and preparing the journals and the records of the centennial celebrations for publication, are fully set forth in the following letter of Mr. Conover, submitting the compilation:

GENEVA, N. Y., December 6, 1886.

DEAR SIR:—

The work of copying, compiling and preparing for publication "All the journals extant kept by the officers and soldiers of General Sullivan's army during the campaign of 1779," together with "The record of proceedings of the centennial celebrations thereof," has been one of much labor, but withal has been much lightened by the kind encouragement received from all quarters. General John S. Clark of Auburn, N. Y., and Rev. David Craft of Wyalusing, Pa., who had made copies of nearly all the journals of General Sullivan's Campaign extant, up to the time of the centennial celebrations, kindly placed all their material at my disposal and freely gave such information as was of material assistance. Similar courtesies were received from the New York Historical Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Buffalo Historical Society, the Waterloo Library and Historical Society, Charles P. Greenough, Esq., and Thomas C. Amory, Esq., Boston, Mass.,

Sidney S. Rider, Esq., Providence, R. I., William C. Bryant, Esq., Buffalo, N. Y., Hon. John B. Linn, Bellefonte, Pa., Geo. H. Harris, Esq., Rochester, N. Y., General William S. Stryker, Adjutant General of New Jersey, Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, New York city, Hon. Diedrich Willers, Jr., of Varick, N. Y., and others, due acknowledgements for which have been made in the proper places.

Great pains have been taken to procure copies of all the journals of the officers and soldiers of General Sullivan's army that are extant, and some new ones have been procured that have not hitherto been published. In all cases, where possible, the text of the original journal has been literally followed (in orthography, punctuation and use of capitals) and much care has been taken to make the copies exact. The propriety of such a course may possibly be questioned by some; but to the antiquarian and the diligent student of early history, any alteration of text, (written perhaps in some cases, by men of limited education) might involve a serious change of meaning on some point, however trifling it may appear at the time, and might be the means of changing the idea originally intended to be conveyed, and thus the object of perpetuating a fact or circumstance as narrated, would in a great measure be frustrated. While the promiscuous use of capital letters and the lack of proper attention to punctuation (one prominent journal not being punctuated at all) may tend in some instances to ambiguity or to mislead the casual reader, yet it is often the case that some obscure point of history can only be elucidated by a reference to the original document, however imperfectly written or quaint it may have been. The reader will not overlook the fact, that the keeping of a daily journal while an army is upon the march, must at best be surrounded with many difficulties.

In some cases, the original journals having been destroyed, it has been necessary to follow the copy which has been published, and while in such cases the language may be found to be more grammatical, it has undoubtedly been made so by the editor. Some of the journals so published, are accompanied with foot notes by their editors, and as some of these are now known to be erroneous, and others quite likely to mislead, they have all been omitted. One exception, however, has been made. The journal of Lieutenant John L. Hardenbergh, with small portions of some other journals, published in 1879, by the Cayuga County Historical Society, has appended thereto copious foot notes by General John S. Clark, and as these were the result of a two years' patient investigation, and a personal and critical inspection and examination of all the points, by one thoroughly competent for the task, it has been thought best to retain the same in full.

The addresses, poems, etc., delivered at the several centennials have, wherever practicable, been submitted to the several authors for revision and correction, and the historical addresses of Rev. David Craft have been by him thoroughly revised, consolidated, and amplified, and every part carefully verified by the statements made in the journals.

The matter for the records of proceedings of centennial celebrations held in August and September, 1879, and required to be published with the journals, has in each case been furnished by responsible local committees, and the only regret is, that in the work of compilation, much valuable information of a local character had to be omitted, to bring the several accounts under a uniform plan, and to avoid detail which might not be interesting to the general reader.

Yours truly,

GEORGE S. CONOVER.

The Secretary of State, Albany, N. Y.

In the preparation of this compilation as will be seen from the foregoing letter and the "Table of Contents"—the general plan outlined in the act of 1885, has been observed—and the journals of General Sullivan's Expedition to the number of twenty-six, have, with brief biographical notes by the compiler, been given the first place. To these have been added the official reports of General Sullivan and a complete Roster of the officers of the expedition.

The journals, it will be seen, cover not only General Sullivan's Expedition but also some account of Col. Van Schaick's Onondaga Campaign in the spring of 1779, as also the official report of Col. D. Brodhead's Allegany Campaign in the summer of 1779, both of which campaigns may be regarded as closely associated with General Sullivan's Expedition.

The second place in the compilation has been given to the records of the centennial celebrations of 1879, at Newtown, (Elmira), Waterloo, Genesee and Aurora, to which has been prefixed an historical address with a very full narrative of the campaign by Rev. David Craft and with a biographical sketch of General Sullivan.

The maps showing the entire line of march from Easton, Pa., to Livingston County in this State and return, accurately copied by General John S. Clark from the original maps made by the surveyor of the expedition, and now remaining on file with the New York Historical Society, together with certain other maps and plans prepared with great care by General Clark, and produced upon a reduced scale, will, it is believed, add greatly to the interest of the reader of the journals of the expedition, and serve as an explanation thereof.

The illustrations, include steel engravings of Major General John Sullivan, the commander of the expedition, Brigadier General James Clinton, the only brigade commander selected from the State of New York, and Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt and Colonel Peter Gansevoort, the only regimental commanders of New York regiments in the expedition of whom portraits could be found, and acknowledgments are due to the relatives of all the persons named, for requisite assistance in carrying out this feature of the work.

The Secretary of State, desires to unite also with the compiler, in returning thanks to the persons named in his letter and elsewhere in the compilation, for kindly co-operation and assistance in the procurement of material, and for assistance rendered in the preparation thereof for the compilation.

In conclusion, the Secretary of State takes pleasure, in bearing testimony to the care, industry and energy displayed by the compiler, Mr. Geo. S. Conover, in the preparation of this work.

FREDERICK COOK,

Secretary of State.

Journals of Officers.

Expedition of Major General John Sullivan
against the Western Indians (N. Y.) 1779.

JOURNAL OF LIEUT. WILLIAM BARTON.

WILLIAM BARTON, Lieutenant in General Maxwell's New Jersey Brigade. Journal published in the Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, Vol II, 1846-7.

The editor states that the journal commences on the 11th May, 1779, "but as Lieut. Barton passed the greater part of the succeeding three weeks on furlough at his own home, there is little recorded in it during that period of general interest, and that portion is consequently omitted. What follows embraces the remainder part of the manuscript, except some unimportant or uninteresting details." From June 8 to October 9, 1779.

JOURNAL.

TUESDAY, JUNE 8th, 1779.—Took leave of my friends and set out to join the regiment then at Wyoming: arrived at Easton the same evening where I found the second and third Jersey Regiments and one company of our Regiment which was left behind to take care of the baggage belonging to it, and was the next day to proceed with it on horses to Wyoming.

WEDNESDAY, 9th, 1 P. M.—All set out: went but five miles and staid the night.

THURSDAY, 10th.—Went to Brinker's Mills where we were detained until late in the afternoon on account of drawing provisions, then proceeded within three miles of Larnards, where myself and Doctor Harris staid the night. The company with baggage before mentioned, went on to Larnards the same night.

FRIDAY, 11th.—Set out very early in prosecution of my journey, thinking to come up with those before mentioned at the place they lodged, as it was the last house in Wyoming, and thought dangerous travelling without an escort. On our arrival there found they were all gone sometime; we then got breakfast and went on for Wyoming. Overtook the Company at Locust Hill, so called on account of being entirely timbered with it for 23 miles where they had stopped to refresh. We all proceeded on our journey again until within six miles of Wyoming where we fell in with a detachment composed of several regts. which had been cutting a road through from Larnards to Wyoming, as there was never any before, only an old Indian path.

SATURDAY, 12th.—Went on again for our destined place, and arrived 11 o'clock A. M.: found the regiment lying in bush huts on the bank of the river Susquehannah. On our way from Larnards to this place, passed through the great swamp which is twenty miles in length and fourteen in breadth, the land as far as the swamp cold, and great part entirely barren, but the bottom land much the best: it is impossible to cultivate that of the swamp before mentioned from the great quantity of stone. Its timber is white pine hemlock, and spruce, of amazing size and height.

From Easton to Pokono, inhabitants few, buildings mean and mostly of logs.

Wyoming is situated on the east side of the river Susquehannah, once a considerable town but destroyed in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight by the savages massacring three hundred men. The town is said to have consisted of 300 houses, many of which were frame, but mostly of logs. The inhabitants were from the State of Connecticut claiming then a right, by a grant from the King of Great Britain to the proprietor of the same State. The Pennsylvanians also claimed it under Penn; but the New Englanders being more numerous than the others have retained it—now said to be referred to Congress for determination. The land level, but not so good where on the town stood, as in many other places adjacent. It is on the eastern branch of the river, sixty-six miles above Sunbury and Shamoken, and one hundred below Tioga, an Indian settlement. This branch is an exceeding fine, pretty river, and opposite the town in midsummer five or six fathom of water, as clear as it can be; some places, below and above shoal enough to be forded, about one hundred and fifty yards wide; and in times of great freshets said to rise fifteen feet, overflowing great part of the low lands. It springs from the lake, Otsago, nine miles long and five wide; three hundred and sixty miles N. E. from this, running about N. W. falling in with the western branch at Sunbury—The mornings and evenings at this place very cool, and notwithstanding heavy fogs till 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning, yet the place is said to be very healthy.

23d. MAY—Major General Sullivan arrived with all the troops from Easton in six days.

24th.—The regiment began a march for Fort Jenkins, thirty-five miles down the river, marched to Shawnee Flats four miles, halted and took some little refreshment. Shawnee was once an Indian town, since settled by New Englanders, consisting of one hundred houses, but all destroyed in June '78, by the savages, except a few log huts.—The flats are very large, supposed to contain above a thousand acres already clear, which is exceeding rich and fertile, and the most level body of land I have ever seen. Proceeded that night as far as Stewart's house, six miles from Shawnee, where we took lodging for that night, it then being sunset.

25th.—Marched at day break. * * * * * At sunset arrived at the fort, where we lay that night near the river. * * * * * Fort Jenkins is a stockade, containing about half quarter of an acre, one very good dwelling house, the best I have seen since left Easton. The garrison commanded by Capt. Claypole, of Lieut. Col. Hubley's Regt., consisting of about one hundred men; artillery none, excepting one cohorn. The fort situated on a height very pleasant and advantageous.

26th, 8 A. M.—The boats we were to convoy got under way; about sixty in number. We soon began our march on return to Wyoming; marched to Naskepack Falls, five miles, where we were detained that day and part of the next in getting the boats up the falls.

27th, 10 o'clock, A. M.—The boats being all got up with much difficulty, and under way, (as the water falls about ten or twelve feet gradually,) we again resumed our march; but on account of some shoals in the river which retarded the boats, we marched but a short distance until the afternoon, when we proceeded to a place called Orchard Farm, on account of there being a considerable number of fruit trees, and don't recollect to have seen any since our first day's march from Easton till here—distance nine miles.

28th.—Marched early in the morning. At Nantecoke Falls, was detained two hours in getting up the falls, which are very rapid, though small. Marched immediately on, the boats getting up to Shawnee, (three miles), where we stayed the night. From Wyoming to Fort Jenkins, a considerable of very good bottom land on the river, but the up-land appears to be barren. After leaving Shawnee, there is not one single inhabitant to be seen to Fort Jenkins, being killed and driven off by the Indians.

29th.—morning.—Marched to Wyoming—arrived about 10 A. M.

30th.—Men were employed in cleaning themselves and arms.

JULY 1st.—The army attended the execution of Michael Rousburge and Lawrence Miller, from Phillipsburg, near Easton, condemned for attempting to convey some soldiers to the enemy. The former was hanged at 4 o'clock P. M., the latter reprieved.

24th.—The boats arrived from Sunbury with stores, in number about one hundred and seventeen.

25th.—Five prisoners of the German Regiment were to have been executed, and a number of others to run the gauntlet through the whole line but were reprieved.

29th.—The masons re-interring two brothers,* Capt. Davis and D. Jones, killed by the Indians in April last; the afternoon very rainy, otherwise the appearance would have been tolerably grand, as they all marched in order with the band of music playing. This day orders issued for marching on the thirty-first.

31st.—The army marched at 12 o'clock, after signals being given by a discharge of cannon from the fort, which were immediately answered from the boats, which carried all the artillery and stores, excepting some kegs of flour, which were carried on horses—Gen. Hand having previously advanced about one mile being appointed to the light corps on this expedition. The whole proceeded, only our Regiment, which composed the rear guard—having in charge stragglers, cattle, etc., which occasioned us to march very slow. After a tedious march, came to some cleared fields one mile distant from Lackawannah, then 11 P. M. * * * *

AUGUST 1st.—We marched at 8 A. M. one mile. Joined the army at Lackawannah, once a small town settled by New Englanders; a very rich, flat land, divided by a very beautiful creek which empties into the Susquehannah. It is very shoal, but of considerable breadth. The flat is said to contain seven hundred acres, having formerly a small stockade fort, which surrendered to Butler in '78. Most of the captives were preserved in consequence of capitulation, but the buildings and fort, according to custom, were all destroyed. At 2 P. M. the usual signal was given to march—Proceeded and arrived at Quailtimack about 10 o'clock at night, the path continuing bad, country mountainous—distant eight miles. Baggage arrived about 1 A. M., when we encamped.

2d.—We did not march on account of parties being sent out to collect and bring on flour, &c., which had fallen from the horses the night before, and broke many of the kegs. The land is rich, fertile, and flat as any I have seen; surrounded by mountains, the inhabitants driven off and buildings destroyed.

3d.—Proceeded to Phillips's farm (9 miles) and halted one hour. Marched again for Tunkhannack, fording a creek, one and a half miles before we arrived there, which was at four P. M. This place, as usual, is situated on the river; the few former huts destroyed; land as usual, bottom. This place very remarkable for deer, bears, turkeys, several of which were taken by the troops without firing a single gun, there being positive orders to the contrary; otherwise might have killed many more during our halt.

4th.—Arrived at Vanderlip's farm, or Walnut Bottom, about 5 P. M. Crossed Mashaw creek about two miles before we came to the farm above mentioned. The flat very rich, timber chiefly black walnut, of uncommon size; the country round continues mountainous.

5th.—I being that day ordered on the rear flank, did not march until ten. Was obliged to march on the top of the mountains, which rendered the day's march very fatiguing and disagreeable. At 5 o'clock P. M., came into the path the whole army had marched. Soon crossed a very high mountain on the side of the river; prospect the most beautiful I have seen. At 6 P. M., arrived at Wyalucing, formerly settled by the Moravians, who were obliged to leave it on account of the Indians, (but some say they have joined them) who destroyed it in '78. It is the best part of the country I have seen since I left Wyoming. The houses were built regularly, numbering about eighty, with a church, priest, &c. Timber chiefly black walnut, with some button wood trees, which are eight and ten feet through.

6th and 7th.—Continued at Wyalucing to refresh.

8th.—After marching two miles, forded a considerable creek. Continued our march until 3 P. M., when we arrived at Standing Stone Bottom, which is large and level, and newly cleared, where we pitched for the night.

9th.—Arrived at four in the afternoon at a large flat called Queen Esther's Flats, once an Indian town, but now covered with wild grass of amazing length. This is within four miles of Tioga. Out of provision, and very faint for want of it; the boats which carry

it did not arrive until nine or ten o'clock the next morning ; having marched fourteen miles with very little to eat. The woods for some distance before we came to this place, are chiefly white oak, and very open, grown up with wild pea vines, &c. In this day's march we had several cattle killed by falling from a precipice, having about half a mile to pass along one of two hundred feet, and the path very bad. At the bottom, luckily, was the river ; the boats on coming up had them dressed.

10th.—The Regiment with two others marched at 12 o'clock as an escort to the Generals, &c., opposite Tioga. Our Regiment being the right flank, was obliged to raise a very high mountain (being very hot, rendered it truly fatiguing) to scour the woods. We returned in a short time to our camp, where we remained the night.

11th.—Marched at 7 A. M., for Tioga. The army at nine began to ford the Susquehannah, having first fired a few cannon in the wood on the other side fearing there might be some of the enemy to oppose us crossing the river ; a little more than waist deep, very rapid, which made it difficult crossing, the force of the current carrying several down ; happily none were drowned. Proceeded after landing about one and a half miles, when we came to *Kihuga creek, which we forded, and encamped in the forks formed by the Susquehannah and Kihuga, on the ground where the town of Tioga formerly stood. Soils very rich, etc.

12th.—On fatigue, cutting timber to build block houses. About 6 P. M., was ordered to join the Regiment. At night in the evening the army was in motion and began their march to surprise †Shamong, an Indian town on the river Kihuga. Marched very slowly on the whole night, sometimes setting down for a few minutes, and up again eight or ten yards until daylight began to appear, when we took a start and were obliged to run a great part of the way, on account of its being farther than was apprehended, and our Regiment in the rear. Arrived about half past six o'clock A. M. at Shamong and found to our mortification the town entirely evacuated. About one hour after our arrival *

* * * * * Gen. Hand, commanding the light troops was fired upon from a scout of theirs who lay concealed in the bushes. They killed six or seven and wounded nine ; among the latter were two officers of Hubley's Regiment. Our troops immediately returned the fire and charged upon them, but as they lay on a hill, they had time to get off their killed ; supposed to be one or two from the blood where they were posted. The country from Tioga to Shamong the most level land I have seen marching. On the bottom bordering on the creek, large meadows several miles in length, rich, fertile, and easy to be cultivated. Its timbers, on the low lands, nut and oak ; on the highlands chiefly pine ; soil very indifferent.

Shamong an Indian town lying on the north of the creek, consisting of about thirty huts covered with bark. The Indians who inhabit it raise large fields of corn, beans, squashes, potatoes and pumpkins in abundance, which they subsist on in the winter season, with what deer and bears they kill, with other beasts of the wood. Our troops after destroying their huts and fields of corn (which we suppose to contain about a thousand bushels) returned unmolested to Tioga.

14th.—The troops lay by to refresh themselves.

15th.—The Indians skulking round our camp. Killed and scalped one man, who was driving up some horses, and wounded another.

16th.—An escort of nine hundred troops commanded by Gen. Poor, marched to join Gen'l. Clinton, who is on his way from Otsego to join us, he having a large quantity of provision.

17th.—One man killed and scalped, and one other wounded.

18th.—A funeral sermon preached by Dr. Rogers, ‡ prepared for the occasion, was to have been delivered at the re-interring of Capt. Davis, &c., but was postponed, on account of a rain coming on, until now, when the masons all gave their attendance.

20th.—This morning arrived an officer and nine men from Gen'l. Clinton who reported him, together with Gen'l. Poor, about twenty miles distant.

* Cayuga.

† Chemung.

‡ Rev. John Rodgers, D. D., of New York City.

22d.—At 10 A. M. arrived Gen'l. Clinton with his boats, stores, &c., when there was a discharge of thirteen pieces of cannon; boats in number, 210. At retreat beat this evening, two soldiers of 1st Regiment run the gauntlet through the whole brigade, who were provided with each a good whip for that purpose—the line about half a mile.

23d.—This day orders issued for marching the 25th. About 12 o'clock, an accident happened to a Captain of Gen'l. Poor's Brigade. He was shot dead from a soldier's attempting to snap a gun, not knowing it was loaded. It went off and killed him on the spot.

25th.—The fore part the day employed in getting in readiness, expecting to march in the afternoon. We leave here a great part of our baggage with the garrison. It consists of 250 men with two six pounders, commanded by Col. Shrieve. In the afternoon it rained hard which prevented our marching.

26th.—At half past 12 P. M. began our march with several pieces of cannon, which caused us to move very slowly, as we had formed a hollow square, in which the pack horses and cattle were all driven, together with the cannon. This day received information that Col. Broadhead, with six hundred troops, was within forty miles of the *Senackee castle, and had destroyed almost one whole tribe of Indians by stratagem; he painted his men like Indians, with cutting their hair, &c. We this day likewise received intelligence of Count De Estaing's victory over the British fleet, and having taken the island of St. Vincents. This day marched about four miles and encamped at 5 P. M. near a large flat, on the north-east side of Cahuga creek. This day's march through a level land, but very poor, excepting the flats, which are good, grown up with grass of great height.

FRIDAY, 27th.—At half past eight began marching, and proceeded two miles in the order of the day before. Halted in consequence of there being a defile, which our artillery, horses, &c., could not pass until repaired, from 11 o'clock A. M. till 4 in the afternoon. We passed the defile, and after marching a quarter of a mile our regiment was ordered back to assist the horses in passing, till 11 o'clock P. M. the whole having got up, though not without considerable destruction of the bags with flour and other stores. Then proceeded about three miles and halted with the army, about one o'clock in the morning, about three miles from Shamong, on an old Indian settlement near some large fields of corn, said to have been planted at the expense of the King of Britain, and many smaller ones said to belong to the Indians; with beans, squashes, potatoes, &c., on which our soldiers feasted sumptuously, it being a good substitute for bread, which was a scarce article with us. Distance about six miles. Course of march through this day, N. N. W. The country as level as any I have marched through, except the defile; chiefly woods but indifferent.

SATURDAY, 28th.—Continued marching until 3 P. M.; some ammunition wagons being broke and left behind for the purpose of gathering the corn and destroying what we did not make use of. Proceeded one mile and forded the Cahuga creek at crotch deep—very rapid. Marched half a mile farther and recrossed the creek again, where it was something deeper than at the other place, and extremely rapid, so as to carry down some of our men, and many of our pack horses, with the loss of three of the latter drowned, and a very considerable loss of flour, baggage, &c. At sunset arrived at Shamong; at nine our baggage came up. Here we encamped for the night; distance three miles. On the march between the places of fording, some Indians were seen and fired on by our flanks, when they run off. This day the army was allowed no flour on account of the great quantity of corn, beans, &c. Course northwest.

SUNDAY, 29th.—Proceeded very slowly two miles, occasioned by the roughness of the way, which we had to clear for the artillery, baggage, &c., to pass. Here we halted for one hour and a half, until the artillery, &c., should raise a difficult height, at which time an advanced party of our riflemen discovered the enemy throwing up some works on the other side of a morass, and a difficult place through which we had to pass. It appears this was intended for an ambuscade, it being on a small height, where some logs, &c., were laid up, covered with green bushes; which extended half a mile. On the right was

* Seneca.

a small town which they had destroyed themselves, making use of the timber, &c., in the above works. After the ground was well reconnoitered, the artillery was advanced on their left. At the same time Gen'l. Poor with his brigade was endeavoring to gain their rear around their left; Gen'l. Hand's brigade was following in rear of Poor. Our brigade was kept as a reserve, as also Gen'l. Clinton's until their rear should be gained; but they having a party posted on a very considerable height, over which our right flank had to pass, we were discovered by them. Previous to this, some shells and round shot were thrown among them in their works, which caused them to give several yells, and doubtless intimidated them much. But at this discovery they gave a most hideous yell and quit their works, endeavoring to prevent Gen'l. Poor's ascending the height, by a loose scattering fire; but our troops pressing forward with much vigor, made them give way, leaving their dead behind, (amounting to eleven or twelve) which were scalped immediately. We likewise took one white man, who appeared to be dead, and was stripped, when an officer came up and examined him, said he was not wounded, gave him a stroke and bade him get up; he immediately rose up and implored mercy, and was kept a prisoner sometime. In the evening a negro was taken. Their number wounded not known. Two or three of ours killed, and thirty-four or five wounded. Among the latter Major Titcomb, Capt. Cloise, and Lt. Allis. At half after three the firing ceased, and the army proceeded one mile and a half to a considerable town consisting of about twenty huts. The number of the enemy uncertain, but from the best intelligence from the prisoners, the whites were about two hundred, the Indians five.* They were commanded by Butler and Brant, who had been waiting some days for our approach. It appears their expectations were great, from their numbers, situation, etc. The prisoners likewise inform us they had been kept on an allowance of seven ears of corn per day each although there is a very great abundance of corn, beans, potatoes, squashes, etc., for several miles on the creek, upon which our whole army has subsisted for days. We had nevertheless to destroy some hundred bushels. Here was found a deal of plunder of theirs, such as blankets, brass kettles, etc.

* * * * *

MONDAY, 30th.—At the request of Maj. Piatt, sent out a small party to look for some of the dead Indians—returned without finding them. Toward noon they found them and skinned two of them from their hips down for boot legs; one pair for the Major the other for myself. On the other side this mountain was a town said to be of the best buildings we had passed. It was destroyed by Gen'l. Poor the evening of the engagement.

TUESDAY, 31st.—Proceeded about six miles and halted for one hour, destroying a small town of huts on a branch of Kihuga creek, which we forded. On our way thither burnt two houses, the best buildings I have seen since I left Wyoming. Here we left the Kihuga, and proceeded four miles through a level piece of pine land, thinly timbered, with many cranberry ponds, and large flats grown up with grass of considerable height. Encamped on one of these at sunset.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER, 1st.—At eight in the morning, continued our march through a level pine land, as the afternoon before, for two or three miles, when we began to ascend a mountain, on which we marched, ascending and descending several different times; then came into a very thick swamp, chiefly white and spruce pines. After marching one mile in the swamp, was under the necessity of halting for one hour, until a road was cleared for the artillery to pass; then proceeded after halting, through difficulties of the way, for five miles, in which time we forded a creek, that ran through the swamp, fifteen different times. About sunset came to a clear flat, uncultivated, rich, and well timbered. Near dark again entered a swamp; very difficult and bad marching, our pack and other horses still increasing the mud so as to make it impassable, through darkness, etc. Some, however, attempting it, were mired down with flour and baggage, where many lay all night; in this manner the road was strewn for about four miles. Had the savages availed themselves of this opportunity, it must have proved very fatal to us, for they might with ease have destroyed a great part of our provisions, with a party very inconsiderable. Thus continued our march until 12 o'clock at night when we arrived at French Catharine, an

* Gen. Sullivan computed the whole force at fifteen hundred.

Indian town, deserted by them a few hours before our troops came in ; march as disagreeable as I have experienced ; sometimes up to our knees in mud and mire, and so dark as not to be able to keep the path by any other means than being close to our front man. When we arrived, our situation still disagreeable, not having our baggage or any covering, and in expectation of being attacked every moment until morning,—men exceedingly fatigued, having marched fourteen miles with fifteen days' flour on their backs, exclusive of their other pack.

THURSDAY, 2nd.—About sunrise, a squaw was discovered, to appearance upwards of one hundred years of age, who lay in the woods. She had been left by the Indians the day before, and was so decrepid as not to be able to walk. She was, after examination, by order of the General, put on horseback, and told to follow her companions, with a letter, but could not ride. She informed us that they had only gone a little way into the woods, and as they expected us, not to tarry any time here might return again : in consequence of which I was ordered out with a party of two hundred, to search the woods adjacent, at 11 o'clock A. M., as the army was to lay here this day for the refreshment of troops, and collecting the horses and baggage. After marching three miles and a half, came to a large flat, near the Senakee lake ; proceeded as far as we could for the mire, then turned about, knowing we were in the wrong path, and sent out a couple of Indians for the purpose of finding the path which they did and returned. We then marched through a swamp for one and a half miles, and halted one hour ; when detached, Capt. Boman, with fifty men, to the lake, when we again marched and ascended a mountain, where we had a view of the lake, and then took a circuit march over mountains, etc. Returned to camp, after marching ten or eleven miles, without making any discovery, more than where they had driven off a number of horses and cattle, several of which were taken this day.

Catharine is the most important Senakee town we have met with since entering their nation. It derived its name from French Catharine, who in her infancy was taken from Canada by the savages, and became accustomed to their manners, marrying an Indian chief, who was said to be half French himself, from which marriage she claimed this part of the country. Here she raised a great number of horses for sale. Its situation a rich flat on the side of a creek. The corn and beans raised here afforded us one day's subsistence. The great quantity of corn, &c. which is raised here more than usual, was occasioned by the British giving a premium to encourage them in raising it, so as to enable them to come down on our frontiers.

This squaw likewise said they had a long debate whether they should stay and deliver themselves up to our army or not, but at length it was determined not, the warriors saying they would scalp them if they did. Here was made up a small hut for the old squaw on the side of the creek, having destroyed all the huts belonging to the place at our departure, leaving her a plenty to subsist on. She appeared very thankful when she found we did not kill or misuse her.

FRIDAY, 3d.—Marched at half-past eight A. M. ; for two miles something mountainous ; then through a very large, level tract of land bordering on the Senakee lake ; its timber walnut, ash, hickory and oak, by far the largest tract of good land in one body I have yet seen. About five P. M. arrived at encamping ground, which was in the woods. A short time after, after our halt some men discovered a cornfield ; went to it and found the Indians had just then quit it, leaving corn roasting at the fires, which occasioned there being a scout sent out who discovered some of them by a fire near a small town, but the enemy making the discovery previous to this, retreated to the town as was supposed, and the scout returned. This evening orders were given for to march at half past eight in the morning, without the usual signals. Distance 12 miles, N. N W. course.

SATURDAY, 4th.—In the morning it rained, by which means we did not march until half past ten, when we proceeded to Apple town, which was on fire at our arrival. Passed it two or three hundred yards and halted on a mountain near a corn-field, which was soon stripped of its beans, &c. Here we had a prospect of the lake for upwards of twenty miles in length and about three in breadth the most beautiful I have ever seen. In a short time proceeded until sun-set through a good rich land, much the same as the day before, having only two difficult defiles. Distance about twelve miles ; course north.

SUNDAY, 5th.—Proceeded marching through land much the same as the day before, passing two or three defiles, and arrived at an old settled place called Kendae, at 3 P. M. It appeared to be the oldest town we have yet passed, here being a considerable orchard ; trees very old as are the buildings, very pleasantly situated about quarter of a mile from the lake, on a high piece of ground ; some of the best buildings, in number about thirty, with several small fields of corn, which were very insufficient for all our troops, having drawn but half allowance since we left Shamong. A much larger quantity is said to be on the other side of the lake, but we, having no boats or any convenience, it being about five miles across, could not get any of that. There was taken a white man who had by them been made prisoner at Wyoming in 1777. He informed us the enemy had left this two days before our arrival. He likewise said they had a reinforcement at this place of two or three hundred, who were very anxious to fight us ; the others said they had fought enough and did not choose to do any more. In the evening the whole army discharged their firelocks by order.

MONDAY, 6th.—I was sent out with a detachment under Maj. Hollinshead, for the purpose of collecting horses, cattle, &c., many of them having strayed the night before, on account of which the army was detained until 2 P. M., when we proceeded three miles, land continuing rich and fertile as before ; encamped in the woods near the lake. Here a great plenty of pea vines, which our horses and cattle feed on. This day have intelligence that the garrison at Powles Hook was surprised and taken.

TUESDAY, 7th.—Proceeded about eight miles, halting near the outlet of the lake for one hour and a half, then crossed it near middle deep. The lake is said to be forty miles in length and from two to five in breadth, very beautiful, without a single island in it, it ; course N. W. and S. E. After crossing as before, proceeded one mile and halted one hour s having a long defile to pass, was expecting an attack. From thence proceeded two miles through a very thick wood, and came on the back of a town a little after sundown, called Cunnusedago, still expecting they would defend their town, it being the capital of their nation, but they were all fled. The town consists of fifty or upwards very good huts, regular and compact much more than any we have seen before. Here was found a white male child about three years of age, supposed to have been taken from our frontiers. It can speak Indian very well and understand English, but not talk it. Vituals being given, it appeared to have been nearly starved, and would doubtless have injured itself had it not been restrained. An officer of ours has taken it with the intention to bring it up. This lake runs into lake Kihuga, and from thence into St. Lawrence river.

WEDNESDAY, 8th.—Continued for the purpose of gathering corn, beans, &c.

THURSDAY, 9th.—Proceeded one mile through a very thick swamp, when we came to some upland, which appeared to have been cleared, and was grown up with Indian grass and some ash bushes, over which we travelled for two or three miles, when we again entered a swamp, which we travelled through for five miles and halted on a piece of high ground for the night. This morning a detachment was sent down to Tioga consisting of fifty men, who were to escort all the sick, invalids, &c. and likewise all the horses that were not able to carry packs. Thirty odd were nevertheless left at this place that could not be got farther.

FRIDAY, 10th.—Came to a lake called by some Genessee, which is from one to three miles in width, and about ten in length, and very shallow. Proceeded and crossed the outlet at half leg deep, and twenty yards across. It lies nearly north and south. After crossing had a long defile to pass and came to a considerable town of about twenty huts, which were all on fire when we came in sight ; marched one mile past the town and encamped for the night, near some corn-fields, at 4 P. M. Distance of this day's march about ten miles. Course west.

SATURDAY, 11th.—Passed many defiles, the ground being rougher than any we have yet passed since we left Catharine, and the up-land more indifferant. Arrived at four o'clock at Onyauyah, where was a large quantity of corn. In sight of this town is a lake lying to the south ; here we encamped. Marched fourteen miles this day, course nearly west. Here was left a small garrison, with most of our baggage, horses, &c.

SUNDAY, 12th.—Came to a small lake from a quarter to half a mile wide and three in length ; distance about five miles. Crossed the outlet at knee deep, (fifteen yards across) went five and a half miles farther and encamped for the night on a high ground newly cleared.

MONDAY, 13th.—At half past four, morning, proceeded one mile and a half ; came to a considerable town, Canesaah, consisting of from sixteen to twenty huts and halted for the troops to get some refreshment and to build a bridge across a creek ; meantime a party of twenty-six men, commanded by Lt. Boyd, was sent out to a town about six miles for discovery, at which place he arrived without molestation. Here an Indian was killed and scalped by his party. He then dispatched two men to inform us what had happened ; after they had gone two miles they saw five Indians. They immediately ran back and told the Lieutenant what they had seen, who marched on to the place with all speed, when he discovered some few of them who retreated ; he pursued and killed one of them. The men then went to scalp him, which caused some dispute who should have it ; at the same instant the enemy rose up from their ambuscade, when the action commenced, but they being much superior in numbers, caused him and one or two others to surrender, though not until the rest were all killed and got off. About the same time, Capt. Lodge, surveyor of the road, with a small party was discovered about one mile beyond, where the party was building a bridge. They were fired on by the Indians and one of his men wounded. The rest ran off and were pursued so closely that one of them drew out his tomahawk and was close on the heels of one of our men, when a sentinel from the party at the bridge fired at the Indian, which caused them all to run off. Major Poor immediately pushed on, hearing the firing, and found the knapsacks, &c. of the Indians, who had all run off on his approach. At two o'clock the bridge being completed, we marched on to a town, Casawavalatetah, where we arrived about dark, in expectation of an attack, and encamped. Land continuing very fertile ; at both of these places was a large quantity of corn, at the former we did not destroy all.

TUESDAY, 14th.—Early in the morning was ordered to destroy the corn, which we did by throwing the ears into the creek, which runs close to the town and is a branch of the * Canisee river, which empties into the Lake Ontario about fourteen miles hence. At 2 P. M. marched and crossed the creek, and forded the main branch of Canisee and proceeded four miles down to the Chenisee castle, where we arrived about four P. M. At this place was Lieut. Boyd and one soldier found, with their heads cut off ; the Lieut's head lay near his body ; his body appeared to have been whipped and pierced in many different places. The others head was not found. A great part of his body was skinned, leaving the ribs bare.

WEDNESDAY, 15th.—The whole army employed until 3 o'clock in gathering the corn, and burning it in their huts, which were in number about eighty or a hundred, and much the largest quantity of corn I have yet seen in any one place since I have been out. Here came in a white woman with a young child, who was almost starved, having made her escape two or three nights before from the enemy. She informs us they were in great confusion, the Indians some times agreeing to treat with us, but it was made void by Butler and Johnson, who promised to supply them with provisions. One of the Indians at this cocked his gun and was about to shoot Johnson, but was prevented. This woman was taken from Wyoming in '77, where her husband was killed. At half past two P. M. we began our march for returning, and proceeded as far as the fording place of the creek, crossed onto, encamping near the town Casawavalatetah. This place very rich and good. Distance from here to Niagaree said to be about eighty miles, whither the Indians carry all their furs, &c. for sale. They go and return in canoes in five or six days.

THURSDAY, 16th.—I was ordered out on the advance party, under the command of Major Cochran, consisting of one hundred men. Proceeded and crossed the second branch of the Canisee river, where we remained until the army had all crossed, which was 10 A. M., part of the troops being employed in destroying some corn that we left when

* Genesee.

there before. We then proceeded to Canexah, and encamped about four P. M. The army was again sent out destroying corn that was omitted before. In the evening we joined our respective Regiments for the night, and were to repair to the front of the army at the general beat in the morning.

FRIDAY, 17th.—Marched at sunrise. Arrived at Onyauyah at twelve o'clock. There was one large hut left standing, round which the garrison had laid up the kegs of flour, boxes of ammunition and bags of flour, so as to make it a very considerable fort. Round it were likewise batteries. This cautiousness was occasioned by prisoners having been taken, and it was apprehended they would extort from them our situation; and they might probably attack that place in our absence, as the garrison left was very inconsiderable, a captain and fifty men, exclusive sick, lame and lazy, with one three pounder. This by us was called Fort Cummings, Capt. Cummings having the command here.

SATURDAY, 18th.—Proceeded to the Genessee lake and crossed the outlet, and encamped on the side of it for the night, passing through Kennedauque. On our march met three Onnida Indians, who came in five days from Fort Schuyler, and brought intelligence of New York being evacuated and burnt.

SUNDAY, 19th.—Proceeded to Kennesdago. On our way thither, met three soldiers from Tioga, two days and a half from Newtown, where they informed us is a plentiful supply of stores for us, with a garrison from Tioga. Encamped for the night.

MONDAY, 20th.—Remained until 4 P. M. in consequence of a detachment being sent down the south of Senakee lake to destroy a town there, and another down the north side Kihuga to destroy a chain of towns, part of which is to proceed to Fort Schuyler, and conduct the baggage of Gen. Clinton's brigade down to headquarters, by way of Albany, when we proceeded and crossed the outlet of the Genessee lake and encamped at Sunset, having marched 4 miles. At head of the Kihuga is a remarkable salt spring, where the Indians all get a supply of salt.

TUESDAY, 21st.—Marched at six A. M. and proceeded three miles from Kendoha, and encamped in a wood at the side of the lake at three o'clock afternoon. This morning was a detachment sent down the south side of Kihuga, for the purpose of destroying some towns there. It is said that twelve quarts of water will produce one of cleer salt.

WEDNESDAY, 22nd.—Proceeded about fourteen or fifteen miles and encamped at 5 o'clock P. M. three-quarters of of a mile from the lake and seven from Appletown, at a defile.

THURSDAY, 23rd.—Proceeded to Catharine town, at which place we arrived at twelve o'clock, finding the old squaw here which was left as we went up, with a paper that had many lines of Indian wrote underneath a protection that was given her by the General, the contents of which I did not hear. We likewise found the corpse of a squaw who appeared to have been shot three or four days, which lay in a mud hole; supposed to have came there since our departure to take care of the old brute. Who killed her, I cannot ascertain, but it is generally believed to be three men of ours who were sent up from Tioga express a few days before. At our departure from here the General ordered there should be left a keg of pork and some biscuit, &c. for the old creature to subsist on, although it was so scare an article that no officer under the rank of a field officer had tasted any since leaving Tioga, and a very scant allowance of half a pound of poor beef and a like quantity of flour. Proceeded at two o'clock about three miles through a swamp of exceeding bad road for the pioneers to repair them and halted for the army's arrival, which at was five o'clock P. M.; on a small flat of cleared ground, and encamped. Distance of day's march from 16 to 18 miles. This evening we, the advance guard, had orders to march at reveille for the purpose of having the roads repaired through a most notorious swamp of five miles, and appearance of rain, which would render the swamp almost impassable.

FRIDAY, 24th.—According to order marched at daylight and proceeded through the swamp, though not without several halts for the Pioneers, when we made a more general halt, for the army to come up, after having got through, of about one hour; then received orders to proceed again to a bad defile, and there halt for the pioneers to build a

bridge, which was three miles from the place where our stores were, with a small garrison. At three the army appeared in sight, when we again resumed our march, and on our approach the garrison fired thirteen cannon, which was immediately followed with a like number from our advance piece, and then gave three cheers and encamped, thinking ourselves happy to arrive where we could once more fully satisfy our appetites, after fourteen miles march, pretty much fatigued.

SATURDAY, 25th.—Remained at Fort Reed for those detachments before mentioned to have been sent out, to return. In the forenoon the army all discharged their muskets, with orders to parade at five in the afternoon, each man furnished with one blank cartridge. According to orders the whole paraded in a line to fire a feu de joie, when thirteen rounds of cannon were fired. Then began a running fire of muskets from the right through the whole; this not being performed to the General's liking, he ordered the whole to again charge; after this was done he ordered the whole to be put in readiness and not a man to fire until he should come opposite him. All being in readiness, he put his horse off at full speed and rode from right to left with whip and spur, men all firing according to orders, which made it very grand and caused the General to say it went like a hallelujah. After three cheers given for the Congress in consequence of their resolutions of the 18th August,* and then three for the United States, and thirdly for the King of Spain, our new ally, and thus the day ended with joy, the officers of each brigade being furnished with one of the best bullocks there was, extra.

SUNDAY, 26th.—Still remained at Fort Reed. In the morning there was a detachment of three hundred men ordered to be sent up the river Kihuga for the purpose of destroying a town or two, but was deferred by reason of rain coming. At one in the afternoon the detachment under Col. Durbin, that came down the south of the Kihuga lake, arrived with two squaws, and inform us they burnt three or four towns. They likewise say they found one Indian and one other squaw, the latter so old as not to be able to be brought off; the Indian man young but decrepid to such a degree that he could not walk. I have since heard it said, the Colonel left one house standing for them to stay in, and would not suffer them to be hurt, but some of the soldiers taking an opportunity when not observed set the house on fire, after securing and making the door fast. The troops having got in motion and marched some distance, the house was consumed together with the savages, in spite of all exertions.

MONDAY, 27th.—The morning clear. The detachment yesterday detained by rain has gone out with an addition of two hundred men more, and divided into two parties, one under the command of Col. Courtland, and the other under Col. D' Hart; one going up the north side, and the other the south of the Kihuga Creek. In the evening the detachments came in, after destroying a considerable quantity of corn, &c.

TUESDAY, 28th.—The same detachment again sent out on account of a small party being sent farther up, who say there is a large quantity of corn yet standing on the creek. About ten o'clock A. M. the detachment under Col. Butler came in from the north of Kihuga lake, who say they have destroyed vast quantities of corn and several very considerable of their towns.

WEDNESDAY, 29th.—Marched at 7 o'clock; the chief of our stores were sent in boats from Fort Reed, it being in the forks of the Kihuga and Tioga creeks. This fort was built by a small detachment sent from Tioga with stores for us by order of Gen. Sullivan, the detachment under the command of Capt. Read, which occasioned its being called after him. We proceeded to Chemung, where we arrived at 1 o'clock, P. M. and halted for one and half hour for refreshment; then marched and proceeded three miles to our old encamping ground as we went up, where we remained for the night, much fatigued, having marched over rough ground.

THURSDAY, 30th.—Proceeded to a very difficult defile, there being no possibility of passing more than one man abreast, on the side of the river, and a very high mountain on the other, near three quarters of a mile from top to bottom over which I had to pass, which rendered the day very fatiguing. At 3 o'clock P. M. arrived at Fort Sullivan at

* Increasing pay of officers, &c.

Tioga, when we were saluted from the garrison by thirteen rounds of cannon and three cheers, and immediately was a return given from the advanced pieces of cannon. *

* * The fort is a fine stockade, * * * * block-houses on the river Susquehannah, and one other on the Kihuga ; within three hundred yards of each was an old carrying place about half a mile from the forks of the two rivers. The army all passed the fort and encamped on our old ground. Soon after the officers were invited to the garrison, where was a dinner provided for them. Joy appearing in every face at our so happy return, having marched three hundred miles into the Indian country with so very inconsiderable loss, having completed all that was intended us at the first formation of the expedition, and much more than was expected when we set out, on account of provisions being so very short, which must inevitably have been the case if we had not unanimously agreed to bring ourselves on half allowance, on which we continued until our arrival at Fort Read,

MONDAY, 4th.—Was ordered on the advance guard, marched about half after eight and proceeded as far as Queen Esther's Plains, about four miles, when we halted by orders of the Commander-in-Chief until the army should come up, not being determined whether to march farther or not, the weather appearing suspicious and wets a little. On the arrival of the army, it clears away a little, when the General orders us to march as far as Wigsauking creek and there to encamp himself ; going in a boat we arrived at 5 P. M. The whole of the army did not arrive until after dark, when comes on very hard rain and continues the night, and I on guard.

TUESDAY, 5th.—The morning continues cloudy ; orders for the whole army to go down in boats and on horseback ; I came on a horse as far as Wyalucing and staid the night ; this day killed a great number of horses.

WEDNESDAY, 6th.—Marched at nine A. M. and proceeded as far as Tunkhannoch, and encamped for the night. This day orders came to leave all horses that could not be got on, and for none to be killed.

THURSDAY, 7th.—I proceeded for Wyoming at daylight, having obtained leave over night, and arrived at Wyoming at 3 P. M. The boats having come in at 10 A. M. an entertainment was provided for the officers of the Jersey Brigade and those of Proctor's artillery. At half-past 3 a cannon was fired for the assembling of the officers, and one for every toast, thirteen of which were drank.

FRIDAY, 8th.—In the morning, at 10 A. M., came in the whole party of horses.

SATURDAY, 9th.—This day orders for marching in the morning at 6 o'clock for Easton.

JOURNAL OF LIEUT. ERKURIES BEATTY,

OF THE 4TH PENN LINE.

LIEUT. afterward Major) ERKURIES BEATTY. was born October 9, 1759, son of Rev. Charles Beatty, who came to America from Ireland in 1729. He was an apprentice in Elizabethtown, N. J., at the beginning of the revolution, and served with the Jersey troops; was at long Island August 9, 1776, under General Sterling, and served as a Sergeant at White Plains, October 28. He was commissioned an Ensign in the 4th Pennsylvania Regiment, with rank from January 3, 1777; was promoted to Lieutenant May 2, and was engaged in the battle of Brandywine, September 11th, of the same year. He was badly wounded at Germantown, but rejoined his regiment at Valley Forge in January, 1778. He was at Monmouth June 28 of that year, and shortly after accompanied his regiment to Schoharie, N. Y. He was with Colonel Van Schaick in his expedition against the Onondagas in June, 1779, and with his regiment accompanied General Clinton down the Susquehanna to participate in Sullivan's campaign. He was at the surrender of Cornwallis October 19, was mustered out of service November 3, 1783; then acted as clerk in the war office for several years; 1786-8, was Paymaster to the western army; 1789-90, commanded at Vincennes, on the Wabash; Major under St. Clair but sent back with a detachment before the defeat; resigned January 11, 1793; he married the widow of Major William Ferguson, who was killed at St. Clair's defeat; resided thereafter at Princeton, N. J., where he died February 3, 1823. His son, Charles Clinton Beatty, LL.D., founder of Steubenville Female Seminary, was still living in 1880. The original journals of these expeditions are now in the archives of the New York Historical Society, New York City, which society has kindly furnished the following literal copies for publication in this volume.

JOURNAL—PART FIRST.

Expedition to Onondaga, April 6th, 1779.

SCHOHARY MIDDLE FORT.

JOURNAL OF AN EXPEDITION TO ONONDAGA, APRIL 6TH, 1779.

Marched of from the Middle fort with a Comp'y. from the 4th P. Reg't. and a Comp'y. from the Rifle Corps about 9 o'clock proceeded on to Cobus Kill 12 Miles from Schohary arrived there at 4 o'Clock when we was Join'd by Capt Johnston Compy of Col. Dubois's Regt. from the lower fort Schohary when he took the Comd. staid here all Night. Next morning we proceeded on with the 3 Companies to Mohawk River to Conogoharie 25 Miles where we staid all Night. Nothing material happend. on our March, the next day march'd on to fort plank 6 miles where we got waggons sufficient to Carry our m[en's] packs then proceeded on within 4 Miles of Fort Herkimer where we staid all Night. Next morning started early arrived at Fort Herkimer where we Join'd Capt. Bleeker Compy. from Col. Gansevorts Regt. Capt. Fowlers Compy. from Col. Livingstons Regt. & Capt. Lane's Compy. from Col. Aldens Regt. staid here & got breakfast then Marched of of Capt. Bleeker taking the Command, marched on 13 Miles when we encamped all Night in the woods, the next morning got of early went on to old fort Stanwix 6 Miles where we breakfasted, then proceeded on to Fort Schuyler 16 Miles where we arrived about 5 o'Clock and was saluted with three pieces of Cannon from the fort four Companies Encamp'd on the Glacis and the other two quartered in two houses that was there. The officers quartered in the Garrison which consisted of Col. Vanschaicks Regt. & a Compy. of Artillery.

FORT STANWIX ALIAS FORT SCHUYLER.

APRIL 14th, 1779.—Rested all this Day nothing material happening—

15th.—This day about 63 Oneida Indians came into the fort with their baggage & squaws they all fired coming in & was saluted with 3 pieces of cannon from the fort after some Ceremony they went out and lay about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Mile from the fort.

16th.—This Morning the Sachems apply to Col. Van Schaick to go on the Expedition with us but the Col. told them that we was not going on any Expedition which almost satisfied them, this afternoon about 20 More came in of the Tuskerorras & Oneidas.

17th.—It snowed last Night and partly all this Day nothing material happening.

18th.—Snow'd by spells this day The Indians apply'd to Col. for to go on an expedition by themselves which was granted them and they Drawed provision, then they petitioned for two officers to go with them but no Men, which was granted them Lt. McClellan of Col. Gansevorts Regt. and Ensign Hardenburg of Col. Van Schaicks Regt. was ordered to go with each to take a Sergt. and 20 Days provision with them and they march'd of about 1 o'Clock about 60 of them leaving their Sachems & Squaws behind them, this Day arrived at the Fort 30 Batteaus with stores from Schenectady We Recd. orders to Draw 3 Days provision and hold our selves in Readiness to march to morrow morning at Day Break.

19th.—last night the Batteaus was carried into wood creek about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile from the fort and this morning flights of snow fell but we march'd of about sunrise with 3 Companies from Col. Van Schaicks Regt. when Col. Van Schaick took the Comd. with his other field officers Lt. Col. Willet & Magor Cochran sent a proper Guard with the batteaus and we proceeded down wood creek by land till we arrived within about 2 Miles of Lake Oneida 22 Miles from the fort staid here 3 or 4 hours for the boats where they Arrived about 3 o'Clock when we immediately embarked & proceeded into the Oneida lake the wind blowing very high all Night, about day break we stopt and Collected our boats then

proceeded on till about 1 o'Clock when we stopt about 2 hours & Drawd provisions then proceeded on to the Onandaga landing at the farther end of the lake which is across 33 Miles and in breadth 13 Miles where we arrived about 3 o'Clock. Immediately Disembarked, Drawed Rum, turned out a sufficient Guard to leave with the boats then formed the line of March Viz The Men to March in two Columns about the Distance of 100 Yards each Cpts. Graham, Gray, Hicks & Renshaw with their Companies to form the Right & Cpts. Louie's, Johnston Fowler & Bleeker to form the left and the Rifle Compy. to divide upon each flank The Main body to march two deep and in case of intirruption to file of to Right and left and Join the line and the Rifle men to keep on the flanks, in this Manner we march'd of thro the woods with the greatest silence about 14 Miles when we stopt about dark and laid down without any fires and the strictes orders to keep silence.

21st. this morning set of about Day Break on the same line of march and went about 6 Miles when we halted. Capt. Graham with his Compy. was sent forward as an advance party then proceeded on to the Onandaga lake about 8 Miles in length & 4 in Breath waded an arm of it about 4 foot deep and 200 yards wide and came to Onandaga creek, small but deep, had to cross it on a log. Capt. Grahams Co Just as he had crossed the creek caught an Indian who was shooting Pidgeons & made him prisoner, And we got some Information from him, then proceeded on till we come within about one Mile of the Town when we Recd. word from Capt. Graham that he had caught one Squaw and killed one and had taken two or three Children and one White man and one or two made their escape and alarmed the town The Col Immediately sent me forward to order him on as quick as possible and make as many prisoners as he could & he would support him with the main body. I overtook him at the first town and delivered my orders and he Immediately pushed on about two miles to the Next town where he made a small halt and took a great many prisoners, soon after Magor Cochran with Capt. Grays Compy. came up and ordered me to stay with the prisoners and their two Compys. to push on to the next town about one mile forward which they did and made more prisoners and killed some particularly a Negro who was their Dr. they then plundered the houses of the most valuable things and set fire to them and Returned to the middle town where I was. Capt. Bleekers Compy. had come up by this time and left the main body at their first town we then collected all our prisoners plundered this town and sett fire to it then marched of to the main body which lay at the first town, we stayd there about 8 hours and killed some five horses and a Number of Hogs & plunderd their houses and set fire to them and Marched of about 4 o'Clock in the same line of march as we came only the front changed and a Compy. to guard the prisrs. who was to march between they two Colums marched on about 2 Miles from the town down the Onand'ga creek when about 20 Indians who Lay concealed on the oppisite side of the Creek fird upon us, but the Rifle Men soon Dispersed them killing one of them, we then march'd on and crossd the Onandga Creek in two places for fear the enemy should attack us but we met with no interruption, crossed the arm of the lake and encamped by the side of the lake about 8 Miles from the town— We killed about 15 took 34 Prisoners, Burned about 30 or 40 Houses, took 2 stand of Coulers, and we had not one man killed or wounded—

22nd. Marched of early this mornng and arrived at the boats about 4 oClock stopt about one hour to Draw rum then embarked and went 7 Mile to a large Island in the lake where we encamped and Drew provision.

23d. The next mornng the wind blowing we did not sett of till about 9 oClock but the wind begin to Lull and we arrived into wood creek about 4 oClock when we Disembarked left 2 Compys. to guard the boats up the Creek & we proceeded on to Fish Creek about 7 Miles where we Encamped.

24th—Rained a little last Night set of early this morning small showers of Rain fell to day we arrived at fort Schuyler about 12 o'clock when we were saluted by 3 Pieces of Cannon from the fort and each Compy. took their old Quarters.

25th. This Day we was busy in collecting the plunder and making an equal Distribution of it to each Comy. and Recd. orders to hold ourselves to embark tomorrow morning early to go down the mohawk River—

26th. This Morning Capt. Louies & Capt. Fowlers Compy. was ordered to march down to Fort Herkimer to guard some waggons and afterwards to join their Regt. the other 4 Companies embarked with the prisoners about sunrise and proceeded down the River to fort Herkimer where we arrived about dark, part of the boats was ordered to go forward 6 Miles to the carrying place and wait there in the morning till the Rest came up.

27th. set of early this morning and went to the carrying place, some showers of Rain falling, had our boats carried over as Quick as Possible and proceeded down the River as far as Major Funda's within 24 Miles of Schenectady where we stayed all night.

28th. set of early this morning and arrived at Schenectady about 12 oClock when each Compy. Recd. orders to Join their Regts. as soon as possible, put the men in the barracks & staid all Night.

29th. This morning about day break set of with Capt. Grays compy. and the Rifle compy. leaving the prisoners with Capt. Bleeker to Guard to Albany, proceeded on till we arrived at middle Fort Schohary Just being out 3 Weeks.

E. BEATTY.

JOURNAL—PART SECOND.

Sullivan's Expedition, June 11th, to Oct. 22d, 1779.

JOURNAL OF AN EXPEDITION TO THE INDIAN TOWNS, JUNE 11th, 1779.

FRIDAY.—Marched from Schohary with 4th P. Regt. & Rifle corps 8 o'Clock leaving 15 Men from each Corp with proper officers for the safety of the Place the rest arrived at Schenectady at Sundown where we encamped—

SATURDAY 12th.—Lay encamped all day.

SUNDAY 13th.—Crossed over the River encamped oppisite Schenectady and was supplied with 36 Batteaus to go up the Mohawk River with a quantity of provision, Small Showers of Rain fell today.

MONDAY 14th.—Showers of rain almost all day embarked in our boats at 2 o'Clock, proceeded up they River very strong water, went 3 Mile up when we encamped on the shore.

TUESDAY 15th.—Rained all Last Night which made it very disagreeable in our tents embarked this Morning 8 o'Clock proceeded on 10 Mile midling strong water encamped on the shore.

WEDNESDAY 16th.—Embarked this morning at Sunrise went on 13 Miles to Major Fundas where we encamped.

THURSDAY 17th.—Embarked this morning sunrise went up very good water all day arrived at Conojoharie at Sundown 17 Miles where we found Col Gansevorts Reg't. encamped we immediately unloaded our Boats and encamped on the left of Col. Gansevorts Regt.

FRIDAY 18th.—lay in camp very Quiet all day Nothing Material happening.

SATURDAY 19th.—Struck Tents very early Marched of for Springfield very bad road passed on the road a Number of Waggons with Batteaus & provision going on to the Lake likewise a New York Regt. which was encamped on the Road side 6 Miles from Conojohaire arrived at Springfield 4 o'clock P M 17 Miles which had formerly been a pretty little Settlement but the Indians at the destruction of Cherry Valley had likewise Destroyed it, it lies within 4 Miles of lake Osego and about 6 or 8 from Cherry Valley here we encamped in a very pleasant place—

SUNDAY 20th.—lay in camp all day nothing material happening great Number of Waggon passing all day to the lake with provision & Batteau—Came here this evening & en-

camped two Companies of Col. Aldens Regt. N. E. on their way to join their Regt. laying at the Lake.

MONDAY 21st.—This morning Major Parr with near 100 men properly officered went on a 3 Days scout likewise to clear out the branch of the Susquehanna which comes out of the Lake Otsego to make it passable for Boats, likewise the two Companies of Col. Aldens Regt. moved to their Regt. nothing else material happening a Number of Waggons passing to the lake with Boats and provisions, we send out parties every day to keep the Roads in Repair.

TUESDAY 22d.—This Morning the Colonel and a Number of Officers besides myself went on a fishing party across Lake Otsego caught a few fish and Returned in the Evening but got very wet as there was showers of Rain fell in the afternoon—on the lower end of the lake (which is about 8 Mile in lenth and 2 in Breadth) we found two Companies of Col. Aldens Reg't. who had made a Dam across the neck that runs out of the lake so as to Rais the water for to carry the Boats down they creek.

WENSDAY 23d.—This Day about 2 o'Clock Major Parr arrived with his party brought no news of any consequence but that they the branch of the Susquehanna which he went down about 10 Miles from Lake Otsego was passable for Boats. lay in Camp all Day nothing of consequence happening sending out fatigue parties on the Roads as usual likewise great number of Waggons passing to the Lake.

THURSDAY JUNE 24th.—Lay in camp to Day Nothing of Consequence happening.

FRIDAY 25th—This Morning Capt. Simpson with 40 Rifle Men went on a scout likewise Lt. Bevins with 20 Musquet Men went on a scout. Showers of Rain fell to day and exceeding warm weather, not many waggons Pass'd to day.

SATURDAY 26th.—Rained almost all last night but very warm all Day, about 9 o'Clock. Col. Dubois Regt. Arrived here with 2 Pieces of Artillery likewise a Quantity of Amunition for the expedition and some Cloathing, staid & eat Breakfast and Proceeded on to the lake then to take Part, this afternoon Capt. Simpson with his party and Lt. Bevins with his arrived at Camp but brought no news of Consequence, this evening a Number of Waggons arrived here on their way to the Lake with amunition likewise our P: Mr.

SUNDAY 27th—This morning sent a escort with the amunition to the lake, to day about 2 oClock one of the Rifle Officers sent his waiter about one Mile from Camp to get Sallad, but the waiter was unhapily made prisoner by a few Indians after having fired three Shot which we heard in Camp Immediately went out Scouts but could see Nothing

MONDAY 28th—This Day the Col. and a Number of Offrs. with myself went to see Col Dubois and his officers who were encamped at Lows Grove on the uper landing, found them all very well and they provided a very good dinner for us suitable to the place & time, there was about fifty offrs. dined together, after Dinner we had a song or two from different Officers and Returned home a little before Sundown, we were all very sociable at dinner and Spent our time with the Officers very agreeable—little flights of Rain fell to day in the morning nothing material happening--

TUESDAY 29th. Lt. Boyd with a Scout went out to day and Lt. Cotin with another party, a Number of Col. Duboiss officers came to see us to day and dined with Col. This evening the flying Hospital arrived here with a Number of Hospital Stores and all the surgeons that is going on the expedition and here encamped.

WEDNESDAY 30th. This morning Capt. Henderson with a large escort went to convey the Hospital to the landing.

THURSDAY JULY 1st. This day fell some Rain about 2 oClock, Genl. Clinton arrived at our Camp with the Adj. Genl. and a Number more officers and encamped, about Dark Col. Gansevorts Regt. Arrived, here and encamped in front of us, this evening we Recd. orders to march tomorrow morning early.

FRIDAY 2d. Accordingly this morning we struck our tents early, the Regt. marched by Cherry Valley to the lower end of the lake. The baggage of the Detachment went to Springfield landing with a proper Guard with the Col. & the Qr. Masters & myself, put the baggage on board Bqats & Proceeded to the lower end of the lake where we arrived about 3 oClock and found the Regt. there before us, we Immedately took out our Baggage and

encamped on the Right of Crohans House a very pleasant place in the evening the Genl. arrived with Col. Gansevorts Regt. & the Hospital & a great deal of Provision, they encamped on the left of us

SATURDAY 3d. This morning Major Church with a Number of Boats went to bring Provision from Springfield landing, about 10 oClock Col. Dubois Regt. came here with more Provision & encamped in the rear of Col. Gansevorts Regt. two Hours after Col. Wisenfills Regt. arrived here with Provision and encamped in the rear of us, likewise the Artillery and stores came with Col. Dubois Regt. and encamped between our Regt. & Col. Gansevorts, made a Magazin of Crohans House.

JULY 4th. Last night we were alarmed by the of our Centries firing at Indians who was crieing up to them, we Remained under arms one Hour then went to our tents with orders not to pull of our Cloaths, there was several shots fired before morning, and at Day break we tracked a number of Indians Round about our pickets but never one of them returned our fire. Major Parr with his Rifle men went on Scout this morning. This Day three year being the Day that Independence was declared it was celebrated by firing a Feu De Joy all the troops was drew up on the Banks of the Lake in one line with the two Pieces of Artillery on the Right there was 13 Pieces of cannon fired and three Volleys of Musquetry one after another and three Cheers with every fire it was done extraordinary well and with great exactness, afterwards the troops was drew up in a Circle by Columns on a little hill when Parson Granoo* preached us a sermon suitable to the occasion from the 4 Chapter of Exodus and 12 Verse, afterwards the troops was Dismissed, Col. Rignier Adjt. Genl. gave an invitation to all the officers to come and drink Grog with him in the evening accordingly a number of officers (almost all) assembled at a large Bowry which he had prepared on the bank of the lake but however we sot on they ground in a large Circle and closed the Day with a Number of Toast suitable & a great Deal of Mirth for two or three hours and then Retirned to our tents. the whole Day was Conducted extremely well considering the place, a great deal of provision came over they Lake here to day—Weather very warm—This afternoon Lt. Evans Rifle Regt. Returned from a Scout being down the Susquehannah as far as Yaukams bu brought no news of consequence.

JULY 5th. MONDAY To day Col. Aldens Regt. came over with the last of the Provision and Stores of all sorts and encamped in the center of the second line behind the Artillery likewise a few of the Oneida Indians come over with the Regt. and encamped on the Banks of the lake the all soon got Drunk & made a terrible noise.

6th. TUESDAY This forenoon the Adjt. Genl. Reviewed the front line very particularly, This afternoon was a high wind and some Rain, Prayers now every evening from Parson Gano.

WENSDAY JULY 7th. This Day the Adjt. Genl. Reviewd the second line, took a party with some more of our Officers and went a fishing three or four mile from Camp catched a number of Trout in one of the branches of the Susquehanna—all the Off'rs of the Line met this eving at the large Bower and took a Sociable Drink of Grog given by Col Gansevorts Officers.

JULY 8th. To day at one of the Pickets two of the out Centries fired at two men they saw creeping up to them, they did not Return the fire but Immediately Ran away, T. D. D. W. The Gl.—Nothing of consequence happened to Day.

JULY 9th FRIDAY a little Rain fell last night, but to day was a warm day.

10th. SATURDAY Lay quiet in Camp all Day.

11th. SUNDAY, This Day being a very Rainy Day did not go out much, therefore heard no News

12th. MONDAY Rained very hard most part of all last night but this morning cleared up very cold considering the time of years likewise a high whisting wind last Night, all still to day.

13th. TUESDAY Drew arms for the Men in the Regt. that was wanting and other necessary things for the good of the Service which kept us buisy almost all Day—

14th. WENSDAY—This Day did not do any thing.

* Gano.

15th. THURSDAY To day three men Deserted from our Regt. likewise some more from the other Regts.

FRIDAY 16th. Nothing material happened to day

SATURDAY 17th. No News—

SUNDAY 18th. To day some of our men found a very fine Chest of Carpenters tools, and some Books, Map & Number of Papers, the chest was concealed in a thicket of Bushes covered with bark, near one of our pickets, it is supposed it was they property of Crohan who formerly lived here But is now gone to the Enemy therefore they Chest is a lawful prize to the men thet found it.

MONDAY 19th. This morning Capt. McGowan went to Schohary there to stay till he gets his side cured, likewise I felt very unwell this morning which caused me to take a Vomit which worked me severely, in they afternoon I got a good deal Better but still continued a swelling in my face which was occasioned by the tooth Ach

TUESDAY 20th. This Day we heard that Spain had acceded to our Independance, and had Reinforced Count De Estaing with seven or eight sail of Ships of the line, likewise that Spain had laid siege to Gibraltar & that the French had taken the Islands of Gurnsey & Jersey, furthermore heard that the Enemys light Horse had made an Excursion into Connecticut from Rhode Islad. and had burnt 6 or 7 houses in Newhaven but was Repulsed by our people with loss unknown—It rained all last Night very hard & steady, and this morning till 10 oClock and it cleared up Warm, felt myself pretty well Recovered to day—

WENSDAY 21st. This Afternoon was brought in two of our Men, who Deserted from this place, & one was Immediately tied up and Received 500 Lashes & was again committed to the Guard house, the other was Ironed and closely confined there to remain to be tryed for his life at the Next General Court martial that Sets—

THURSDAY 22d. To day came in one other Deserter of himself and had a very plausible Story to tell but was committed to the guard house for tryal

FRIDAY 23d. Nothing happened to day

SATURDAY 24th. To day we heard that 563 of the Enemy was taken at Ver Planks point on the North River likewise one man was Released from the guard house

SUNDAY 25th. To day a small Rain fell all day

MONDAY 26th. Rained almost all last night and best part of this day

TUESDAY 27th. Some rain fell last night and a little to day by showers. To day we had the agreeable news confirmed of the prisoners taken on the North River—Genl. Wayne with 1100 men Surprised the Garrison at Stony Point killed 100 and took upwards of 500 Prisoners he had 4 [21] killed and 21 Wounded there was not a Gun fired on either Side. Genl. Wayne entered the Fort at 3 oClock in the morning the Garrison was commanded by Col. Johnston, likewise we heard that the Indians had taken 36 Men at Fort Schuyler who was at making hay & afterwards was pushing down they Mohawk River in consequence of which there was a Detachment sent off comanded by Col. Gansevort to Conojoharie consisting of 265 Men and 5 Captains with 3 Days provision—Likewise we heard that there was a Major 2 Captains one Sub. and 15 Men taken Prisoner by 7 Indians & one White man at Sabbath Day Point or near it, somewhere near Lake George, the officers and men went out to gather Huckelberries & was taken asleep—

WENSDAY 28th. This morning (agreeable to the Sentence of a Genl. Court Martial) at Troop Beating they three men was brought out to be Shot one belonging to our Regt. one to the 6th Massuts. & the other to 3d. N. York all found Guilty of Desertion, the troops was drawn up on the grand Parade the man belonging to the 3d. N. York Regt. was shot the other two was reprieved by the Genl. very warm to day

29th. THURSDAY Rained a little last night but none to day, to day we had a Newspaper which give a particular Account of Genl. Wayne taking they Fort at Stony Point they killed 60 of the enemy & took 400 Men besides 25 officers with Col. Johnston the Comdr. & one Capt. killed of the enemy Genl. Wayne got a slight wound in his Temple besides 5 other of our Offrs. & 50 Men & 25 killd of our men likewise we took 14 Pieces of Ordnance 700 Stand of Arms, Tents, Rum, Cheese, wine, and a number of other Articles of

Stores. Our troops took out the ordinance & stores and Destroyed the Fort and Returned with the Prisoners near our Grand Army. The enemy had 60 killed & about the same number wounded—Likewise we heard in the papers of 5 of the Enemys Provision Ship being taken with 20,000 Barrells of Different Stores safe arrived in Eastern ports—We heard from Fort Schuyler that Lt. Scudder was taken, with them 36 Men—We had the good news in Genl. Order to day—

FRIDAY, 30th. Nothing of Consequence happend to Day

SATURDAY, 31st. To day Small Showers of Rain fell this evening Col. Gansevort arrived with the comand had been as far as Fort Herkimer but brought no news of Importance

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1st, 1779. Rained almost all last Night, to day at 11 oClock the Officers of the brigade met agreeable to Genl. Orders (as has been this few days past) to learn the Salute with the Sword, the Genls. Curiosity led him out to see how they saluted after the was dismissed, they formed a Circle round the Genl. and requested of him to give them a Keg of Rum to drink, a demand, at the same time we little expected to have the favour granted us, but we happened to take the General in one of his generous thouts which he is but seldom posses'd of, and instead of one he gave us six, when we gratefully acknowledged the favour by thanks and Imediately repaired to the cool Spring where we drank two of our Kegs with a great deal of mirth and harmony toasting the Genl. frequently—and then Returned to our Dinners, in the afternoon Parson Gano Give us a Sermon

MONDAY, 2d, 1779. To day at 11 oClock the Officers again assembled at the Spring to finish the remainder of our Kegs which we did with they Sociability we had done the day before.

TUESDAY, 3d. (I had like to forget to mention that there was a Comand of 150 men under the command of Major Parr on Sunday morning went to Oaks Creek about 3 Miles from here with the cattle to pasture—I am informed there is a house there and about 50 Acres of clear land on which is excellent grass) Nothing of consequence as I know of to day the Rifle men went down by the side of the lake to try their Rifles which they did by Shooting at marks

WENESDAY, 4th. This morning 150 Men comanded by Major Church went to Oaks Creek to

[One leaf of Journal missing]

MONDAY, AUGUST 9th. Agreeable to yesterday's order the Genl. beat at 6 oClock, the troops marched about 8, excepting 3 Men which was to remain in each boat to take them down the River The Infantry march in front which I now belong to, and the Remainder of the Battillions next marched on 16 Miles within 5 Miles of Yorkams* where we encamped on a Small improvement called Burrows farm,† where there was a great many Rattlesnakes & very large, there was one killed with 15 Rattles on

TUESDAY, 10 Rained a little last night and this day till 1 oClock Marched of the ground at 3 oClock and went 5 Miles to Yorkams where we encamped the men in the Boats encamped on the farm which lies on the East side of the River and the Remainder on the other side Opposite. went on Guard to night

WENDSDAY, 11th. Marched of this Morning Sunrise and proceeded on 14 Miles down the River where we encamped on a Small farm, passed Several small farms to day with very poor houses on them & some None, the Rifle Men in front saw fresh Indian tracks to day on the Path & found a Knife at one of their fires. To day we crossed a large creek called Otego, and passed several old Indian encampments where they had encamped when the was going to Destroy Cherry Valley or returning, likewise we passed one of their encampments yesterday—we encamped to night at Ogdens farm & very bad encampment ground.

*These notes and those that follow are by Genl. John S. Clark, Auburn, N. Y. and are taken from the Collections of the Cayuga County Historical Society, No. 1.

*JOACHIM VAN VALKENBERG, afterwards killed in battle near Lake Utsayunthe in 1781.

†Van Hovenburgh's Journal says Burris Farms.

THURSDAY 12th. March'd of this morning 7 oClock, had the advanced Guard to day proceeded down the West side of the river as usual, 12 Miles came to a Small Scotch Settlement called Albout* on the other side of the River 5 Miles from Unindilla, which we burnt but the people had gone to the Enemy this last Spring went on to Unindilla Crossed the River to the East side and encamped, the River was about middle deep when we waded it—This settlement was destroyed by our detachment last fall excepting one house which belonged to one Glasford who went to the enemy this spring, his house was Immediately burnt, when we came on the ground to day, we passed several old Indian encampments. where the encamped when the destroy'd Cherry Valley the Road midling hilly.

FRIDAY 13th. This morning very foggy and a great deal of dew—Marched of 6 oClock went 2 Miles waded the River about 3 foot deep proceeded on to Conihunto † a small Indian town that was, but was Destroyed by our detachment last fall its 14 Miles from Unindilla ‡. A little below this town there is 3 or four Islands in the River where the Indians Raised their Corn on one of those Islands our troops encamped with the boats & Cattle the light Infantry went 2 Miles from Conihunto where they encamped a little after 3 oClock in the woods Middle good Road to day.

SATURDAY 14th. Marched this morning at 8 oClock very hilly road for the Right flank arrived at the fording 2 Miles from Onoquaga § about 2 oClock which is 8 Miles from where we started, the ford being too deep to wade crossed in our Boats to the East side went over a high hill and got Onoquaga at 3 oClock where we encamped on very pretty ground. This town was one of the Neatest of the Indian towns on the Susquehanna, it was built on each side of the River with good Log houses with Stone Chimneys and glass windows it likewise had a Church & burying ground and a great number of apple trees and we likewise saw the Ruins of an Old Fort which formerly was here many years ago. The Indians abandoned this town last fall when they heard of our Detachment coming to Destroy it, they had but just left it when we came in it but we did not catch any of them but burnt their town to ashes and the Detachment Returned. This evening we fired an evening gun

SUNDAY 15th. Very heavy dew this morning went on Guard the Army Remain at Onoquago to day quiet no news Stirring as I hear of particular.

MONDAY 16th. This morning a very heavy Dew & fog which is very customary in this country, was relieved of my Guard and the day proved Exceeding warm to day, a heavy shower of rain this afternoon at 12 oClock Major Church with the 4th. P. Regt. went out 5 or 6 Miles to meet 4 or 500 Militia ¶ who we expected to join us here but he returned in the evening and saw nothing of them.

TUESDAY 17th. Marched of from Onoquaga this morning 8 oClock proceeded down the river 3 Miles to one of the Tuskorora towns which was burnt by our Detachment last fall, here waded the river about 4 feet deep to the west side went on one Mile when we came to another of they Tuskurora towns call Shawhianghto || consisting of 10 or 12 Houses

* ALBOUT.—A Scotch. tory settlement on the east side of the Susquehanna river, five miles above Unadilla, was burned Aug. 12, 1779, by Clinton's detachment. Most of the Scotch Settlers went to Canada at the beginning of the difficulties : those who remained were more in sympathy with the British than with the Americans. See Capt. Gray's map where the name appears as ALEOUT.

† CONIHUNTO, called Gunnagunter by Van Hovenburgh, an Indian town 14 miles below Unadilla, destroyed by Col. William Butler in 1778. It appears to have been on the west side of the river.

‡ UNADILLA, an Indian town at the junction of the Unadilla with the Susquehanna, destroyed by Col. William Butler in 1778. "Returning to Unadilla, that settlement, on both sides of the river was burned, as also a grist-mill and saw-mill, the only ones in the Susquehanna Valley."—*Letter of Col. William Butler.*

§ ONOQUAGA, an Indian town on both sides of the Susquehanna river, eight miles below Conihunto near present Onaquaga, in the town of Colesville, Broome Co. When destroyed by Col. Butler in 1778 he mentions a lower or Tuscara town three miles below, this would be near present Windsor. The old fort mentioned is probably one built for the Indians by Sir William Johnson in 1756. Rev. Gideon Hawley was a missionary here at an early date. See Capt. Gray's map.

¶ Col. Pawling, commanding a regiment of New York levies, was to meet Clinton at this point, but arriving after the army had passed, they returned to Wawarsing.

|| SHAWHIANGTO, a small Tuscara town four miles below Onoquaga, burned by General Clinton August 17, 1779 ; it contained ten or twelve houses, located on the west side of the river, near present Windsor in Broome County.

which we burnt, then marched on over a very barren mountaneous country 10 or 12 Miles came to a Tuscurora Settlement called Ingaren* consisting of 5 or six houses but a good deal Scattered, encamped at the lower end of the Settlement after burning the houses, here they had planted a good deal of Corn potatoes &c. which we destroyed a few Yards in front of our Campys. encamping ground there was a tanfat farm with several Hides in a tanning which they Soldiers got & close by it they discovered a little man in a hole which was laid there & a little dirt thrown over him just to cover him, we had his head uncover'd but he was to putrified, we could Not discover whether he was a white man or Indian but supposed to be a white man as there was a Scotch Bonnet found near him---marched to day 15 Miles

WEDNESDAY 18--Marched of from Ingaren 7 oClock : thro a very fine Rich country very well timbered but poorly Watered, scarce any, arrived at Chinango River at 4 oClock where we forded it about 4 feet deep & almost as wide as the Susquehana but not so deep, as soon as we got over we halted and Major Parr with 100 men went up the River to destroy the Chinango † town which lay 4 Mile up the River but when we came there we found the town was burnt which consisted of about 20 houses it seems when the Indians Evacuated it last winter they destroyed it, therefore we Returned & found the army encamped 2 Mile below the Chinango River Marched to day 22 Miles and burnt several Indian houses on the Road, this evening came up the River 2 Runners who informed us that Genl. Poor with 1000 Men was within 9 Miles of us coming to meet us and that Genl. Sullivan lay at the mouth of the Tyoga and that he had sent part of his army up to Shamong which they destroyed and had returned to Genl. Sullivan with the loss of 9 Men killed and some more wounded which was in Small Skirmishing, the indians had taken of all their things from Shamong excepting a few cattle which our people got.

THURSDAY 19th--Marched this morning 7 oClock went 2 Mile when we burnt 7 or 8 houses on the East side of the River, 4 Miles farther at the Chugnuts ‡ we fell in with Genl. Poors army who was ready to march, they had Burnt this Settlement which lies on the East side of the River about 20 houses made no halt here but went on 4 Mile Genl. Clintons Army in front & Genl. Poors in the rear, came to a Midling large Creek where we made a halt for one hour then marched on 12 Miles without halting & arrived at Owego § about sun Down after a very fatiguing march of 22 Miles, this afternoon fell a Small Shower of Rain

FRIDAY 20 Rained a little last night and Succesively all this Day therefore did not move : went a party down to Owego town which lies one mile lower down and burnt it consisted of about 20 houses

SATURDAY 21st--Clear weather this morning but a very heavy fog, marched of a little after 7 oClock forded Owego Creek which is reckoned one third of the Susquehana at this place, it was about three feet Deep & about 50 Yards Wide went thro' the ruins of Owego town crossed a pretty large brook went 12 Miles halted at a Small brook one hour

* INGAREN, a small Tuscarora town, at or near Great Bend, in Susquehanna county, Pa. It was called Tuscarora by Van Hovenburgh, and described as being sixteen miles from the camp, four miles below Chenango river : and twelve miles by land and twenty by water, from Onoquago, where the army encamped on the 16th. Was destroyed by General Clinton, August 17, 1779.

† CHENANGO, also called Otsiningo, an important Indian town located four miles north of Binghamton on the Chenango river, in present town of Chenango, near the present village of the same name. The twenty-two miles travel mentioned, evidently includes the march up the Chenango to this town, and from thence to the camp. Van Hovenburgh estimates the day's march of the army at 16 miles. Many writers incorrectly locate this town at Binghamton.

‡ CHOCONUT, or *Chugnut*, an important Indian town of fifty or sixty houses, mostly on the south side of the Susquehanna at the mouth of Big Choconut creek, on the site of the present village of Vestal, in town of Vestal, Broome county. Burned Aug. 19, 1779, by Gen. Poor's detachment which encamped on the north side of the river near present Union where the two detachments united. Gen. Clinton's camp the same night, was six miles distant up the river.

§ OWAGEA, an Indian town of about twenty houses occupied in 1779 ; located on Owego creek about a mile from the Susquehanna near the present village of Owego, in Tioga county. Gen. Poor's detachment encamped Aug. 17th. on the site of present village, where was a small Indian Hamlet. Owagea was burned Aug. 19th.

for refreshment. Proceeded on 3 Mile further when we encamped at 4 o'clock Opposite Fitzgeralds farm * in the woods it a very fine farm but no house on it nor any body living on it—On this ground where we encamped Mr. Sawyers a Man who was made prisoner by Indians Along with his Neighbor Mr. Cowley who both lived on the head of the Delaware, After the Indians having them so far on their Journey they rose in the Night killed the Indians which was 3 or 4 & made their Escape. we saw the bones of the Indians. Since we came on the ground to day we met with a bad Accident, two of our Boats of Amunition over set in the River & Damaged a good many boxes of Catridges & a few Casks of Powder—to Night went on Guard

SUNDAY 22d. Marched on this morning 7 o'clock, proceeded on crossed to midling large brooks Arrived at Tyoga 11 o'clock where we found Genl. Hands Brigade encamped one Mile above the mouth of the Tioga where the was building 4 Block houses they other troops was encamped on the point which was Genls. Poors & Maxwells Brigades we encamped on the Right of the whole, on our coming in to Camp we was saluted by 13 Pieces of Cannon which was Returned by our two little pieces, on the River we found

* MANCKATAWANGUM, or Red Bank, here called Fitzgerald's Farm, appears to have been on the south side of the Susquehanna, in the town of Nichols, nearly opposite the village of Barton. Major Norris' Journal, in going up, says on the 16th the detachment "encamped near the ruins of an old town called, MACKTOWANUCK." Lieutenant Jenkins' Journal says "10 miles from Tioga at a place called MANCKATAWANGUM or Red Bank," and mentions encamping at same point on the return march. A table of distances in Canfield's Journal says "from the mouth of the Tioga (Chemung) to Mackatowando 10 miles." This would locate the Indian town at or near present Barton. On the Tioga county map, Mohontowonga Farm appears on the south side of the river opposite Barton, and an island in the river named Mohontowango.

Early in the spring of 1779, two men named Sawyer and Cowley were captured near Harpersfield by four Schoharie Indians, named Han Yerry, Seth's Henry, Adam and Nicholas. One of the captives was an Irishman, the other a Scotchman. They were refugees from Harpersfield, who had sought safety in Schoharie at the beginning of the difficulties. The prisoners could not speak Dutch, which the Indians understood, nor could the Indians understand English. When captured, they claimed by signs to be friends of the King, and were not only willing, but anxious to accompany their captors. The prisoners set off with such apparent willingness on the journey, that the Indians did not think it necessary to bind them, but permitted them to procure wood and water. They had been captives eleven days without finding a favorable opportunity for escape, but on arriving at a deserted hut at this point, the captives were sent to cut wood a few rods distant, using for this purpose an ax belonging to one of the prisoners. On such occasions, usually one cut and the other carried to the camp fire; but this time, while Cowley was chopping, and Sawyer waiting for an armful, the latter took from his pocket a newspaper, and pretended to read its contents to his fellow, but really proposed a plan for regaining their liberty. After procuring a sufficient quantity of wood, and partaking of a scanty supper, they laid down for the night as usual, a prisoner between two Indians. When the Indians were sound asleep, the prisoners arose, secured the guns, shaking the priming from them, Sawyer securing the tomahawk of Han Yerry, and Cowley the ax. At a given signal, the blows descended, and the weapons sank deep into the brain of their victims, but unfortunately Sawyer in attempting to free his weapon from the skull, drew the handle from its socket. These two Indians were killed, but the noise awoke the others, who instantly sprang to their feet; as Seth's Henry arose, he received a blow partially warded off by his right arm, but his shoulder was laid open and he fell back stunned: the fourth, as he was about to escape, received a heavy blow in the back from the ax: he fled to a swamp near by and died. On returning to the hut and consulting as to what course they should pursue, Seth's Henry, who had recovered, but feigned death, again sprang to his feet, caught his rifle and snapped it at one of the prisoners, ran out of the hut and disappeared. The two friends primed the remaining guns and kept vigilant watch until daylight to guard against surprise. They set out in the morning to return, but did not dare to pursue the route they came, very properly supposing there were more of the enemy in the vicinity, to whom the surviving Indian would communicate the fate of his comrades. They re-crossed the river in a bark canoe which they had used the preceding afternoon, and then directed their course for the frontier settlements. On the first night, Cowley, carried away by the excitement was deranged for hours, and his companion was fearful that his raving would betray them, but reason returned with daylight. As they had feared, a party of Indians was soon in hot pursuit—from a hill they saw ten or a dozen in the valley below; but they concealed themselves beneath a sheltering rock, and remained there one night and two days. When there an Indian dog came up to them, but after smelling for some time, went away without barking. On the third night they saw the enemy's fires literally all around them. They suffered much from exposure to the weather, and still more from hunger, but finally arrived at a frontier settlement in Pennsylvania, and afterward returned to Schoharie, where they were welcomed as though risen from the dead. Sawyer is said to have died many years after in Williamstown, Mass., and Cowley in Albany. —*Simus' Schoharie*. 291, 2, 3.

Genl. Hands Brigade under arms with a Band of Musick which played Beautiful as we passed by them we encamped on a very pretty piece of ground and Spent the Remainder of the day in seeing our friends in the Different Regts., likewise when we arrived here our Infantry was Disbanded & ordered to join their Respective Regts., very heavy Showers of Rain this afternoon Marched 7 Miles to day

MONDAY 23d. to day we lay at Tyoga Spint the day in seeing our friends—to Day a Capt. of Genl. Hands Brigade was Shot by Accident dead

TUESDAY 24th. Drew some Cloathing for the men went to day to see an old Indian burying ground which lay just by our Camp there was about 100 Graves some of which our men had Dug up, they bury their Dead very curious after this manner. The dig a hole the length of the person the are to bury & about 2 feet Deep, they lay him on his back in the grave with an old Blanket or blanket Coat round him and lay Bark over the Grave even with the Surface of the Earth so as to prevent the earth from touching the body, then the heap up the dirt on the top of the Grave in a round heap which is from 4 to 6 feet high, but the graves is very old and a number of them as this formerly was a very Capital town, but a few Years ago they Moved up the Tyoga to Shamong where the built that town & there is no houses here now but very pretty land—This afternoon our Regt. move up the River & joined Genl. Hand's Brigade with 4 Companies from the other Regts & had orders to hold ourselves in readiness to march to morrow—

TYOGA BRANCH WENSday 25th. Rained almost all Day had all our heavy Baggage Stored in the Garrison. Recd. orders to march to morrow morning 8 oClock the Rain Raised the River very much, I heard that three Oneida Indians arrived at Hed Qrs. this evening from Oneida Castle, but what News the brought I don't know

THURSDAY 26th. This morning they freshet in the River had carried away s number of our boats down the River—marched of about 11 oClock leaving all our heavy baggage & woman at the Garrison, carried on pack horses 27 Day provision likewise went with us 7 Pieces of Ordinance with three Amunition Waggons, four boats came up the River marched two mile up the Tyoga where we encamped 4 Mile from the mouth of Tyoga on very good ground but woods

FRIDAY 27th. Marched of this morning 8 oClock in the following line of march viz : Genl. Hands Brigade of Light Infantry in front in 6 Colums each. colum 2 Deep and 2 or 300 Yards distance from each ; Genl. Poors brigade on the right in one Column by Platoons following Genl Hands right column. Genl Maxwells Brigade on the left in one column by platoons following Genl. Hands left Colum. Genl. Clintons Brigade fetching up the rear in the same line of March and Genl. Hands Artillery & Pack horses in the Centre. Col Ogden on one flank and 200 Men & Col. Dubois on the other with the same Number in order to gain the Enemys rear in case of an Attack ; the Rifle Men in front of the whole reconoitng Mountains, roads, Defiles &c—Marched this Day 6 Miles within 2 Miles of Shomong where they had planted a great deal of Corn beans &c which we feasted very heartily on, there was several Indians saw on our March to day, but they made their escape, likewise Major Parr who was Advanced with the Rifle men saw a number of fires 5 or 6 mile a head which he supposed the Indians was at. went on Guard to night

SATURDAY, 28. Very heavy Dew this morning did not move to day till 2 oClock occasioned by our Amunition waggons breaking Yesterday & had to mend them before we started. Just as the Genl. beat there was a few of our Volunteers went across the river to burn a house they was fired on by 6 or 7 Indians, they imediately recrossed the river in a fright without even returning a Shot The Artillery Pack horses & Some troops crossed the river here to escape a very large hill which there was to cross and crossed at Shamong where the army encamped 2 Miles from where we came from to day this town was very beautifully Situated on the bank of the Tyoga but a good deal Scattered the land Excellent it lies near a West course from Fort Sullivan but a little to the North of West, it was burnt by Genl. Sullivans army Just after their Arrival at Tyoga which I before Mentioned

SUNDAY, 29th. Marched this morning 9 oClock, went about 3 Mile when we found the Enemy strongly Entrenched with Logs Dirt brush &c the firing Imidiately begun in front

with the Rifle Corp & the Indians made great halooing, orders was given then for the troops to form in line of battle which was done. Genl. Hands brigade in front but none of the troops advanced as we discovered the main body of the Enemy was here and had their front secured by a large Morass & brook, their right by the River & on their left partly in the rear was a very large hill, their lines extended upwards of a Mile the firing was kept up very briskly by the Rifle men & a company who was sent to reinforce them, likewise the Indians returned the fire very brisk with many shouts for about 2 hours while a disposition was made for to attack them. Genl. Clintons & Poors brigades was sent of round their left flank to take possession of the hill in the Enemys rear and extend their line intirely round them if Possible. after the had gone about half an hour Genl. Hands brigade advanced in a line of battle with all our Artillery in the Centre within about 300 Yards of the Enemys works but in full View of them a very heavy canonade began & throwing of Shells the enemy returned the fire very brisk for about half an hour when the Enemy retreated up the hill in a great Disorder & as the got near the top received a very heavy fire from Genl. Poors brigade : the enemy then took round Genl. Poors right flank by the river which Genl. Poors had not guarded as he had not time to, therefore they made their Escape leaving a number of their dead behind them. As soon as the Enemy left their works Genl. Hands brigad pursued them up the hill as far as where Genl. Poor was when we made a halt, the rifle men pursued them about one Mile farther and made a Negro prisoner, likewise saw some of their wounded going up the river in Canoes they fired on them but the All made their Escape wounded and all. The Army then returned down the hill & encamped about 2 Mile above the Enemys works, our loss about 40 killed & wounded among which is three Officers one of which is since Dead, their loss cannot be ascertained as they all carry their dead & wounded of, but there was 10 or 12 Scalps taken which was killed by Genl. Poors brigade on the hill, likewise made one white man prisoner & one Negro who informed us that their force was about 400 Indians and 300 Tories their chief commander Old Butler, other officers Young Butler, Brant & McDonald the others indian Chiefs. Up the brook about one Mile from where the Indians had their works was a New Indian town midling large but poorly built, which was burnt by Genl. Clintons Brigade the most all Hutts. The Enemy left very little plunder behind but had Genl. Poor had a little more time to extend his Army round their rear to the river they would undoubtedly all been made Prisoners, or our Victory been a great deal more compleat, but it is generally believed the Enemys loss is very considerable—

MONDAY, 30th. Rained a little last night and partly all this day by Showers near half the Army out to day cutting up Corn which is in great Abundance here ; the party out of our Brigade went over the River where the corn Chiefly grows, went up the River about 2 Miles then took up a large branch of the River (which bears near S. W.) one Mile burnt 5 houses and destroyed all the corn in our way. Our Brigade Destroyed about 150 Acres of the best corn that Ever I saw (some of the Stalks grew 16 feet high) besides great Quantities of Beans, Potatoes, Pumpkins, Cucumbers, Squashes & Watermellons, and the Enemy looking at us from the hills but did not fire on us. The Army lay on this ground all day and draw'd 16 Days flower and the Army was put on half allowance of provision which the men submitted to with a great deal of chearfulness.

TUESDAY 31st. This morning all the boats was sent down the River likewise in the boats the Amunition waggons & all the Artillery excepting four three Pounders and a little Cow horn the wounded & sick went down among which was Capt. Tuda which was very sick ; the Army moved this morning 9 oClock fair weather proceeded on to Newtown which consists of between 20 & 30 houses very well built but very much scattered ; halted at the Upper end of the town 6 Miles from where we encamp'd for refreshment by a large Creek which empties it self in the River here & runs about N: W: here the Rifle men was Detached Col. Daytons Regt. & a company from our Regt. up the River to take some boats that was reported was seen in the River we went up the River about 7 Miles saw no Boats nor no sign of any & night coming on we turned about returned one Mile down the River and lay in a Corn field all Night ; the Army left the River and went about

a N: W: course up the Creek I mentioned about 5 Mile where we encamped, midling good road for the Artillery to day and a very good path.

WEDNESDAY September 1st. lay very bad last night without any Blanket or Provision but roasted Corn, we Arose about Day break & Destroyed the field of Corn marched of about sunrise down the river one Mile & a half where we destroyed another field of corn, then Struck of a North course thro' the woods till we came on the path of the Army proceeded on and came to where the Army was encamped all Night. after marching about 7 Miles found the rear of the Army Just a moving of the ground kept on marching till we over took the Army about 11 oClock, when each corps fell into their Respective places in their line of march with the Army and went round the head of the Creek proceeded on over mountains, crossed some small branches of the Seneca waters then fell on pretty large Creek which empties into Tyoga Lake runs North course; went down this creek and crossed it 9 times as the Valley was very Narrow; at Dark we arrived within $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile of Katarina town or Catharines town where we made a halt got our troops in good order as we expected the Enemy was yet in the town for we heard the Dogs bark & saw fires, but we proceeded into the town without any Interruption but very dark crossed the creek again to the East side and encampd, pulled down the houses for firewood in what situation the town lay in we could not see; the Soldiers caught 2 or 3 horses a cow or two some Calves & hogs and some trifles of other plunder the troops all encamp'd here excepting Genl. Clintons Brigade who lay about 3 Mile from here in the rear of all the Pack horses—the Army marched 13 Miles to day

THURSDAY 2d. This morning rose up and found our Brigade lying in the lower part of the town which consisted of between 30 & 40 houses on each side of the river very well built and on good land and midling compact; we burnt the chief of the houses last night for firewood the Pack horses began to come up & some of them had lost a great deal of provision & some horses was killed on the Road with fatigue of Yesterdays march this morning a very aged Squaw was found in a Corn field who was not able to get of with Age she was brought in and She told us that the warriors had stayed in the town till Near night before they went away likewise told us that a great many Squaws & Children was over a hill somewhere near Seneca lake 4 or 5 Mile of in consequence of which Col. Butler with a Detachment of 3 or 400 Men and the Cohorn went of about 12 oClock in pursuit of them and returned in the evening with[out] seeing anything of them there was another Squaw found in the woods who pretended she was lame & the Soldier came home to get some others to help fetch her in & when they returned the Squaw had hid away & the could not find her: the old Squaw after She was examined at Hd. Quarters they was going to send her to the Indians but she was so old she could not ride, from her looks and what we could learn she must be I think above 120 years old. Our Indians built a house for her & we Gave her provision & left her. This Day we Spent here in refreshing our Men and getting up our provision but a great deal was lost, likewise Gen. Clintons Brigade came in about 12 oClock this town lies on what the Call Seneca Creek

FRIDAY 3d. Marched this morning 8 oClock left the Seneca Creek a little on our left and in about 3 Mile came to the head of the Seneca Lake which is a very pretty Lake they tell me it is 3 Mile wide and about 30 Mile long, we kept on the East side of the Lake & great part of the time had a pretty view of it from the hills and keep near it all the way—marched 12 Mile and encamped about 4 oClock past over 3 brooks to day running into the lake midling large the first was a beautiful brook falling down the hill from rock to rock from great hights the other two was near together, most part of the land to day was Excellent we passed over; an Indian was seen by our Advanced Guard to day but made his Escape about one Mile in front of our Camp was a house the Indians had Just left & left their kettles on the fire boiling fine Corn & beans which we got but what is most remarkable the corn was all purple—came North course to day—great many large rattlesnakes was killed to day

SATURDAY 4th. Recd. orders last night to march to day 5 oClock without the usual Signals of Guns firing but it Rained last night & a little this morning which prevented our marching till 10 oClock when we Struck tents and marched keeping the Lake Just on

our left, marched 13 Miles & encamped on a Small brook at Dark within site of the lake ; came near a North course but most Part to the East and last 2 Mile to the West ; Destroyed several Indian houses & Corn fields to day on our march, passed 4 Brooks 3 of which was within 3 Mile of where we Started Extraordinary fine land we came over to day went on Guard to night

SUNDAY 5th. Had a very Disagreeable guard last night unloading Packs till near 11 oClock. Very fine day but did not march till 10 oClock as we was 2 or 3 Mile in front of the Army & all our Pack horses did not come till this morning marched to Kandaia two or 3 Mile Destroying two houses and 2 corn fields on our March. The Rifle men on entering the town retook one of our Prisoners who was taken at Wyoming last summer who informed us that the Indians left this place Thursday and he thinks there was about 1000 & he heard them say they intended to fight us at the next town. Just after they had taken him they was fired on by an Indian who knocked a Stick out of one [of] their hands with the bullet but he made his escape without receiving a Shot. This town is very well built chiefly sqr and Logs and milding compact got a great deal of Corn & beans here for the Army to eat, we encamped here about 1 oClock & chief of the houses was pulled down for firewood. Came over very good land to day Course North West by North near the lake all the way

MONDAY 6th. Last night the whole Army Discharged their Pieces. This morning went very early round to see the Situation of the place the houses was chiefly all pulled down for firewood the Appletrees which is a good number & very old was either cut down or kild, likewise the peach trees but there were not many of them ; among number of other Curiosities I went to see their burying ground which some of the graves is very curious, one in particular which I believe was some Chief or great man & was buried in this manner ; the body was laid on the surface of the earth in a Shroud or Garment, then a large Casement made very neat with bords something larger than the body & about 4 foot high put over the body as it lay on the earth and the outside & top was painted very curious with great many Colours, in each end of the Casement was a small hole where the friends of the Deceased or any body might see the corps when they pleased, then over all was built a large shed of bark so as to prevent the rain from coming on the Vault, the chiefs of the [mss. torn] in the manner I described before. The town dont lay quite on the banks of the lake but about ½ Mile from it on a very pretty plain & about 20 houses named Kandaia & a small brook running thro it ; Orders came out for a Regt. from every Brigade to go 3 or 4 Mile in front of their Brigades in search of Pack horses and Cattle as there was a great number run of last night from the firing & got straggled away but I believe Chief of them was found after a long hunt which prevented the Army from marching till between 2 & 3 oClock when we marched 3 Mile and encamped close along the edge of the lake in a Beautiful situation and opposite to us on the West side of the Lake we could perceive a small Indian town but the Name I dont know. This Evening came up 4 or 5 Pack horse Men which lost themselves Yesterday and told us that Yesterday they took the wrong path and went on till near night when they came to a Small Indian town on the Cauga Lake which the Indians had Abandoned, there they found there Mistake & came to us as soon as Possible after burning the houses they got likewise a very fine horse and a great number of Peaches & Apples which they brought to Camp. There was a Express Arrived from Tyoga before we left Kandaia and brought letters and News which Informed us that Congress had passed a resolve to allow the Officers 100 Dollars for each Retained Ration in lieu of 10 which they formerly had ; likewise that the sodiers Pay was raised.

TUESDAY 7th marched this morning 7 oClock thro a very fine level Country as Usual and the same course as formerly about North for near nine Mile when we came near the foot of the lake and outlett which I understand empties into Cauga Lake. here we halted as we expected the enemy to Attack us and reconoitred the Ground very well before we proceeded but found no Enemy there, we had to file off from our left and keep Close on the Banks of the lake Occasioned by a bad Marsh which was on our right likewise to cross the fording of the Outlett which is about 20 Yards wide—but Midling deep & Rapid

after we Crossed keep near West Corner along the Beach of the Lake for near a mile, where we found our Columns but soon finding a marsh in our front had again to file off from our left & march again along on the Beach for about $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile when we again got in to our former position in Columns and then waited till the Army had time to Cross and came up when we marched on a little way & came to another marsh in front which prevented our marching any longer in Columns we again filed off to the left and marched along the Beach till we [came] to Butlers building which is two or three houses on the banks of the Lake in a very beautiful Situation here we again formed Columns and marched thro a Corn field near where the Men had orders to pluck Corn as they marched thro which the did ; we then proceeded on towards the town near S. W. Course but our Guides being very bad the whole Armv Got into the town before we did and was near Dark before we got in & quite Dark before we encamped. This is the Chief town in the Seneca Nation it lies about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Mile from the Lake and about a West course. it lies on a pretty level spot but no good Stream of Water near it, only one small Brook running thro it which affords but very little water, there is about 70 or 80 houses in it and built very Compact and the chief of the houses very good. likewise I heard there was 2 or 3 old Block houses in it but I did not see them as it was Dark when we came in and the men began Immediately to pull down the houses for firewood. I believe the Indians had left it several Days as there was not much appearance of their being here lately ; on the first entrance of our Brigade a young Child I believe about 3 year old found running about the houses which One of our Officers pickt up and found it to be a White Child but it was so much tanned & smoaked that we could hardly Distinguish it from an Indian Child and was Exceeding poor scarcely able to walk it could talk no English noth'g but Indian & I believe but little of that the Officer took great care of it and Cloathed it as it was naked when he found it & could give no Account of itself only said "his mammy was gone" The men got very little plunder The men got very little plunder or anything [in] the town as the Indians had taken everything almost with them the Chief [thing] the got I believe was one or two horses The name if this town is Kanadasago Marched to day 13 Miles

KANADASAGO WENSday 8th. This morning came out orders that the men was to remain here all Day & for the Men to Clean their pieces likewise for all the sick lame &c to return to Tyoga properly officered ; aft. 10 oClock Major Parr with the Rifle Corps & the Cohoun was going up the lake to a little town called Kushay to Destroy it, I with a number of others went Volunteers and got there about 12 oClock found it about 8 Miles from Camp and the town opposite to where we lay two nights ago, the town consisted of about 15 houses tolerable well built and all together we got here 5 horses and a great number of Potatoes Apples Peaches cucumbers watermelons fowls &c and found a great Quantity of corn here which we went about to Destroy, after burning the houses, but our party being to Small Major Parr sent for a Reinforcement to camp we all lay under a bark hutt to Night or shed—I believe the Indians had left it the same time they left Kanadasago it lies on the Banks of the lake very prettyly situated which is 4 Mile wide here.

THURSDAY 9th. KUSHAY Last night very hard thunder and lightning and Rain but Cleard up towards morning about 6 oClock the Reinforcement arrived consisting of 200 Men & informed us the Army was going to march this morning the Volunteers Immediately set for camp leaving Major Parr and the rest to Cut the corn, and Just as we got to Kanadasago about 11 oClock the Army was Just a marching of after Destroying all the houses which remained & corn we marched a West course from Kanadasago thro most part [of] a Low swamp encamped about 5 oClock on a very pretty brook after marching 7 Miles ; in the evening Major Parr Joined us from Kushay

FRIDAY 10th, Marched this morning 6 oClock each brigade was Ordered to leave a small Detachment behind to bring our Straggled horses & cattle, we marched thro a very low swamp chiefly timbered with Maple & beach about 5 Mile when we came to upland pretty good great part of it no trees on but great quantities of Wild Grapes growing, 3 Mile farther we came to a Small lake called Kanandaqua which is I believe about 5 Mile long & one wide runs N : & S : we crossed over the outlett which was about 3 foot Deep & about 20

Yards wide, soon after we came to Kanandaqua town, which I believe the Enemy had just left as the fire was yet burning we halted here about an hour & burnt the houses which was about 25 and very Compact & Neatly built but no good water near it then the Lake, we went about one Mile farther to a number of cornfields and encamped about 4 o'clock came 10 Miles to day and about N : W : Course, went on Guard to Night—Hungry bellies and hard Duty now which I think we may call hard times—The Seneca lake I was told by the Surveyor is just 36 Miles long and 4 Mile wide.

SATURDAY 11th. had the provision Guard last night which was very Disagreeable, this morning the troops marched at 7 o'clock went back to the town & took another road, I remained on the ground with my guard to further on the stores till 11 o'clock when I had leave several Boxes of Amunition behind which I hid, did not overtake the Army till they was encamped at Hanyaye about 5 o'clock after marching 14 Miles near West Course Some part of the land to day good and some but Midling Hanyaye is a pretty little Compact town of 6 or 10 houses lying near the end of a Small lake running near N : & S : and about as big as the other Lake at Kanandaqua and plenty of Corn & beans, when the Rifle Men entered the town there was a few Indians just made their escape left their Packs & Blankets & potatoes Roasting in the fire.

SUNDAY 12th. Thunder last Night and Rain and this morning it Rained till 10 o'clock when it cleared up and the Army marched at 11 leaving all the heavy Baggage & pack horses excepting a few of the strongest which was took on to Carry spare Amunition & some Provision & tents what was left was stored in the Indian houses & a Capt. & 50 Men left with it ; the Army on leaving the town crossed the outlet of the lake which was not very large and then formed their line of March and proceeded on very good land in general and course N : W by West 5 or six Mile then to the S : of West towards evening and encamped at Dark after marching 11 Miles—To day I heard there was an other town & Corn Destroyed on Kanandaqua lake nearly as big as Kandaqua and 2 or 3 Miles from it ; on this days march a party of the Enemy kept just a head of us as we could Discover their tracks very fresh and the water muddy where they had crossed.

MONDAY 13th. March this morning 6 o'clock and a very heavy Dew on the Grass and the morning very Cold, in about one Miles marching came to Adjutse town lying near a small Lake a little to the Northward consisting of 10 or 15 Houses ; here we halted made fires & drew 3 Days beef. after a little time fatigue parties was sent out to Collect the Corn in houses to burn ; about 10 o'clock we heard a few Guns firing in front, the troops was Immediately formed and marched over the Inlett of the Lake a very bad morass & Creek and a large hill on the opposite side where we found the Indians who was formed on this hill had fired on the Surveyor & his party & had Mortally wounded one of his men ; the Rifle Men Rushed up the hill & the Enemy made their Escape soon as Possible leaving behind them their Packs hats &c which the Rifle men Got, our Brigade marched up to the top of the hill and formed the line of battle where we halted till the Army would get over. here one of our Men came in wounded who informed us that Lt. Boyd with his party 18 Riflemen & 8 Musquet men of our Regt. who was sent last night to reconnoiter the next town was intirely cut to pieces. a little time after Murphy came in who told us a very strait story about it in this manner Lt. Boyd with his party went on without any Interruption till he got to the town about Day break when he found it Evacuated. he then sent 2 Runners back to inform the Genl. and he retired a little in the woods in sight of the town concealed to try if he could not catch a prisoner. he soon after saw 4 Indians come in to the town a horseback, he sent 5 or 6 Men to take them or kill them the men fired on the Indians kild & Sculped one and wounded another and took a horse saddle & bridle, he then sent of two more Runners to the Army but they soon Returnd to him & informed him they had seen 5 Indians on the road, he then thout proper to return with his party to the Army which he expected to meet very soon, he had not gone far before he fell in with the same Indians which he fired on, they run on before him and he pursued them Slowly & every once in a while he would come in sight of them and fire on them & so they kept on till he came to this hill in front of an camp about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile where the Indians fired on the Surveyor when he heard our Drums and thought

himself intirely safe but to his great disappointment found a large party of Indians found them behind trees he Immediately formed his men for Action and began a very heavy fire which lasted some time but the Indians whose number was so far superior to him surrounded him and made prisoners or killed the whole excepting a few which came in, we found 4 or 5 of our men on the ground Dead & sculped and it is supposed that Lt. Boyd was made prisoner, the Enemy had a number kild as the men that was hid in the bushes saw the Indians carry a number of in blankets—After the Army had got over the Creek we marched on to Cossawauloughly town 7 Miles; our Advance Guard just after the entered the town saw some five Indians we all halted had our Pieces of Artillery drawn in front then Advanced but found nobody in the town, when it was about Dark the 3 Pieces of Artillery was drawn up and fired all together with round shot to scour the woods. This town lies on a Branch of the Chenessee River and consists of about 25 houses very well built but almost new. the houses was Chiefly pulld down for firewood, Course N: W: one or two man of Lt. Boyds party came in to night

TUESDAY 14th. The whole Army was under arms this morning an hour before Day & remained so till sunrise; about 7 oClock fatigue parties was sent out to Destroy Corn which was there in great Abundance and beans. about 12 oClock we marched crossed over the branch of the Jinasee River and came upon a very beautiful flat of great extent growing up with wild Grass higher in some places than our heads. we marched on this flat 2 Mile and Crossed they Jinese River which is about as big as the Tyago but very Crooked. left the flats and march'd thro the woods 3 Mile and arrived at Chenessee Town which is the largest we have yet seen; it lies in a Crook of they River on extraordinary good land about 70 houses very compact and very well built and about the same number of out houses in Cornfields &c: on entering the town we found the body of Lt. Boyd and another Rifle Man in a most terrible mangled condition they was both stripped naked and their heads Cut off and the flesh of Lt. Boyds head was intirely taken of and his eyes punched out. the other mans hed was not there. they was stabled I supose in 40 Diferent places in the Body with a spear and great gashes cut in their flesh with knives, and Lt. Boyds Privates was nearly cut of & hanging down, his finger and Toe nails was bruised of and the Dogs had eat part of their Shoulders away likewise a knife was Stick- ing in Lt. Boyds body They was immediately buried with the honour of war.

WENSDAY 15th. The whole Army went out this morning 6 oClock to destroy corn and was out till 12 oClock, there was here the greatest quantity of corn & beans here of any of the towns some of it we husked and threw in the River the rest we Carried to the houses & burnd the whole we totally destroyed, about 10 oClock we Recd. orders to begin our march home which we did leaving the towns in flames. To day there was a white woman & Child came into us but I believe brought no Inteligence of Consequence —Marched over the Chenessee River and encamped after Dark on the Edge of the flats nigh to Cossawauloughly town

THURSDAY 16th. The whole army was out this morning cuting corn which we left as we was going, our brigade crossed the River to cut which we did and I believe there was a great Quantity destroyed and some houses burnt, Marched of about 10 oClock in the folowing line of March An Advance Guard of 100 Men in front Genl. Clintons brigade folowing in 4 Columns the other troops marching as usual Genl. Hands brigade fetching up the Rear, 2 Pieces of Artillery in the rear of him & the Rifle Men in the rear of they whole, the Cohoun with the Advance Guard—Capt. Henderson with 60 Men went in front of the Army to bury the Dead and Just as we came up he was a going to bury 14 Bodies in a most terrible mangled Condition they was buried with the honour of war—Encamped to night at Adjutse

FRIDAY 17th. Marched this morning sun rise and a very cold morning with hard frost Arrived at Hanyaye 1 oClock where we encamped found our Garrison all in good order consisting of 300 Men instead [of] 50 which I mentioned Comanded by Capt. Cummings, they was encamped round the house where we had left our stores in, and the camp was abatted in, and round the house the had made a small Fort of Kegs and Bags of Flower and had three Pieces of Artillery in it and the house they had made full of loop

holes so as to fight out of it in Case of Necessity and upon the whole I think the was very safe—To day we passed a small Lake 6 Miles from here lying on a Parallel with the rest called Conyradice and about as Big I forgot to mention this Lake on our going we crossed the outlet of it but it was not very large This evening each man in the Army Drew 6 Pound of Flower which come very welcome as we can now sit down and eat a hearty meals Victuals with a Clear conscience, & before on our half allowance we Dare not—

SATURDAY 18th. This morning had to kill a great number of our Horses which was not able to carry packs nor even be drove on with the army—Very cold, marched 7 oClock from Hanyaye passed Kanandaqua and waded the otlett of the Lake and encamped a little before Sun down Close on the end of the Lake—On our March to day 2 or 3 Oneida Indians came to us from Fort Schuyler and brought us the very agreeable News of New York being in our Possession which is generally believed thro' the Army—A Number of our Pack horses which was not able to go any farther we Shot on the road to day

SUNDAY 19th. Marched this morning 8 oClock very much trouble with pack horses had to kill a number on the road, about Dark Arrived at Kanadasago where we encamped. To day express arrived from Tiogo who contradicted our late agreeable news but brought papers which Informed us that Spain had Declared war with England—went on Guard to Night

MONDAY 20th. This morning I saw the ruins of an old Stockade Fort very large which the Indians had here last war, likewise I am Informed that there was one at Kanandaqua and one between this and that on a brook—This morning a Detachment under the Command of Col. Smith went up the Kushe & a little above to Destroy some Corn that was left there. A detachment of York troops and an officer from each of the York Regts. under the Comd. of Col. Gansevoort was sent of to Albany by the way of Fort Schuyler I believe to bring on the officers baggage to the Main Army, likewise a large Detachment of 5 or 600 Men under the comand of Col. Butler set of about 1 oClock I believe to Cauga Lake to Destroy their Country. Col. Gansevoorts comand went with Col. Butler, at 4 oClock the Army marched from Kanadasago crossed the outlet of the Lake & encamped after Dark by the side of the Lake—Col. Smith with his Detachment returned this evening

TUESDAY 21st. a Detachment this morning under the Command of Col. Deerborn went to Cauga Lake to Destroy some small Settlements there and Corn—The Army marched this morning 7 oClock 2 Miles beyond Kandaie where we encamped about 4 oClock.

WENSDAY 22d. Marched this morning 7 oClock had a very bad Defile in front to pass which detain'd us a good while encamped a little before Sun down within 9 Miles of Catharines town, very cloudy all Day

THURSDAY 23d. Very Cold last night but a fine clear day, marched about 7 oClock arrived at Catharines town where we Stopped. about one hour to refresh, then proceeded on 3 Miles up the Narrows where we encamped about sunset while we Stayed in the town we buried the lame Squaw which I mentioned on our going, it is supposed she was Shot by some of our men likewise the Old Squaw that we left here had built or got built a neat little bark hutt where she lived, the General ordered to be left her almost a keg of flower and some meat which was done and I supposed she will live in splendour

FRIDAY 24. Cloudy like for rain this morning march'd about 7 oClock up the Seneca Creek very swampy bad road crossed over the Dividing ridge and came on the waters of the Susquehana that is Spring Creek which empties itself into Tyoga a little above New-town at the mouth of this creek we arrived about 4 oClock where there was a Small Garrison established of about 200 Men who had come up from Tyogo with six days Provision for us, they had erected a Small Battery or Fort Just on the point where the lay with 2 Field Pieces and their Provision ; on our coming to the place the Garrison saluted us with thirteen Pieces of Canon which was returned with the same Number from us and we

encamped here. and drew each officer & soldier one Gill of Whiskey after a fatigue of near one Month without a drop, likewise we drew full allowance of Beef for the first time.

SATURDAY 25th. In consequence of Spain Declaring war against Great Britain and of the late generous Resolution of Congress of raising the Subsistence of Officers & soldiers of the Army The General ordered a Feu De Joy to be fired by the army this afternoon at 5 oClock and likewise he ordered to be delivered to the officers of each Brigade one of the best oxen there was & 5 Gallons of Spirits: accordingly at 5 oClock the troops was drawn up in a single line with the field Pieces on the Right the Feu De Joy began with 13 discharges of cannon and then a running fire of the Musqitry from the right to the left of the line Intermixed with Field pieces but it did not please the General and he made the musquetry fire again afterwards the officers of each Brigade assembled and Supped together (excepting Genl. Poors) on their ox and five gallons of spirits and spent the evening very agreeable. The officers of our brigade assembled at a large bower made for that purpose Illuminated with 13 pine not fires round and each officer attended with his bread, knife and plate and set on the ground Genl. Hand at the head & Col. Procter at at the foot as his officers suped with us in this manner we suped very hearty and then went to drinking our spirits, and the following Toasts was given by Genl. Hand—The 13 Sisters and their sponser—The honorable the American Congress—Genl. Washington & the American Army—The comander in chief of the Western expedition—The Allies of America & the United House of Bourbon—The memory of Lt. Boyd and the Brave soldiers under his command who was unhumanly massacred on the 13th Instant—May the American Congress and the Legislatives of America be endowed with wisdom and be as firm as the Pillars of time—May the Citizens & soldiers of America be Unanimous in support of American Liberty—May Discord & Fraud be banished from the Shores of America—May the Kingdon of Ireland merit a Stripe in our Standard—An honorable peace or persistant war to the Enemies of America—May the Enemies of America be Metamorphised in Pack horses and sent on a Western Expedition—afterwards there was two or three Indian Dances led down by Genl. Hand and performed by the rest midling well then each officer returned to their Qrs after kicking up a Small Dust of Striking tents &c.

SUNDAY 26th. Did not feel very well this morning after my frolick but was ordered on detachment but it rained a little which prevented our going. Col. Dearborns Comand came in to day and brought in two squaws Prisoners and left one Indian and one squaw very sick on the Cauga lake, which they could not fetch along the Destroyed five Indian towns on the Cauga lake midling large and very well built in general and Destroyed a great quantity of Corn

MONDAY 27th. The Detachment that was a going yesterday Paraded this morning 7 oClock under the comand of Col. Cortland and went up the Tyoga 8 Mile and took some Boats with them and loaded them with Corn & pumpkins and sent down to the Army and Destroyed a great Quantity more and then returned a little after Dark—This evening Mr. Lodge the Surveyor came in & told us Col. Butler lay all night within 5 miles of here and would be in tomorrow likewise the Boats arrived here from Tiogo to transport the sick & baggage down

TUESDAY 28th. This morning all the sick was orderd to go down in Boats to Tiogo, and the Lame to ride down the worst horses. the same Detachment that was up the Tyoga yesterday was ordered up again to day and a very large comand was ordered to go down the Tyoga to Destroy Corn; Just as our Detachment Paraded Col. Butlers Comd. came in and informed us that they had destroyed on the East side of the Cauga Lake three Capital towns and a great number of scattering houses and Destroyed a very great quantity of Corn the houses I am informed was much larger and better built than any we have yet seen, and it was a very old sittled Country as the had great number of Apple and Peach trees which they likewise Cut Down—Our Detachment marched up the Tyoga 5 Miles above where we was yesterday and burnt 2 or 3 houses and Destroyed a little Corn on each side of the river a little before night I went up the river about 5 Mile farther but found no Corn and returned where we found them encamped in one of the corn fields but had no tents

WEDNESDAY 29th. slept tolerable well rose early loaded two boats with corn which we had with us and set of down the river about 7 oClock arrived where the Camp was about 2 oClock where we found the Army had left in the morning, here we halted about 2 hours collected some horses and killed a number more likewise sent down a Boat which the Army had left. Marched of from there with a Determination to join the army to night, at the time we arrived at shamung it was Dark however we march'd on thro the Narrows a very Dificult road to pass and arrived at the main Army about 12 oClock at Night which was encamped 3 Mile below shamong

THURSDAY 30th. Marchd this morning 9 oClock halted within one Mile of Fort Sullivan on the mouth of Tyoga and sent for our Musick & Coulours likewise found the men in a proper line of March then march'd on with Musick playing and Colours flying and encamp'd on the same ground we did before. When our troops passed the Fort the Garrison was paraded and saluted us with 13 Pieces of Cannon regularly fired, afterward the same number was return'd by us, then three Cheers from the Garrison—The officers of each Regt. had a Dinner paraded for them in the garrison where they immediately repaired and Dined and took a hearty Drink of Grog and went to sleep—since we left this Col Shreve who commanded had a very strong picket fort made here surrounded with very good Abattees and the 4 Block houses for the four Bestions which Comanded each River and all the men was encamped in the Garrison—Just been from Tyoga thirty-five Days and from Tioga 136 Miles

OCTOBER 1, FRIDAY lay in camp all Day resting and Cleaning our selves

SATURDAY 2d. This Day a Number of officers was sent to Wioming to prepare for the reception of the Army and a Number others went on other business

SUNDAY 3d. Orders came out to day for to have all the Stores loaded in boats and ready to march to morrow morning with the Army, at six oClock The Hospital and sick to go down to the river this afternoon this Day a large fatigue Party was turned out to Destroy the fort, which they did effectually by pulling up the pickets and casting them in the river and burning the Abattees

MONDAY 4th.—This Day a little rain, Chief part of the Army march'd, only left a sufficient quantity to man the boats marched about 8 oClock crossed over the Tyoga and a little while after Crossed the river to the East side and proceeded on midling good road to Wysankin when they incamped I went in the boats and got to Wysankin two hours before the Army and all encamped together ; this place was formerly a small settlement but Destroyed by the Enemy

TUESDAY 5th. The whole of the Army was ordered to go in Boats this morning and we set of about 9 oClock Down the River, our Regt. bringing up the rear of the Army and a little after Dark encamped on the shore, Our Regt. by themselves the Army Chiefly in front where we lay all Night

WENSDAY 6th. Started midling early this morning but did not overtake the Army or at least Head Quarters but passed a Number of boats encamp'd Just at Dark on a small Improvement where we staid all Night 24 Miles from Wyoming

THURSDAY 7th. Embarked tolerable early this morning passed several small improvements on the river which had been but now Destroyed by the Enemy Arrived at Wyoming about 5 oClock where we found Chief of the Army encamped, we immediately Disembarked and incamp'd in our proper place—Wyoming before it was Destroyed by the Enemy was a very pretty settlement and very large excellent land it lies on each side of the river and is very long Chief of the inhabitants have left the settlement what few there is here Erected small hutts where they live very uncomfortable I think, the Inhabitants had a very severe battle with the Enemy before they Destroyed but was De-feated by which means the Enemy got Possession of the settlement and Destroyed it the Inhabitants had a number killd which left a great many Widows in the place, since the Battle they have erected a very good Fort and Continental Troops has been stationed at it which has keep it since.

FRIDAY 8th. A large party was sent on to East—ton to day to repair the roads. I went up to see some of the Inhabitants to day which appeared very strange to me being so long from seeing any of them—

SATURDAY 9th. This day we Recd. orders to hold ourselves in readiness to march to-morrow morning early, likewise Genl. Sullivan Set of to Eastown leaving the comand of the Army to Genl. Clinton this being my birth day I with a few of our officers had a Sociable Drink of Grog this evening—

SUNDAY 10th. The Genl. beat this morning 8 oClock could get no waggons to carry our baggage therefore had to break up our Chests & and Carry our baggage on Pack horses The Army did not march till 3 oClock in the Afternoon when the set of for Eastown the Army was very much Detained on Account of getting on the Amunition Waggon and some [of] the General & Field officers had to Carry their baggage as the horses was very weak and the road Exceeding bad up a very long hill good many waggons left behind and the baggage taken out and Put on Pack horses, a little after Dark got on the top of the hill about 4 Mile from Wyoming where we Encamped on very stony ground and the Army very much Scattered

MONDAY 11th. Marched this morning early came to Bullocks which is a house 7 Miles from Wyoming formerly a tavern but the Inhabitants had fled here we found the front of the Army who lay here all Night Just preparing for to march we halted & drew a Gill of Rum Each then marched on to the Edge of the Great swamp 17 Miles from Wyoming where we encamped on tolerable good ground.

TUESDAY 12th. Marched this morning 8 oClock Entered the great swamp which is a very bad road the waggons was sent on at Day break this morning and to halt at Locust hill about the middle of the swamp till the Army came up we arrived at Locust hill about 1 oClock where we found the waggons, here we halted and eat Dinner passd the waggons which come on in they rear. Just as the Army got thro the Swamp which is 12 Miles thro : a very, heavy shower of rain come on which wet us very much, marched 3 Miles thro the Swamp and encamped a little before Dark on a pretty little brook 32 Miles from Eastown ; a great many horses Died in the Swamp to day and a Great many waggons broken to pieces, and the baggage of the Army did not come up—To Day we met about 50 waggons in the swamp going to Wyoming for what baggage of the Army was left there, about one half was turned to fetch on our baggage the others went on to Wyoming.

WENSDAY 13th. Marched this morning 9 oClock those fresh waggons helped on the baggage midling well, in marching about 5 Mile came to Larnards tavern it being the beginning of the settlement of a Christian Country, which appeared to me very strange here, we halted in a field 1½ hours to refresh Then marched on very good roads 9 Mile thro a thin settled country and about 5 oClock arrived at Brinkers Mills where we had a large Store of Provisions for this Army, and here the had a small picketed fort where they had store houses in to keep their provision, and a small Garrison of Militia, as soon as we was encamped I went out to a Country house and got an Elegant Dinner which I was very well pleased with likewise we Drew Provision this evening

THURSDAY 14th. Here we got a few more waggons almost sufficient to carry all they baggage Marched to day 11 oClock thro a middling good settled Country, Crossed the Blue Mountain encamped at Allens tavern 7 Miles from Brinkers Mills about 3 oClock. Here an officer from each Regt. was ordered to attend at Head Qrs. after taking the minds of the officers of their Regts. concerning the high prices of Articles whether they would give it or no, after a Consultation of an hour or two they came to this resolution that they would not Purchase of any tavern keeper any liquor or provision while on the march to Head Quarters Sickness Excepted—Orders came out for the solders & officers to be as Clean as possible to march into Eastown.

FRIDAY 15th. Marched this morning 8 oClock baggage all in the Center thro a very good road arrived at Eastown about 3 oClock—The Army marched thro the town in ample order and encamped in Diferent places, our brigade encamped up the Laihi about a Mile on very good ground—I was very much pleased to see the resolution of the officers so strictly adhered to, as I did not see a single soul enter a tavern which was a great Dis-

appointment to the Inhabitants, as they had laid in great stores and thought they would have a very fine market for it by this Army—Genl. Sullivan again takes the Comand of they Army

SATURDAY 16th. Lay in Camp all Day nothing material happening

SUNDAY 17th. Lost all my Cloaths last night stole from the Wash woman left me in a Deplorable condition not a second shirt to my Back—The whole Army went to Church to Day and heard a very Elegant Oration from the Revd. Dr. Evans Sutible to the Occasion—likewise Genl. Sullivan and the Western army had the thanks of Congress, went out in the Country to day and got Buckwheat Cakes, Butter, Milk and honey which was a very great rarity indeed

MONDAY 18th. To day the Regt. was Mustered for 4 Months and the Day was taken up Chiefly in making Muster rolls &c—Part of my Cloaths was found to day hid in the mountain but two of my best shirts is yet a missing

TUESDAY 19th. WENSDAY 20th. THURSDAY 21st.

FRIDAY 22d. Went this Day to Bethlehem and saw the Curiosities of that Place and Drank some Excellent wine and returned home a little after Dark and so I believe I may here end my Journal with a belly full of good wine Given under my hand this 22d. Day of October in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy Nine

E. BEATTY

JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT THOMAS BLAKE.

LIEUTENANT THOMAS BLAKE was of Dorchester, Mass. He was the son of Samuel and Patience Blake, and was born October 7, 1752. In 1775 when the alarm, consequent upon the attack of the British at Lexington and Concord reached him, he immediately joined the continental army at Cambridge. In November, 1776, he was commissioned as Ensign in Colonel Stark's First New Hampshire Regiment, with which he continued until its dissolution in January, 1784. In 1778 he was promoted to a Lieutenant and was afterwards Paymaster and Regimental Clothier. His journal of the marches and campaigns of the Regiment for about five years was published in the "History of the First New Hampshire Regiment in the War of the Revolution, by Frederick Kidder, Joel Munsell, Albany, 1868," from which the following, embracing what relates to the Sullivan expedition, is extracted. After the Revolution he settled in Boston, Mass., where he died February 16, 1840.

DEC. 4. [1778] We began to build our huts, which we finished in a short time, and tarried in them till the 10th of April, and then marched to the high lands on North river, where we went into huts and staid till May 9th 1779, then marched for Easton in Pennsylvania, where we arrived the 18th, and took quarters in the Court House and other spare buildings.

MAY 19, 1779. Gen. Sullivan arrived at Easton, being appointed to command of the western army.

MAY 28.—Col. Cilys regiment marched to Wyoming 12 miles.

MAY 29.—Marched to Pocono point 15 miles.

MAY 30.—Marched to Tuckhannock 10 miles.

MAY 31.—Marched to Locust hill 6 miles, where we came up with Col. Courtlands and Col. Spencer's regiments, who were cutting a road through to Wyoming. We pitched our tents and went to work with them, and a detachment of 200 men from the three regiments marched forward to Wyoming. We worked on the road till June 7, and moved our tents 8 miles.

JUNE 9.—Moved 2 miles and encamped.

JUNE 11.—Moved 5 miles to Bullock's house.

JUNE 14.—Marched to Wyoming 7 miles, and 65 from Easton.

JUNE 17.—Col. Cilly's, Courtland's, and Spencer's regiments marched up the river to Jacob's Plains 4 miles and encamped.

JUNE 23.—Gen. Sullivan came in to Wyoming, also 5 other regiments.

JULY 4.—Col. Cilly's and Courtland's regiments crossed the river and marched down two miles toward Wyoming, and encamped with the rest of Gen. Poor's brigade.

JULY 5.—Gen. Poor made an entertainment for the officers of the brigade in commemoration of American independence, and after dinner the following toasts were drank : 1. United States. 2. July 4, 1776, the memorable. 3. The grand council of America. 4. Gen. Washington and the army. 5. The king and queen of France. 6. Gen. Sullivan and the Western expedition. 7. May the councillors of America be wise and her soldiers invincible. 8. A successful and decisive campaign. 9. Civilization or death to all savages. 10. To the immortal memory of those heroes that have fallen in defense of American liberty. 11. May the husbandman's cottage be blessed with peace, and his fields with plenty. 12. Vigor and virtue to all the sons and daughters of America. 13. May the New World be the last asylum of freedom and the arts.

JULY 27.—Gen. Poor's brigade marched down to Wyoming and encamped with the rest of the army.

JULY 31.—Having all things in readiness, the army began their march up the river. We marched to Lacawaneck 10 miles.

AUG. 1.—Marched to Quilutamack 7 miles, and met with so much difficulty in passing some large mountains that ran down to the river, that the rear did not come up till sunrise next morning, for which reason we lay still the second day.

AUG. 3.—Marched to Tunkhannick 12 miles.

AUG. 4.—Marched to Vanderlips farm 13 miles.

AUG. 5.—Marched to Wylusink 10 miles.

AUG. 6 & 7.—Lay still.

AUG. 8.—Marched to Standingstone 11 miles.

AUG. 9.—Marched to Shesheck 16 miles.

AUG. 10.—Lay still.

AUG. 11.—Forded the river, and marched to Tioga 5 miles, and there encamped on the point between the Seneca and Tioga branches.

AUG. 12.—Toward night we had orders to prepare for a march, and left Tioga just after sunset with one days provision, leaving all our tents standing, and our baggage in them, with a few men least able to march. Marched all night though very dark and bad traveling ; and just at day break next morning reached Chemong, a small Indian town 14 miles from Tioga ; but they being alarmed before we could surround the town made off. They had previously moved all their women, children and effects, leaving only about fifty of their warriors as a guard. Gen. Hand's brigade followed them up the river about two miles where they had posted themselves in a very advantageous position. They gave the brigade a shot and ran off. In the meantime we set fire to all the buildings in the town, about twenty, then marched, crossed the river, and destroyed three or four fields of corn, cutting and throwing it in heaps, the corn being then in the milk. While at work on the last field, we were fired upon across the river by the Indians, killing one and wounding four of our men. The whole of our killed and wounded this day was about 15 or 16. We were not positive of killing more than one of the Indians. In the afternoon we marched back to Tioga.

AUG. 15.—A party of Indians came down to the south side of the river, opposite the encampment, and fired upon some men that were tending cattle, killed one and wounding another.

AUG. 16.—A detachment of 900 men commanded by Gen. Poor, marched up the river to meet Gen. Clinton's brigade who were to meet us at Tyoga from the Mohawk river.

AUG. 17.—The Indians killed one man near the encampment.

AUG. 22.—Gen. Clinton's brigade with the detachment sent to meet him, came in.

AUG. 26.—Three Indians belonging to the Oneida tribe came in to join our army and assist our guides. The same day the army began to march into the Seneca country, leaving a garrison of 500 men ; marched 4 miles and encamped.

AUG. 27.—Marched 6 miles.

AUG. 28.—Thence to Chemong 4 miles.

AUG. 29.—We marched about 4 miles, where our advanced guard were fired upon by the enemy from a breastwork they had thrown up, of about a quarter of a mile in length, extending from the river to a large range of mountains, which lay parallel with the river. The army halted, and Gen. Poor's brigade marched back of the mountains in order to cross the range in rear of the enemy. In the meantime we kept a few men firing before the breast work, in order to arouse the enemy. Gen. Poor's brigade marched round about three miles, and as we attempted to ascend and cross the mountain, were fired upon by the Indians, who gave at the same time a most hideous yell which resounded in the mountains as if covered with them.

The brigade formed line and marched up, receiving a constant fire from them ; but as soon as we reached the top they fled, and those at the breastwork at the same time. We had 4 men killed and 32 wounded. There were 11 Indians left dead on the ground. They took off their wounded, as appeared by the blood where they crossed the river. We took two prisoners during the action, a white man and a negro, who informed us there were 600 Indians, 200 Tories and 14 British troops all under the command of Col. Butler. That they had been waiting some time for us, intending to cut off our provisions, and to hinder our further progress into their country.

AUG. 30.—We lay still, and in the evening sent the wounded men down to Tioga in boats.

AUG. 31.—Marched 10 miles.

SEPT. 1.—Marched to French Katharines 13 miles.

SEPT. 2.—Lay still

SEPT. 3.—Marched 10 miles and encamped on the north side of Seneca lake.

SEPT. 4.—Passed Appletown and marched 13 miles.

SEPT. 5.—Marched to Kondar—6 miles.

SEPT. 6.—Marched 4 miles

SEPT. 7.—Marched round the end of Seneca lake to Kanadasaga 13 miles.

SEPT. 8.—The army lay still ; a detachment went up the south side of the lake to destroy a town.

SEPT. 9.—Marched 8 miles.

SEPT. 10.—To Kennendaughque 12 miles.

SEPT. 11.—To Hanneyaugen 13 miles ; here we left a garrison of 100 men with part of the flour and ammunition.

SEPT. 12.—Marched 11 miles.

SEPT. 13.—After marching 2 miles we came to a town called Keneghses where the army halted to build a bridge over a large sunken place for the troops to cross. In the meantime, part of the riflemen went forward to the next town. On their return within about a mile of the army, they were fired upon by the enemy who had posted themselves on a hill ready to give us a shot as soon as we came out of the swamp. They killed 13 of the riflemen and took two prisoners. Our men being alarmed by the fire, the light troops marched to their relief, on the appearance of which the enemy quit the ground leaving 70 of their packs. After this we marched to Gaghahewarahera ; the whole of our march to day being 9 miles.

SEPT. 14.—We marched 2 miles and forded the Chinesee river, then 3 miles down the river to a large town called Chinesee Castle, and here found the two men that had been taken the day before cut to pieces in the most barbarous and inhuman manner possible to be conceived. In this town were 180 houses and an exceeding large field of corn, which took the army until the middle of the afternoon next day to destroy, after which we marched about 4 miles.

SEPT. 16.—We marched to Keneghses.

SEPT. 17.—Marched to Hannauyan

SEPT. 18.—Marched to Kennendaughque.

SEPT. 19.—Marched to Kanadasaga.

SEPT. 20.—A detachment of 500 men commanded by Col. Butler were sent off to go up the lake (Keyuga) on the northeast side ; the army marched a little past the end of Seneca lake.

SEPT. 21.—Another detachment of 200 men under command of Col. Dearborn left us to go up the southwest side of Keuga lake. The army marched 3 miles past Kendaia ; and

SEPT. 24.—We met some of our boats 5 miles above Newton, where we halted until the detachments came in ; and

SEPT 29 & 30.—Marched to Tyoga.

OCT. 4.—The army marched for Wyoming, making 14 miles.

OCT. 5.—The whole army went on board the boats, except a sufficient number to drive the horses and cattle, and arrived at Wyoming, on

OCT. 7.—About noon.

OCT. 10.—Marched for Easton where we arrived

OCT. 15.—And encamped near the river.

OCT. 27.—Marched toward the North river, and

OCT. 30.—Pitched our tents at the mouth of the cove.

NOV. 6.—Marched to Plimpton and encamped.

NOV. 24.—Marched 15 miles toward the North river

NOV. 25.—Marched to the river and crossed.

NOV. 27.—Marched to Crumpond.

NOV. 28.—Marched 12 miles

NOV. 29.—Marched to Ridgbury.

Dec. 1.—Thence to the place pitched upon for building our huts for the winter, which was about half way between Danbury and Newtown.

JOURNAL OF MAJOR JOHN BURROWES.

MAJOR JOHN BURROWES married Margaret, daughter of Judge Samuel Forman and Helen Denise, his wife, both families living at Middletown Point, (now Matawan), N. J. He was brought up as a merchant, entered the continental army at the beginning of the war, and came out a Major with a high reputation, having been in several engagements and had many narrow escapes. He was much with General David Forman (who was nicknamed "Black David") and gained from the Tories—who were much afraid of both—the sobriquet of "Black David's Devil." His wife died, leaving three children, of whom the daughters, Mrs. Jacob W. Hallett and Mrs. Sidney Breeze of Oneida, N. Y., survive. After the war, Major Burrowes went to Georgia, and was never heard from after starting on a journey into the interior at an unhealthy season. Of Mrs. Burrowes' sisters, Eleanor Forman married Philip Freeman, the poet, Catharine married Benjamin Ledyard, of New London, Conn., who was later a merchant in New York city, and later still, County Clerk, at Aurora, N. Y. The brother Jonathan Forman married Benjamin Ledyard's sister Mary, who "went over her shoe tops in blood" in the barn where the wounded lay, the morning after Arnold's descent upon New London, where her uncle, Colonel William Ledyard was killed after his surrender. The only surviving child of General Jonathan Forman (who served throughout the war in the New Jersey line and later went to Cazenovia, N. Y.), Mary Ledyard Forman, married Henry Seymour and was the mother of Horatio, and John F. Seymour, of Utica, N. Y.

Captain John Burrowes was Major in Spencer's Fifth New Jersey Regiment. He was formerly of Forman's Regiment. By general orders of June 26, 1779, Colonel Spencer was directed to join Maxwell's Brigade and "the companies of late Forman's Corps will join Spencer's Regiment."

The following is from a copy of the journal made from the original manuscript by Mrs. Elizabeth Breeze Stevens, a granddaughter of Major Burrowes, living at Oneida, Madison County, N. Y., and has been carefully compared by George G. Barnum, Esq., Corresponding Secretary of Buffalo Historical Society, with a copy in the archives of that society. The original manuscript, in the possession of Hon. Breeze J. Stevens, Madison, Wis., a son of Mrs. E. B. Stevens, has been mislaid.

JOURNAL.

1779

TIOGA 23d AUGUST 1779.

This morning took command of the guard on the west side of Cayuga.

(*Observations*) While on guard I heard orders were issued for the army's marching on wednesday morning—to morrow afternoon all preparations for having the baggage in readiness—that there be no detention to the marching early in the morning.

TUESDAY—TIOGA 24th AUGUST

This day employed in loading the pack-horses, turning out the covering parties and flank guards—The gun fired at 4 o'clock for the troops to strike their tents, load them and parade. The insufficiency of horses was now discovered. However by unloading the horses that were loaded with the officers baggage, the provisions and ammunition are in a likely way to go on. At 7 o'clock another gun was fired to pitch tents and encamp for the night.

WEDNESDAY, TIOGA AUG. 25th.

Turn out again this morning and got things ready to depart from this. The morning looks like rain—at 8 o'clock it began to rain and continued the whole day, which puts a stop to our march this day.

(*Observations*) Hurrying our march is highly necessary and with all dispatch possible on several accounts. We have now but twenty seven days provisions for the army and have to march one hundred and twenty miles farther in an enemy's country—horses growing poor, as there is nothing but Indian grass and that very old. The season of the year is advancing when we should begin to think of winter quarters as the men are poorly clothed and not above one in 12 have a blanket, and nights here are already very cool. We have at this place all the sick and a garrison of two hundred & fifty men, with some pieces of artillery for the block houses.

THURSDAY 26th AUGUST 1779

Although this morning we were to begin our march very early, we did not get off till 12 o'clock. In all armies the first day is only to start. We make our halt at 5 o'clock the distance of three miles from Tioga: and as Genl. Maxwells brigade marched on the left, we encamped on the Cayuga Branch.

(*Observations*) As soon as our tents were pitched I amused myself with walking on the bank of the river which brought to my view a large bottom or beautiful plain, not a stump to be seen, a great burthen of wild grass, and with little industry (from the appearance of the soil) would make most excellent meadows, the upland very indifferent.

27th AUGUST 1779 FRIDAY

The morning gun fired at 6 o'clock. At 8 o'clock another gun for Assembly to beat, at which time the men stack their tents and load the pack-horses. The third gun fires for the march to commence which was between 9 and 10 o'clock—we march about 3 miles when we have a very bad defile to pass nearly three quarters of a mile in length, and after

tedious and frequent halts we passed it through the most difficult road—we arrive at this place a march of six miles for this day.

Observations—The country continues mountainous and the road very disagreeable. The sight of Carriages in this part of the world is very odd, as there is nothing but a foot path. We got this night at a large flat three miles distant from Chemung where corn grows such as cannot be equalled in Jersey. The field contains about 100 acres. beans. cucumbers. Simblens water-melons and pumpkins in such quantities (were it represented in the manner it should be) would be almost incredible to a civilized people. We sat up until between one and two o'clock feasting on these rarities.

SHEMUNG 28th AUGUST 1779

The army dont move until 2 o'clock this afternoon. The detention was occasioned by the badness* of the defile we crossed the day before. Genl. Clinton with his brigade, pack-horses & cattle could not pass it until this morning. We arrise at this place at sunset. the pack horses being in the rear, made it after dark before we got our tents pitched. the badness of two defiles we had to cross took up the whole afternoon to get three miles. We crossed the Cayuga twice. The river was three feet deep, and the rapids very strong, it swept a number of our pack-horses down the river.

Observations.—Directly after we crossed the Cayuga the second time, Genl. Hand sent Genl Sullivan word there were a party of Indians coming down the mountain just by us. The men were immediately paraded and in readiness to give them a reception but soon after we found it to be Genl Clintons advanced guard.

MIDDLETOWN 29th AUGUST SUNDAY.

The gun was fired for the usual signals. The army marched at half past 10 o'clock. we had marched about three miles and a half when we heard some firing in front and soon was informed that Col. Butler who commanded the advanced guard had received some Shots from a party of Indians, who soon as gave the fire ran. with a view of drawing our men after them into their works. when the advanced guard had marched half a mile further they were met near a very bad pass by a number of Indians (thought to be between two and three hundred) They also gave a few fires and ran. Our men pursued until they got over the defile, when they perceived their works. They halted and some of the riflemen got behind trees where they fired in their lines which was returned. After their firing at each other some time a few single shots, the rear of the army had got up Genl. Poor Genl Clinton were sent off to gain their left flank which was very difficult, as their lines were a half a mile long—Their right secured seemed by the river, and their left by a very high mountain, which Genl Poor and Genl. Clinton had to go over. After they had marched some time Col. Proctor was sent with three pieces of artillery in front to amuse them while we were gaining their left. Their sentry on the mountain discovered our troops trying to get around them. They immediately gave their whoop for a signal, the body instantly left their lines, they retreated to the mountain where our troops fell in with them and gave them a few shots and ran up. it was returned from them and they ran, our men pursued we killed and scalped—took one tory prisoner. The army marched on until we arrived at the town, about a mile and a half within their works where we encamped, and Genl. Poor and Clinton join and take their posts and encamp also—Genl Hand advanced two miles in front a short time after we had halted. Genl Hand sent a negro to Head-quarters. Some of his men took him running off. he was separated from his company and almost scared to death—The tory and negro told one story on their examination. they say their body consisted of 400 Indians and tories commanded by Col. Butler and Brant and McDonald was with them also. They were much alarmed at our artillery and hastened their retreat greatly. Our loss was ———

MONDAY MIDDLETOWN 30th AUG.

The army dont march this day but are employed in cutting down the corn at this place which being about one hundred and fifty acres, and superior to any I ever saw. Our wounded to be sent to Teoga in boats—They go just after dark

(*Observations.*) The land exceeds any that I have ever seen. some corn stalks measured eighteen feet, and a cob one foot and a half long. Beans, cucumbers, watermelons, muskmelons, cimblens are in great plenty. About dark the army was paraded on their different parades and a request of the General read to them. whether they would draw but half a allowance where corn and beans were to be had, that we might make our provisions last so as to accomplish our business in this part of the Continent. it was agreed and answered to by three hearty cheers.

CAMP TEN MILES FROM MIDDLETOWN 31ST AUGUST 1779 TUESDAY.

Our march commences this morning at 11 o'clock and continues until sunset—We make our halt in an open piece of pine land. formed the hollow square for the safety of our cattle and pack-horses. On our way burnt all the houses on our road. Newtown Shared the same fate—Col. Daytons regiment were sent further up the Cayuga and on his way destroyed some large fields of corn and burnt a number of houses.

(*Observations.*) The country mountainous. makes our marches very tiresome. The men find a deal of plunder of different kinds at every town and settlements we come to. all of which the Indians had taken from the inhabitants on our frontier. The savage villains continue flying before us and generally leave their towns a few hours before we enter them. Its variety that makes time pass with ease but thro this country it is directly the contrary. as there is nothing but wood and mountains and swamps perpetually.

FRENCH CATHARINES WED, SEPT. 1.

We reach this place at eleven o'clock at night. a march of 14 miles, thro roads that cant be described. eight miles of the way was a most horrid swamp. the last four miles the army had to ford one creek seventeen times mud holes were excessively bad—Our pack-horses tired out. sticking fast in the Swamps, the packs in the mud. The men giving out, they having fourteen days provisions on their back exclusive of their other baggage. We make up a fire, and roast corn for our supper and layed down about one o'clock to sleep with the heaven to cover us.

(*Observations.*)—We never had so bad a days march since we set off, but what will not men go through who are determined to be free.

FRENCH CATHARINES 2ND SEPT 1779 THURSDAY.

One of the soldiers found at this place this morning an old squaw in a bunch of bushes, she not being able to go off with them, was hid there to be safe. She is the greatest picture of old age I ever saw. The General sent for her, she was carried to his marque. The poor old creature was just ready to die with fear, thinking she was to be killed. She informed the General that there was a great debate between the warriors their squaws and children. The squaws had a mind to stay at home with their children. It was carried to such a length that the warriors were obliged to threaten to scalp the women if they did not go. They sent them off about the middle of the afternoon. The warriors themselves staid till after sunset the evening we got in. This place gets its name from a French woman that married an Indian and settled the place. She also fled with her children. She has two very handsome daughters.

(*Observations.*)—This town is on a large creek that empties into Seneca lake, and about four miles from the Lake. The land exceeds any I ever saw. There is a number of peach, apple & plum trees at this place, and the only Indian town that had that we had been to. The soldiers find plunder at every town of different kinds. They got six or seven Indian horses to day and two cows.

CAMP 12 MILES FROM FRENCH CATHARINES 3'D SEPT. FRIDAY.

The usual signals were given to pack. The army marched at half after 8 o'clock. After we marched about two miles from French Catharines we rise a high mountain, on it we found the woods very open, no underbrush. The artillery and baggage march very well. We meet with three bad defiles through the day. otherwise it is the best marching we have had yet. In marching about four miles from Catharines we struck on the south end of Seneca lake, and march on the east side within a small distance of it the whole

day. On our march we caught more horses and saw where the Indians had killed a beef the night before. We halt half after four o'clock after marching over a great quantity of very good land. our horses are tied up to the trees, without anything to eat for this night, and ourselves suffer some hungry hours, for not being near any cornfields. We are obliged to be very careful of our half allowance to take us back if necessity should require it. The General got intelligence directly after our halt that the Indians were about three miles ahead. Col. Smith was sent off with a party to make discoveries and take a prisoner if possible. The intention of taking a prisoner was to let him go again giving him to know we would not hurt the women and children. that they might stay at home in peace. This was in hopes of making them treat, had it have been accomplished. but when Col. Smith had got within sight of their fires and marching on very easy in the path. he started a horseman of theirs who rode off and alarmed them. When Col. Smith had advanced to their fires they had just left them. There were kettles of corn on the fire and some roasting which they left in their flight.

CAMP 24 MILES FROM CATHARINES, SATURDAY 4TH SEPT.

Began our march this morning at 9 o'clock, and on our march Strike on the side of the lake at a little Indian town called Appletown, where I had a beautiful view of the lake, it is about 4 miles wide and 40 long. It is very straight and not an Island to be seen, nothing can resemble the prospect more, than it does, the view of the bay and narrows at Middletown Point N. Jersey. The soldiers drove three Indian horses into the lake and caught them. We have the lake about half a mile on our days march. Halt at 7 o'clock pitched our tents, and are just going to get some sleep

KENDAIA SUNDAY 5th SEPT

After a march of about 5 miles we reached this place. The drums beat the March at half after 10 o'clock this morning and halt at 3 o'clock for the day. Before the men were dismissed Col. Smith ordered me to take two platoons and go to gather corn for the regiment. I did. I marched about a mile and a half where I found a cornfield, I set the men to gathering immediately. When they got as much as they could carry I returned to the regt or camp. This town is about three hundred yards from the lake, the best houses I have seen and about 15 of them, with an orchard of seventy trees, to appearance had been planted fifty years. The Indians fled from it with their families and effects two days ago. Here a man the Indians had taken at Wyoming came to us. He told us that Butler had gone through here two days before us.

CAMP 3 MILES FROM KENDAIA MONDAY SEPT 6TH.

The drum beat the usual Signals and the march began at 3 o'clock this afternoon. About half an hour before an express arrived with letters from Gen'l. Washington to Sullivan and a number of letters for the officers of this army. Among which I find the disagreeable news of the death of my dear friend Capt. Combs (when living) was possessed of everything that constituted a man. How did I feel? How was the countenances of all his acquaintances changed? Its beyond description. In the faces of all his friends is seen nothing but sadness, and from the tongues of his acquaintances only expressions of sorrow. We cross some bad defiles occasioned by little rivulets that run into the lake Halt at Six o'clock on the side of the Lake where there is great plenty of pea vines, which is as good as clover for horses with which this part of the country abounds.

KANADASAGA 7th SEPT. TUESDAY.

The army marched this morning at 8 o'clock and proceeded with great ease and rapidity, the marching very good. No defiles to hinder us until 2 o'clock when we arrived at the end of the lake, which was a march of 11 miles. After a considerable halt we began our march for this place. We cross the ford at the outlet of the lake and march on its edge through a bad defile a mile in length. A plan being laid for surrounding the town. Genl Maxwells brigade being next to Genl Hands went on the right of the town, Genl Poor in front of it. The plan was well executed but have not the pleasure of finding any

of the yellow villains in it. We found a little white child about four or five years old. He can understand English and talked Indian. He is very poor and appears to have been sick. When he was found he was entirely naked. The officer that has him, has got clothes for him which seems to please the little fellow much. The town consists of forty dwelling houses and a Council House. It is far superior to any town we have seen. We have come a northerly course since we left Tioga, and have had most beautiful weather. All the land on the lake very good. Mounted guard this night. Marched 14 miles to day.

KANADASAGA 8TH SEPT WEDNESDAY

Came off guard this morning at 10 o'clock. The army dont march to day. The brigade commissary employed in examining into the mens provisions, and provisions not issued, for the purpose of knowing whether we can proceed farther. The determination of the General came out in orders this afternoon that we march to Genesee which is about eighty miles further, and are to march at 6 o'clock to morrow morning. living already hard. We eat meat twice in three days, and bread once in four or five days. The country abounds with corn and beans which we solely live on. Salt very scarce.

CAMP 8 MILES FROM KANASADAGA THURSDAY SEPT 9TH 1779.

Got up this morning very early to get ready to march at the time ordered, but the army dont march so soon, the delay occasioned by sending off all the sick of the army to Tioga, and by Mr. Bloomfield I send a letter to my father, also sent an Indian horse to Tioga by Mathew Smith a soldier in my company. Marched at 11 o'clock and continued until we reached this place which we did by six o'clock. We had several very bad defiles in our way. There was a party of men sent last night to a town called Cashong on the west side of the Seneca lake. They returned this evening. By the officers I am told it was the best town we had seen yet. The houses new and built very neat and appeared that they were whites that lived there. They got a great many peaches and apples and the only place there has been any. The houses all shut, and when they broke them open, on the inside of a number of doors was written "He who destroys this house his offspring shall suffer for it" a poor satisfaction for the dastardly villains.

KANANDAIGUA FRIDAY SEPT 10TH

Marched this morning at 8 o'clock and arrived at this place at 5 distance ten miles. The town large and prettily situated, the number of houses about 30. and very neat. In this place they have two posts fixed, to appearance for the exercise of their cruelty, as there was a war mallet at each of them. Corn and beans plenty which is now of great consequence to us. The town is within a mile of the northwest end of Kanandaigua lake, and 18 miles from Kanadasaga.

ANYAYEA 11TH SEPT. SATURDAY

Marched at 6 o'clock in the morning. fine march until 12 o'clock, when we make a halt to refresh the horses. March again at 2 o'clock and reach this place at 4. The town not very agreeably situated, but very good water, which is the first we have had since we left Tioga. It is about half a mile from the north west side of the Anyayea lake, and consists of 12 houses, large fields of corn and beans. Genl. Sullivan gave orders to fix one of the houses in such a manner as to defend it, as all the stores (except a few that is really necessary) are to be left here. Capt. Cummings commands the garrison.

Observations.—After the tents were pitched Capt. Cox Mr. Kearney and myself went to the lake to wash ourselves before we had done, we saw a heavy cloud rising accompanied with thunder, on which we made what haste we could back to camp. We had not been in long before it began to rain with some thunder and lightning and continued until between eight and nine o'clock at night.

CAMP 11 MILES FROM ANYAYEA IN THE WOODS CALLED YOUNGHAUGH SUNDAY 12TH SEPT.

The morning rainy and disagreeable until between 10 and 11 o'clock, when we begin our march and tho: the day not so pleasant as we could wish we made a march of eleven

miles and encamp in a piece of open woods. Nothing for horses to eat this night. the night very cool and a heavy frost.

KASAWASAHYA MONDAY 13 SEPT.

Marched this morning at 6 o'clock and after gaining the distance of two miles we arrive at the town of Kanaghsas consisting of 11 houses.—make a halt and men turned out to destroy the corn as also the town. A party of riflemen in number 26 under command of Lieut. Boyd with Hanyost an Indian went last night from our last nights encampment to this town to make discoveries. He went to the town where he staid all night, sending off a man to acquaint the General that the town was deserted and not any body there. In the fore part of the day, he for some reason thought fit to return. When he had reached within two miles of the army he was attacked by a number of Indians (Seven of the men got in one of them was wounded) supposed to be about one hundred. On our march this afternoon we found four killed and scalped, the rest supposed to be taken—At the time Maj. Parr being about three quarters of a mile from them. as soon as he heard the firing immediately went on and came so close on them before he was discovered that they left seventy packs on the ground with some arms, but unhappily for Parr they got off. We arrived within about half a mile of the town when the General received intelligence that they were there paraded ready to fight us. It was now sundown, and when we got around the town it was dark, a most disagreeable time for fighting, but getting close into the town found they had left it, we encamped in the town and all necessary caution is taken by the General for the safety of the army.

CHENESEE 14 SEPT TUESDAY

Began our march at 11 o'clock this morning. After we left the town half a mile we cross a very bad creek on a log. which makes it very tedious, and the detention of the army for two hours. The army being now all crossed the march begins again and proceed across a plain about two miles and a half wide (some places wider) and to all appearance in length about 12 miles. Not a rise of ten feet through the whole. not a stump on it. a few acres of timber which stands in small groves make it appear much more beautiful. The land cant be equalled. I have frequently heard the expression when a person has been describing good grass and good pasture that it was knee high, and pasture up to the horses eyes, but here it is higher than a mans head when on his horse. When we marched through the plain we came to the Chenesee river, which we ford being about middle deep and the current very strong. This river empties itself into Lake Ontario and makes the falls of Niagara. The army all cross and proceed to the town where we arrive at half after five o'clock and encamp around the town. Here we find Lieut. Boyd and one of the men laying on the ground just on the edge of the town, and so inhumanly murdered it is almost too much to describe. Their heads were cut off and scalpt. They had been whipped horribly. Their bodies speared all over and Lieut. Boyd partly skinned. Such is the barbarity of these savage villains. This town is the largest of any we have seen. it consists of one hundred houses and most of them good. This night we live sumptuously on beefsteak and potatoes, as we have got to our jounies end.

CAMP ON THE LARGE FLATS 6 MILES FROM CHENESEE 15TH SEPT WEDNESDAY MORNING.

The whole army employed till 11 o'clock destroying corn, there being the greatest quantity destroyed at this town than any of the former. It is judged that we have burnt and destroyed about Sixty thousand bushel of corn and two and three thousand of beans on this expedition. On our return to camp the General assured the army the business of the expedition was entirely accomplished, and gave orders to be in immediate readiness to march on our return to Tioga, which order gave more general satisfaction than any that could have been given. A few hours before our march a woman came in with a young child who had been taken by the Indians in 1778. About one o'clock began our march and arrived at this place at 7 o'clock.

KANAGHSAS 16TH SEPT. THURSDAY.

Early this morning a brigade was sent to destroy the corn which was omitted in advancing. About 10 o'clock began our march for this place, where we arrive at three and having more corn to destroy here we encamp for the night.

ANYAYEA FRIDAY 17th SEPTEMBER.

Last night very cold with a white frost. Marched this morning a little after daylight, and arrive at this place at one o'clock: The day taken up in preparing the stores for the march. This day restored to one pound of flour per man.

KANANDAIGUA LAKE 18th SEPT. SAT.

A number of our horses having become lame and unable to carry baggage, were detained in getting the stores mounted until nine o'clock, then began our march, and about sunset encamp on the east side of the lake. The road being clear made a march of 16 miles. This day met by four Oneida Indians who brought the account of the arrival of the Marquis de la Fayette.

KANADASAGA 19th SEPT. SUNDAY

Marched from the lake at eight this morning, reached this place at sunset and encamp. One of the field pieces broke down which caused a halt of two hours. This day expresses arrive from Tioga confirming former accounts.

CAMP 5 MILES FROM KANADASAGA ON THE EAST SIDE OF SENECA LAKE, MONDAY 20TH SEPT.

This morning a detachment of two hundred men sent to Fort Schuyler from Genl. Poor and Clintons brigades, under command of Colonel Gansevoort for conducting their baggage by way of Albany. Immediately after a detachment of 500 men under command of Col. Butler was sent to the Cayuga lake to destroy the settlements. We march from Kanadasaga at 4 o'clock and encamp at half after six.

SEPT. 21st. Camp two miles from Kendaia.

Marched this morning at six o'clock passed 5 or 6 bad defiles during our march and encamped at four in a piece of open woods.

CAMP 5 MILES FROM APPLETON WEDNESDAY SEPT 22ND.

The army moved between seven and eight this morning. We passed several bad defiles and make a march of 15 miles and encamp at 5 o'clock.

CAMP 3 MILES FROM CATHARINES

The army marched this morning at eight o'clock and about one arrived at the town of Catharines, halt two hours. We find the old squaw that we left when going, gave her a quantity of flour and meat a blanket and knife. The young squaw that had come to take care of the old one after we passed through, we found shot and thrown into a mud hole, supposed to be done by some of the soldiers. Encamp at sunset on the side of a large brook, it empties into Seneca lake and affords a great variety of fish. Capt. Reading caught a Salmon out of it two feet and four inches long.

NEWTOWN 24th SEPT FRIDAY

Marched at seven o'clock, the first four miles a very bad swamp, which after we got through we are obliged to kill more of our horses. The rest of the way a level open wood. On our appearance at this place we were saluted from the garrison with three cannon which was returned by our advanced piece of artillery. Encamped at half after six o'clock. This day we marched 15 miles.

NEWTOWN 28th SEPT. TUESDAY EVENING.

For some days have been waiting for the detachments that went to Cayuga lake, which arrived this morning about 10 o'clock. Also parties sent out every day to destroy corn and on the 26th we fired a *feu de joi* for our men Alby the King of Spain and the success

of our arms over the British at Stony Point, Powers Hook and the taking of Fort Detroit—3 days 26. 27. 28.

CAMP 3 MILES FROM CHEMUNG WEDNESDAY 29 SEP

March from Newtown at half after nine o'clock. The boats set off at the same time, but halt about an hour at Chemung, arrive at this place at three o'clock. The afternoon very warm.

TIOGA THURSDAY 30 SEPT. 1779.

Arrived here at four o'clock P. M. when as soon as our front had almost advanced to the fort, the army was saluted by 13 cannon which was returned by our artillery. As soon as the firing ceased in the fort Col. Shreve had dinner prepared for the Generals and field officers and the officers of the different regiments that were left with the garrison had prepared also dinner for the officers of their respective regiments and the whole dined in the fort and spent the most part of the afternoon and evening very agreeably.

TIOGA FRIDAY OCT. 1st.

This day is only for a day of rest which we make the most of as such.

SATURDAY TIOGA OCTOBER 2nd 1779.

We spend this day in wishing each other joy for our safe return and convert the evening to celebrate as usual wives and sweethearts, which we do in plenty of grog, Heretofore have been obliged to keep in plenty of cold water.

TIOGA—SUNDAY 3d OCTOBER.

Yesterdays orders for demolishing the fort is put in operation. A party of 500 fatigue men set at it. At eight o'clock this morning the garrison all join their respective regiments. Six pounds of flour issued to each man this day, is their allowance to Wyoming. The sick the lame and men without shoes to go in boats. Make all preparations to march in the morning.

MONDAY—MESHOPPING OCT 4th. 1779.

March at 8 o'clock this morning. Ford the Cayuga and Susquehanna and pass a very bad defile on the side of a mountain. Arrive here at half after six o'clock.

WYALUSING—TUESDAY OCT. 5th.

This morning the whole army ordered down in boats except a sufficient body to take down the horses and cattle. The march began at 10 o'clock and arrived here at sunset. The day rainy.

TUNKHANNOCK WEDNESDAY OCT 6th

The weather continues rainy and very disagreeable, but not to hinder our march. Leave Wyalusing at half after eight o'clock. On this days march we leave about 60 horses that were not able to come on. we leave them in the different pastures to recruit, so as they may be brought down in eight or ten days. Heretofore we have killed all that gave out, in number about 200 and lost as many more.

LACKAWANNA, THURSDAY Oct 7th.

This day we dont leave many horses. The day cool and cloudy with some rain. We reach this place at six o'clock and encamp for the night.

WYOMING, FRIDAY 8th OCTOBER.

This place we see with pleasure, as its getting towards home, but I miss my dear Combs whom I left here. Have been looking for his things but find very few, instead of finding gentlemen whom I thought would take care of them I met with robbers of the dead.

WYOMING SATURDAY 9th OCT.

Orders arrived here this morning for Genl Sullivan to march his army with all dispatch to Head Quarters, and this afternoon we have orders to be ready to march at 6 o'clock to morrow morning. Captain Forman and self went a gunning down to Nanticoke and Shawnee, but no luck, when we returned found preparations making for the march, such

as distributing horses, wagons, and pack saddles, and other matters that were wanting to assist in the march of the army.

NANTICOKE FALLS SUNDAY OCT 10th.

General Sullivan set out this morning for Easton. At 9 o'clock the army were all ready to march, when to my surprise I was ordered to Sunbury after the sick brigade sixty miles down the river from Wyoming,—down to this place where we halt for the night.

FISHING CREEK MONDAY OCT 11th.

Started this morning at sunrise and arrived here at dark and halt for the night. The river being very low we grounded several times and the men have to get out and drag the boats over the shoals.

SUNBURY TUESDAY OCT 12th.

We arrive here at dusk after a tedious day occasioned by the lowness of the river and rain. This river is beautiful the west branch comes in opposite to this town and makes the river much wider. Settlements almost all the way on the rivers side.

SUNBURY WEDNESDAY OCT 13th.

This day was spent chiefly in getting the men that are discharged from the Hospital ready to march for Head Quarters. Went over to Northumberland to see Capt. Lodge. The two towns are situated much like Burlington and Bristol. This town consists of one hundred and fifty houses and Northumberland about 100 houses. The inhabitants Irish and German. Houses chiefly of logs.

JOURNAL OF DR. JABEZ CAMPFIELD.

DR. JABEZ CAMPFIELD, Surgeon in Spencer's Fifth New Jersey Regiment, from May 23 to Oct. 2, 1779. He was a resident of New Jersey and has grand children living. One of them resided a few years since at Lisbon, St. Lawrence County, N. Y. Published in the Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, Vols. 3 and 4, 1873, pp. 115 to 136, from the original presented to the Society, by Edmund D. Halsey, Esq.; also in the Wyoming County (Pa.) *Democrat*, Dec. 31, 1873, Jan. 28, 1874.

*DIARY OF DR. JABEZ CAMPFIELD, SURGEON IN "SPENCER'S
REGIMENT," WHILE ATTACHED TO SULLIVAN'S
EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS.*

[*From May 23d to Oct. 2d, 1779.*]

D I A R Y .

MAY 23d, 1779—Left Morristown in order to join the Regt. ordered on an expedition to the westward against the Indians and Tories who had cruelly destroyed our frontiers.

MAY 24th 1779—I arrived at Easton. Easton from Morristown 51 miles.

MAY 25, 1779—I arrived at Brinker's Mill.

MAY 26, 1779—Joined the regiment at Tunkhanna—The troops employed in this work were the Second New York Regt. & Spencer's. Col. Cortlandt having the command—Our encampment continued in this place until the 30th, when we marched to Locust Hill. All this way the Land very indifferent & rough—the timber mostly pitch pine, and Hemlock, some white pine—also birch, mirtle and some beach & elm—Spruce.

This hill is covered with Small Locust trees. While the detachment remained at Locust Hill the first New Hampshire Regt joined us, but at the same time a detachment of near 200 men under Col. Smith were sent to Wyoming so that we gained very little by the hampshire men's coming up.

JUNE 7, 1779—The camp remained on Locust Hill till June 7th, when we marched and encamped upon the borders of the Shades of Death.

JUNE 12th, 1779—The detach't passed the Shades of Death and incamped at Bullux's farm. All this way the land very indifferent and rough, however here we found very large white pine in many places—and the hemlock exceedingly large.

JUNE 14th, 1779—The Detach't marched into Wyoming, Col. Butler with a detach't from the garrison had opened the road. Wyoming is a beautiful place, through which

runs the Susquahanna, in a swift delightful course. Wyoming is distant from Easton 60 miles—and is capable of great improvement.

This settlement did consist of four different Towns, before the cruel Butler destroyed them, being inhabited by upwards of one thousand families, who, a few excepted, were entirely ruined, and such as he did not kill, were left utterly destitute of every necessary of life, and obliged to fly for refuge, into the lower settlements.

The Lands here are exceedingly good and fertile ; The river abounds with various fish in the Spring, it is full of the finest Shad, trout and pickerel are also plenty here.

In passing the great swamp we cross several fine streams of water, which all abound with trout. The first is Tunkhanna, second is Tobehanna, the third is Lahi, these are all branches of the same river and under the name of Lahi fall into the Delawar at Easton.

In this way we passed a second swamp called Bare-swamp, through which runs a considerable stream of water, called the Ten-mile run, said to fall into the Schuylkill.

Four miles from Wyoming, we cross a high mountain, which will render the land-carriage allways difficult from Easton to this place, could the other difficulties be removed.

The long stay of the army at Wyoming, was owing to the infamous conduct of the Commissaries and Quartermasters, employed in furnishing the necessary provisions and stores. And finally, when the army did march, it was so scantily supplied, that the success of the expedition is by that means, rendered exceedingly precarious.

The army was delayed at Wyoming by the above mentioned causes until the 31st day of July, when it began its march, and at evening arrived at Lahawannuck—about 10 miles, here a fine stream of water which gives name to the place falls into the Susquehanna from the north-eastward. About 3 or four miles beack and on the other sid of the river, is the place where the Yankes were defeated under Wyoming Butler—This place is a rich bottom on both sides but of no great extent. At the end of this flat is the Spring fall, a brook falling from a high mountain.

AUGUST 1, 1779—The army marched to Quilutimack [7 miles] another bottom of no great extent, but rich land—here we rested one day, to give time for the boats to come up.

AUG. 3d, 1779—The army marched to Tunkhanna, (12 miles) a fine creek falling into ye Susquahanna from the north-east. Here, as almost everywhere else on this river, the mountains are exceeding high and generally nigh the river, the flats being narrow, a few excepted. The flats all rich land. Timber, white pine, pitch & yellow—several sorts of ash, & in the low bottoms, mirtle (of which sugar is mad) Black & white walnut, elm, Beech, ash, hickory & other swamp wood.

AUG. 4th—The army marched to Vandelips farm, [14 miles] a good plat of Bottom land, the mountains high & covered with grass even to the tops in some places.

In this days march we passed three good brooks of water falling through the mountains. How hard is the soldier's lott who's least danger is in the field of action? Fighting happens seldom, but fatigue, hunger, cold & heat are constantly varying his distress.

AUG. 5th, 1779—The army marched to Wybusing, [10 miles] Remained there two days. on account of the rain—the difficulty of getting up the boats— & Gen. Sullivan's being unable through indisposition to proceed on. At this place is a plane covered with English grass of an extraordinary large growth & beautiful. In the way we passed a very high mountain, from which we had an extensive prospect of mountains & the river, a most beautiful variety. Coming on this platt we find very large trees, the largest are Buttonwood—here are many Black walnuts. This was formerly settled Moravian Indians.

The army marched to Standingstone bottom, [10 miles] At the end of Wybusing flatt we pass Wybusing creek, a beautiful stream of water, falling through the mountains, from the north-east into the Susquahanna.

This day ye army marched sometime by the river, but mostly at some distance over mountains. This place takes its name from a long stone standing upright on the opposite shore, which when it fell from the mountain above, accidentally took that position. Here is a fine soil unimproved. The boats made this place with difficulty.

Early in the morning of the 9th the army marched, by a narrow pass, along ye river, Sometimes by the water side, having an high mountain on the right, afterwards, through an exceeding fine tract of land, of considerable length in which we passed Weesaucking creek falling into Susquahanna from the north-east. After the army passed on the declivity of a high mountain, overlooking the river, by a narrow footpath dangerous to be passed by a single person, here several of our cattle and pack horses fell and were killed.

About son set we entered on a fine bottom & continued our march to Sheshequanung, six miles from the mountain, a beautiful plane covered with grass ; very necessary for our hungry horses and cattle

In this days march Col. Procktor landed on the other side of the river and burned an Indian town which was built last spring, but now abandoned, consisting of 28 logg houses covered and 6 not finished, called Newtychaning--here we had night march of 6 miles through thick woods with 900 cattle in our front, our Regt. being the rear guard this day. We have here continually rains or fogs in the night, & very hott in the days & cold nights.

AUG. 9th—The army marched to upper Sheshequannunk. [15 miles] The army remained her the 10th day to give the boats time to come up. Last night one of our largest boats was cast away and everything in her lost, coming up a rappid ; this is hard, for she was loaded with 7 or 8 tons of flower.

AUG. 11—The army arrived at Tioga, This day [3 miles] At 7 o'clock this morning the army marched and crossed the Susquahanna about a mile above our last camp—the river wid and rapid, and so deep as to come to the top of my boots on horse back ; after crossing we passed a swamp, a small distance through, and then entered a beautiful plane. This plane is called Tioga, from the middle of which we crossed over the Tioga branch, on to a point of land, which is made by a junction of the Tioga branch, with the Susquahanna ; on this point the army incamped, with our rear extending along the Susquahanna. About a mile further up the two rivers aproach each other, within a little more than 100 yards, and, is the place which we expect will be fortified, to cover our boats until we return.

It is remarkable that we have come into this country, by a long and difficult march, where there are but a few miles, in which a small party of our enemy could not, with ease, have much impeded our progress, and are now within twelve miles of one of their considerable settlements, & as yet have never seen or heard any thing of them, that we could, with sertanty depend upon.

I very heartily wish these rusticks may be reduced to reason, by the aproach of this army, without their suffering the extreems of war ; there is something so cruel, in destroying the habitations of any people, (however mean they may be, being their all) that I might say the prospect hurts my feelings.

AUG. 12—The army, leaving the invalids and baggage at Tioga, in the eavning marched for Shemung, an Indian town, situate on the Tioga branch of the Susquahanna. We arrived in the morning after a most fatiguing march at night in the dark through the woods. This place had been left by the inhabitants the day before.

Genl. Hand advancing with his brigade about three miles farther on was fired at by a few Indians, who killed and wounded 8 or 9 of his officers, and men.

The town was burned and the corn was destroyed and the army returned to Tioga in 24 hours having performed a march of full 40 miles in 24 hours.

* * * A break here in the diary.

AUGUST 16th, 1779—A detachment from the whole army consisting of 1000 men under command of Genls. Poor and Hand marched this day from Tioga along the west side of the Susquahanna [10 miles] to meet Genl. Clinton.

The army incamped this evening in a beautiful forrist of white pine.

I here observed a plant in abundance which has much the smell of garden balm.

This whole country abounds in fine forrists of White Pine.

17. AUG. 1779—The Detachment marched [12 miles] to an Indian settlement about 1 mile below Owego and incamped on a beautiful plain covered with grass ; just before we came on the plane, the detach't crossed a stream of water, on which Owego is situated a mile above these places were all deserted last spring, their inhabitants only a few.

AUG. 18, 1779—The detachment marched [18 miles] to an Indian town, deserted, called Cokonnuck, of about 50 or 60 houses mostly on the other side of the river. This is a large fine flat of rich land, covered with fine grass, such as clover, spear & fowl-meadow grass, and the natural grass of the country, which here grows 8 or 10 feet high.

This days march was rendered very difficult, by the intervention of several hills and swamps. The land rough and less of white pine and more of white oak—we passed a swamp, resembling the great swamp, only it was small.

We heard G. Clintons evening gun.

AUG. 19—This morning 9 o'clock Genl. Clinton joined us with upward of 200 Boats and about 700 Infantry, who marched by land—2 pieces of cannon in ye boats; his whole number it is said consists of 1500 men. 11 o'clock we marched for Owego & arrived there at sunset. A party was sent out, who burned the town Owego. The few inhabitants, who remained there had gone of the day before we arrived.

Genl. Clinton has burned all the towns on or near the river in his way down.

AUG. 20—A heavy rain came on last night, which prevented our march this day.

AUGUST 21st, 1779—Marched back to within about six miles of Tioga and incamped.

AUG. 22d—The army under Genl. Clinton & the Detach't under Genl Poor, joined the army at Tioga.

A remarkable circumstance in our march back to Tioga, is that every morning & evening the Detach't countermarched, & on our march every day had our left toward the enemy, & our right towards the river.

The Detach't. marched the 16th, at noon and returned the 22d at noon being 6 Days out, one of which was very rainy, & performed a march of 80 miles.

Genl. Clintons march from Lake Otsego to Tioga—

From the mouth of Tioga to Mackatawando 10 miles, to Owego 12, to Cokanuck 18, to Chenango 9 miles, to Tuscarora 3, to Anpuaqun 18 miles, to Unadilla 25, to the mouth of Lake Otsego 67, to the head of the lake 8 miles [162 miles.]

The general course N. E.

During the stay of the army at Tioga, 4 blockhouses were built for the defence of the boats, and garrisoned by the invalids under command of Col. Shrieve and the boat men. Here we left all unnecessary baggage, and all the women and children. The General left here 2 6-pounders.

AUGUST 26th, 1779—THURSDAY—The whole army marched by the garrison of Tioga and incamped about three or four miles forward.

AUGUST 27th, 1779—The army marched about six miles and passed a difficult defile—broke two wagons, overset a traveling forge and one of the pieces.

This shows the difficulty we have to surmount in carrying our cannon forward. Our baggage arrived at 12 o'clock at night. here we found much green corn & beans.

AUGUST 28th—The army marched to Shemung, (12 miles from Tioga) In this march Maxwell's brigade, the artillery & packhorses forded the Tioga twice to escape a difficult defile, while Genls Clinton, Poor & Hand with their brigades passed over the mountains. The Genl this day received information that a body of men were fortifying a pass about 6 miles in front.

SUNDAY, AUG. 29, 1779—The army advanced in its common order of march, until about the middle of the day when the advance received a fire from the enemy, whom they found posted advantageously behind a breast work, extending about 2 or 300 yards, built on a rising ground, having a brook and very thick brush in front at the distance of small musquet shot—they were about 1000 strong, mostly Indians, under Brandt—Butler, however, commanded, having with him 3 or 400 rangers and Tories.

The Rifle men amused them for some time with a scattering fire, while Genl' Clinton & Poor could gain their left flank, and the artillery be properly posted. When the cannon began to play upon them, they ran immediately, in great disorder; they, then attempted to gain a mountain on the right of the river, which they effected, but Genl Poor immediately dislodged them, & their rout became general.

Two prisoners were taken, a Tory & a Negro; 17 men were killed on the spot, who our people found, one of them an Indian of distinction—their number wounded we don't know, they must have been considerable. We had only 3 men killed and 30 wounded, among whom were a Major, Captain & Sub'n., all of the Hampshire troops.

At evening the whole army arrived and incamped in New Town, the inhabitants of which had deserted it two days before.

Here we found great quantities of corn, beans, pumpkins &c.

On our right up the brook, where the action was, at some distance, were found a cluster of new houses covered with split stuff, supposed to have been built for a magazine as they had not been inhabited. From the manner of building the houses here, I think the Tories must have built them, and the corn was planted after the manner of the white people.

AUG. 30, 1779—The army remained in camp this day, part being detached to destroy the corn and other things from which the enemy might hereafter draw subsistence.

The Com'r-in-Chief proposed to the officers and soldiers of each Brigade, the necessity of shortening the allowance of provision; our stock being too small to last long enough to accomplish the design of the expedition; when the whole army almost unanimously agreed to subsist upon half a pound of Flower & half pound of Beef pr day, a striking instance of the virtue of the army.

This night the Genl sent down to Tioga in the boats the wounded, four of our most cumbersome pieces of cannon, and all the waggons.

An extract from Genl Orders Aug. 31, 1779—Head Quarters 10 miles above New Town after the Army had agreed to accept of half rations:

"It is with the highest satisfaction sincere gratitude the Genl rec'd an acct. of the cheerful compliance of ye officers & soldiērs of the army with his proposal of yesterday. This pleasing proof of their virtue fortitude & perseverance added to the striking evidence they have given of their bravery, gives him the most agreeable sensation, and demands every return in his power. He will endeavor to expedite the operations of the campaign, as much as possible, and has no doubt, but with the supplies on hand he will soon be able to issue full rations. He assures them, that as soon as it can be reduced to a certainty, that the provisions will answer, he will not lose one moment in ordering the full allowance to be delt out.

Least any doubt should arise in the minds of the Troops respecting the money to be allowed in lieu of provisions, the Genl assures them, they shall receive, as much as the provisions would cost at this time."

AUG. 31, 1779—The army marched on (10 miles) and found rough and mountainous ground for the first four miles & we saw several fields of corn on the opposite side of the river. In this march a considerable number of houses lately built by the Tories were destroyed. Here we passed a considerable run of water, falling from the N. E. into the Cayuga—from this place we left the river and continued our march over a level country about a north course—very good marching, it being a wide extended plane, with scattering pitch pine trees.

Col. Dayton was detached to follow the enemy up this branch, he did not ever take them, but came to an Indian town which he destroyed—and also the corn.

SEPT. 1, 1779—The army marched in the morning over an extensive plane, upwards of five miles, when it entered a swamp having first passed by a large marsh, or meadow, on our right, and a high & steep mountain on ye left.

In this swamp, we found much difficulty in passing with our cannon, & pack horses, while we had daylight, but when the night came on, it was greatly increased, the army marching, as originally ordered.

It is worthy of observation that in this swamp we first began, about the middle of it, to descend towards Cuyuga & Seneka Lakes, down a very steep & high hill; and here we found a considerable stream of water, which we followed the rest of the day fording it continually. We arrived, about 9 o'clock at the first Seneka settlement, called French Catharins. [13 miles].

In the morning the men found in the wood an old Indian woman, who informed, that

Butler here met, two days before, a number of Indians coming to join him, with a view of opposing our progress ; but they could not prevail on him to turn about again, and face this army, he immediately went off &, they remained, consulting what was best to be done. The Old Squaw thought to be above 80 years old, expected to be killed. The women were urgent to remain at home, but the men urged that if they should fall into our hands we, would make use of them to urge harder terms, so the women and children left the Town, son about an hour high ; and the men remained till our troops arrived, when they scampered off without firing a gun. The timber white pine, pitch pine, oak and in the swamp much holm Bass wood and maple, after passing half ye swamp we had a high mountain on either hand and some small flats. The land rich in ye valle & stony on ye mountain. Here we found plenty of corn and Beans & about 12 houses, a high mountain on our left as we enter ye Town.

This days march was so exceeding difficult, I mean the last part of it, that it will not admit of description, it being totally dark & through a thick swamp—and this expecting momentarily an attack from the enemy, our army totally unacquainted with the situation of the place & knowing the enemy were there. French Catherins is distant 3 miles from the Seneka Lake.

SEPT. 2d, 1779.—The army remained in camp this day, our baggage being unable to come on in the dark, the night before.

The Indians, and Tors under Butler, certainly, are destitute of the spirit of soldiers, or they would not suffer us to make such a rappid progress, without any resistance.

I am sure, a few men of spirit, might exceedingly retard our movements.

SEPT. 3d, 1779—The army marched at 9 o'clock, and incamped before night 12 miles below French Catherines in the woods. This days marching was the best since we left Wyoming ; but it had its difficulties. Nine miles of this way, we had the Seneka Lake on our left, at some distance. No appearance of the enemy, tho it is said by our spys, that they are in a settlement within two miles of our camp—a small party under command of Col. Smith are gone to beat up their quarters. Timber—Black Walnut, Hickory, the several oaks, the several pines. much ash, Bass wood, maple, elm, and shag walnut—and the only chestnut I have seen within 100 miles—very little stone, the land well watered & part mountaneous.

SEPT. 4th, 1779—The army marched at 11 o'clock, being prevented by rain, from marching sooner ; however we made 13 miles and incamped in the woods.

At a place nigh the Lake were a few houses about 4 miles from our last encampment which were deserted last night about the time Col. Smith went out.

At this place called Apple town is one of the finest prospects down the lake that can be imagined. The timber of ye same kind as yesterday, and very good, very little stony land.

The land on this side is fine and level, only near the lake are gullies, made by the rain, no springs or brooks of any consequence, & the land generally low, & I think very suitable for grass.

The land on the west sid of the lake rises very gradually. I believe most of this land would produce wheet and every kind of grain.

At the upper end of this Lake, is a large body of marsh, & bogg meadow all the way from French Catherines to the water of the Lake. In this days march we passed considerable tracts of lands, covered with the wild-pea vines, equal to clover for horses.

SEPT. 5th, 1779—This day the army arrived at the Town of Thendara, [4 miles] near the [Seneka] lake, it is the most considerable Indian Town, I have yet seen, It is old, having large apple trees, which must have been planted many years ago. Houses covered with bark large for Indian houses. They are nasty beyond description. The land continues to be very fine and fine timbered. It is said this Peninsula is on an average about 12 miles wide, and about 45 miles long, all rich, level land well Timbered. This lake is most beautiful, & on the opposite side the land appears very level, and has a gradual rise—and not very high as far as can be seen. The inhabitants removed themselves

from here last Thursday, as we are informed by a deserter, and that they were very much discouraged.

SEPT. 6, 1779—At Shendara [three miles] we found some Corn & Beans which was gathered by the troops; But the cornstalks & grass about the town was not sufficient for the horses & cattle. They strayed away and we could not march 'till afternoon when after marching about 3 miles we found nigh to the lake an abundance of Pasture which induced ye general to stop. The land and Timber on it equal to the other from French Catherines, & equal to any in ye world I believe—very little stony

Col. Gansevort's servants missed their path and took a path, which led them down to the Cayuga Lake, where they fel in with a town which they burned, it being deserted by the inhabitants.

We are now paying, by short marches, for the former imprudent long marches.

AUGUST (? SEPT.) 7, 1779—The army marched, & having crossed at the mouth of the Senake Lake, the Ford shallow and narrow, passed on through a narrow defile, made by the Lake on one side & a deep swamp on the other, & arrived upon a plane open wood, of but small extent, then passed another long defile, made as the former. The land, and timber much the same with what we passéd over the last three or four days—no hills or mountains on either side ye river.

Afterward we entered a thick wood—Genl Maxwell's brigade went off to the right, & Genl Hand's with the two flanking columns went off to the left. We entered the town of Conadasego, (12 miles), a large Indian settlement, one of the principal towns of the nation, some time, after son set.

The Indians had deserted the place some short time before our arrival. It seems we are not to see any more of these people. It was expected they would have made a great stand at this place. Here we find great quantities of Corn & beans, &c.

It is difficult to account for the conduct of the Indians, who quit their towns, & suffer us to destroy them, their corn, their only certain stock of provisions, without offering to interrupt us. The land seems to be a good deal worn out, where part of their corn is planted. The Indians take no care to have clean water, by diging, they only use to cook, river & Lake water.

SEPTEMBER 8th, 1779—This day the army remained in camp Col. Smith was detach'd, with a body of men, to destroy a considerable settlement on the west side of the lake, at which place the Indians had a great quantities of Indian corn.

A small number of men started from the camp towards the Cayuga Lake, and fel in with a considerable settlement, which the inhabitants had abandoned, and destroyed it.

In this town, Conadasego, are a considerable number of apple trees 20 or 30 years old, & about 50 houses. Here was left a child about 2 years old.

SEPT. 9, 1779—The army marched about noon, and arrived at their Incampment a little before son set—having passed a long swamp about four miles. in the whole $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

This swamp is the first black ash swamp I have seen, of any consequence since I left New Jersey. The Timber in the swamp is oak, black & white ash, Beech, Bass, maple, white wood, little white pine elm & Button wood.

The swamp was very difficult to pass, here two of the carriages of the artillery were broke, which much impeded our march. They were afterwards mended so that we go on well.

SEPT. 10, 1779—This day the army marched early in the morning, and passed the other part of the swamp, which was not quite so difficult, as the first part. After we were out of the swamp we passed a fine open wood with large pieces of high grass. At length we came to a beautiful Lake [10 miles] the north end of which, we passed, and at the narrowest corner, passed the out Let, which was not very large. I rode into the lake about 10 rod and found it about 2 feet or 18 inches deep and believe it is mostly that depth, haveing a white sandy bottom & the water very clear.

A small distance from this Lake is the best built Indian Town I have yet seen, the houses mostly new, & mostly log houses. The Town is called Shannondaque, the name of the lake I cannot learn.

About a mile beyond this town was many fields of corn nigh to which we incamped after burning the houses. These corn fields with the beens in them, amazingly lengthen out our rations, & strengthens our hopes.

SEPT. 11.—The army marched very early, the first part a thick Brush and difficult, after that broken ground, swamps & hills, on the hills much grass and the trees scattering; the swamps thick woods and Brush. Arrived in the afternoon at an Indian town called, Angayea, on a fine plane with a small stream of water running through it. Here was many plats of Corn &c. [14 miles] within sight a lake small in extent, said to be one of the three lakes called Seneke—and it is said to be the source of the little Seneke river. The Land this day rich even on the top of the hills

SEPT. 12, 1779.—At Angayea the Gen'l left the greatest part of our stock of provisions & the worn out pack horses and men, and 50 good men, 1 piece of Cannon under command of Capt. Cummings.

The army marched late this day, being impeded by rain—in our march we passed the out-let of a lake of which I could learn no name.

About sunset the army incamped in the open wood, [11 miles] Our gen'l course seems to be near south west. We marched much faster than before, since the heavy baggage was left behind. I saw more chestnut timber this day than I have seen in our whole march—passed much good land even the hills are good.

SEPT. 13.—The army marched this morning, at sunrise, and in marching about two miles came to a settlement, where was plenty of corn, &c. Cannehsawes the name of this place. Here the army was impeded, by a creek, over which it was impossible to pass without making a bridge, which took up our time till after 10 o'clock. The night before Gen'l Sullivan sent, as I have been informed, a party of riflemen to Genesee, who were to return before day, under the command of Lt. Boyd. This party proceeded to a settlement, and returned part of the way, Lt. Boyd sent in some of his men to inform the Gen'l what discoveries were made, and remained on the path himself, with the rest of his men, waiting till the army should come up, in this situation a party of the enemy surrounded them, and killed and took the most of them; our loss in killed and taken was 16 & the officer.

The army marched again at 10 o'clock, and crossed the bridge, beyond which it crossed a very high hill covered with open woods—and at evening, arrived at a small settlement—I suppose the first of the Genesees, where is much corn and such things as Indians raise to subsist upon. After the Indians had surprised our riflemen they pursued such as had made off and fell in with our Surveyor one of whose men they wounded and took all his instruments.

In this affair our people killed three Indians, We expected this would be the end of our labor, but we were mistaken, we are again to march on, & our destination is beyond conjecture. (10 miles). All the land we passed this day is good and the swamps and inter vales surpass any I have seen before. Black Walnuts are very large and well shaped. The Quantity of Corn in the towns is far beyond what any body has imagined. I fear the methods taken will be ineffectual for its destruction.

SEPT. 14, 1779—After the army had destroyed the corn, which was at this place; it marched for Genessee [5 miles.]

First we passed up a branch of the river, which was not by any means rapid, but muddy, and advanced on to a plane, through a swamp of large trees, Black walnut, & white, maple, poplar, ash, Bass &c.—this plane, at first appeared to be about two miles in length, and upwards of a mile wide, lying almost east & west, we coming on the east end, and the view was obstructed by a hill not very high; but when we approached the middle of the plane we found it open to the right an amazing extent, when we came nigh the hill mentioned before, our march was obstructed by the Genessee river, which takes its course through the hills, and at this place enters this extensive plane, and winds its course down, as far as the eye can follow it, in its course it receives the other branches.

Both these branches being united the stream obtains the name of Genessee, & in some maps little Seneke, it falls into lake Ontario about 30 miles from here, and is said to be

navigable for Battaud which being the case, there may be an easy navigation all the way to Montrael.

The grass on this extensive plain is good, the wild horses are very fond of it, and it grows as high as a man's head in many places.

Here we had a charming view of our army, which is the first, all moving in our original order of march.

The army here crossed the river and ascended the hill—it continued its progress to Genesee, over several sudden hills and swamps, which were general misery, if not three rods across, at which place it arrived about sunset. This is much the largest Indian Town I have yet seen—having about 80 houses, it is built mostly of small logs and covered with bark. The town is situated on a very fine plane, higher than the other large plane, which has generally obtained the name of flat, or bottom.

The Indian houses might have been very comfortable, had they made any convenience for the smoke to be conveyed out, only a hole in the middle of the top of the roof of the house.

The Indians are exceedingly dirty, the rubage of one of their houses, is enough to stink a whole country.

At this place, we found the mangled bodies of two, of the men we lost day before yesterday, one known to be Lt. Boyd's which were immediately entered with the usual honours of war.

These dead bodies had evident signs, of their having suffered the extremest tortures, from the virtuous and faithful allies of Great Britain headed by a Butler and Brandt, these dastardly reches not having bravery to fight us, wreak their vengeance on a few unfortunate men, they never would have dared to meet on equal terms.

The whole army are now very busy in destroying the corn, which is abundant in this place. Some of their houses were full of it hanging up to dry.

This is not an old place, many of their houses being new, and the inhabitants had deserted it only the day before we arrived, here they left more of their furniture, than at any other place.

A very pretty brook of good water runs through this town.

The Indians observe no kind of order in their building, and most of their houses have a small additional place, built at one end, from which, they have a dore into ye large house—they build two tier of births one above the other, on both sides, and have fire in ye centre.

The army must have dropped the prosecution of this expedition long ago, had not the corn, beans, &c., which it found from place, subsisted it. The first of Sept. we had only 23 days' provisions, a great quantity of which, must inevitably be lost, from the nature of the portage.

Since we left Tioga we lost 140 cattle, most of which we hear, have since returned to that place.

Much of our flower is carried in bags & often falling of, and striking against trees, sometimes falling into mud, & sometimes into ye water, as we pass many streams of water. & 5 horses are committed to the management of one clumsy driver.

This instance of the virtue of this army must exceed any yet exhibited. It has undertaken and performing this tedious march on the bare allowance of $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Flower & $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Beef a day and 5 gills of salt to 100 lb. of Beef—without any spirit, for, whatever might have been at Tioga in store, we could find no way to bring, but very little on with us.

From French Catherin's to this place, 95 miles at least, is undoubtedly the best land, and capable of the greatest improvement, of any part of the possession's of the U. States

SEPT. 15th, 1779—This day the whole army was employed in destroying corn at this place, until 4 o'clock P. M., when it faced to the right about, set fire to the town, and marched back to the fording place & repassed the Genesee river, by sunset, & proceeded on to the heither end of the plane, where we encamped in the evening. [5 miles.]

I think the Genesee flatt, what I have seen of it, may be about 6 miles in length, and half that in breadth

Beside this, there are large Swamps, covered with fine timber, almost all round the flatt, the soil of which is as rich as can be.

SEPT. 16th, 1779—This morning the army were detached early to destroy all the corn in the neighborhood of this place, it being very considerable, which being effected, the whole army crossed the creek, and pursued their old route, inverted, to the place where Lieut Boyd and his party had been surrounded by the Indians; here were found dead and scalped so many, as when added to those formerly mentioned, make the number 17 including one Indian. This little party, it is said sustained the action for some minutes after they were completely surrounded, and 14 of them were found dead on one spot.

CONADESAGO, SEPT. 20, 1779—Since the 16th; I have been so unwell, that I could not attend to anything more than my pains and fatigue. The army encamped here last night after marching upwards of 14 miles from a small lake on this side, Yannondaque.

Yesterday we had a packet arrive at camp with the news of Spain taking an active part in our difficulties.

The army marched a little before night (The Gen'l having detached 500 men to move across the mouth of the Cuyuga Lake and proceed to the Indian settlements on the east side of that lake & destroy them, then join the army at the Tioga branch. Also detached under Col. Gansevort a party to proceed to some other settlements near Albany, which, are to be destroyed) and then crossed the water, which flows from the Seneke Lake at the mouth, and incamped about a mile up the east side.

SEPT. 21, 1779—2½ miles past Candara. The army incamped 4 o'clock afternoon.

SEPT. 23, 1779—The army rested in a deep valle about three miles above French Catharin's and about 14 miles short of the Susquahanna.

SEPT. 24, 1779—This afternoon the army arrived at Konawaw holla on the Tioga Branch of Susquahanna—here we found a garrison of our people consisting of 200 men, who, had with boats, brot up a considerable supply of provisions. This place is about 23 miles above Tioga. In this days march the army passed the Allegane mountains, which is the highest land we have passed, the water descending both ways; and what is very remarkable, this mountain, at the place where we passed it, is a swamp of white pine and hemlock. & is very wet, altho there has not fallen any rain of consequence these 30 days past.

SEPT. 28, 1779—Last night about 7 o'clock, I arrived at Wyoming after a tedious passage by water from Connawahholla which I left the 25th, a little before night, having obtained permition to come down on account of my bad state of health. By water the way is computed to be 130 miles.

I arrived at Tioga the 26, 3 o'clock in the morning, where I was very kindly entertained by Col. Shrevee, who furnished Col. Smith with a boat, and necessary assistance, my horses were brought down by land.

SEPT. 30, 1779—I reached Easton.

OCT. 2, 1779—Arrived at my house Morristown having traveled continually on the way every day since the 15th Sept. from Genesee.

JOURNAL OF LIEUT.-COL. HENRY DEARBORN.

HENRY DEARBORN, Lieutenant Colonel commanding the Third New Hampshire (Scammell's) Regiment. The following sketch is by Genl John S. Clark, Auburn, N. Y.:

Colonel Dearborn was born in Hampton, N. H., in March, 1751. He was a captain at Bunker Hill, and accompanied Arnold in the march through the woods against Quebec, in which expedition he was captured. He was exchanged in 1777, and soon after was appointed Major of Scammell's regiment. At Saratoga he commanded a separate battalion under General Gates, and was afterwards at Monmouth, where he distinguished himself and the regiment by a gallant charge. In 1779 Colonel Scammell was acting as Adjutant General of the army, leaving Lieut. Colonel Dearborn in command of the regiment during Sullivan's campaign. He was at the siege of Yorktown in 1781, and afterward on garrison duty at Saratoga and West Point until 1784. He served two terms in Congress, was for eight years secretary of war under Jefferson, and in the war of 1812 was senior Major General of the army. In 1822 he was minister to Portugal, from whence he returned after two years' service, and died in Roxbury, Mass., June 6, 1829. After his death, his son, Henry Alexander Scammell Dearborn, collected and arranged the valuable papers of his father, transcribed the journals, which extended through the entire period of the revolution, and added important historical sketches, the whole making forty-five large volumes handsomely bound in morocco, the exterior approximating in elegance to the inestimable value of the material within. On the death of the son, all of these, excepting seven volumes, were taken apart, and the contents, made up of valuable autograph letters of the revolutionary period, scattered to the four winds by a sale at public auction. The seven volumes, containing no autographs, were reserved at the sale and remain intact. In one of these is the Journal kept during Sullivan's campaign, as

arranged by the son, but this copy differs from the original in many particulars, and includes much matter evidently obtained from other sources.

The original manuscript Journal of Sullivan's campaign, together with many other valuable original documents, are now in the possession of Charles P. Greenough, Esq., of Boston, Massachusetts, who intends to present them, through his brother William Greenough, Esq., of New York city, to the Waterloo Library and Historical Society, of Waterloo, Seneca county, N. Y. With the consent and approbation of that Society, a *literal* copy of the original journal has been obtained through the kindness and courtesy of Mr. Greenough, who has taken great pains to make the copy accurate, and sincere acknowledgments are due to him and also to the Waterloo Library and Historical Society, for the great favors so cheerfully bestowed.

JOURNAL.

EASTON JUNE 17 1779

Genls Maxwells & Poors Brigades with Cols. Procters Regt of Artillery ware order'd to march this day for Wyoming under the Command of the Honble Majr Genl Sullivan on an Expedition against the Savages between Wyoming & Niagara

18th The Army march'd at Sunrise proceeded 12 miles to Hilliers tavern & encamp'd our course to day about north

19th March'd at 4 o'clock A M proceeded 7 miles to Brinker's Mills where there is a Magazine of Provisions kept Here we halted & drew provisions We passed this morning what is Call'd the Wind Gap of the blue mountains a narrow pass that appears as if Nature design'd it for a road into the country as it is the only place that this ridge of mountains can be passed for a very great distance After drawing provisions we march'd 9 miles to Learns tavern & encamp'd Our course to day about north

20th March'd at 9 o'clock pass'd the end of a mountain call'd Dogon point proceeded about 5 miles & encamp The hous we left this morning is the last we shall see until we git to Wyoming

21st Enter'd what is Call'd the Great Swamp proceeded 20 miles thro' a horrid rough gloomey country the land cover'd with pine Spruce lawrel bushes & hemlock We eat breakfast at a stream call'd Tunkhannah we pass'd another call'd Tobehannah & an other the Leahigh We likewise pass'd what is called the Shades of Death a very gloomy thick part of the Swamp

22nd. We March'd but 5 miles to a dessolate farm 7 miles from Wyoming

23'd We March'd to the Fort at Wyoming 7 miles where we found several reg'ts incamp'd which are part of our army our course the 2 last days has been about N. West The whole Country from Easton to Wyoming is very poor & barren & I think Such as will never be Inhabited it abounds with dear & Rattle Snakes The land at Wyoming on both sides the river is very fine & was very thickly Inhabited before they ware cut off by the savages 20 miles up & down the river after the Battle at this place last year in which more than 200 of the Inhabitants were Kill'd the Savages burnt & destroyed the whole country & drove off the cattle & horses & strip'd the women & children of every comfort of life we are now incamp'd on the bank of the Susquehannah river this river is at this place about 50 rods wide & abounds with fish of various kinds Such as Shad Bass, pike, trout &c &c &c

24th We are laying still some skattering Indians are skulking about us

25th Nothing New 26th as yesterday

27th the 2nd & 3rd N. Hampshire regt cross'd the river & mov'd 3 miles up to a place call'd Forty Fort on Abrahams plains & incamp'd here in the remains of a stockhead fort about 3 miles above this Fort the Battle was fought between the 2 Butlers viz Col Butler of Wyoming & the inhuman savage Butler that commanded the Indians & Tories in which 250 men were Killed & Skelp'd on our side & about 40 or 50 on the Enimies side The next day after the battle the Enimy contrary to their engagements at the Capitulation of Forty Fort (in which was about 500 women & Children) burnt and destroyed the whole settlement.

28th We are erecting some small works for the security of our guards

29th as yesterday

30th nothing new

JULY 1st the two Tories who ware condemn'd at Easton ware orderd to be executed to day 1 of them was hung the other was pardon'd under the Gallows A number of us discover'd a fine buck to day on an Island which we surrounded & killed The army is waiting for provisions that are coming up the River.

2nd I went with Genl Poor and several other Gentlemen to day to vew the feild of action where the Battle between the 2 Butlers was fought. We found a great number of bones at & near the field of battle Among a number of skul bones that we found none was without the mark of the tommahok I saw one Grave where 73 of our men ware buried & was shewn a place wher 17 of our men after being taken ware made to set down in a ring 16 of whom they Immediately tommahawk'd the other leap'd over the ring and made his escape

3'd This is anniversary of the Battle of the two Butlers mentioned above.

4th This is the Anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence but as it is Sunday we take no other notice of it than that of having a Sermon adapt to the Occasion Col Cilley's & Courtlandt's reg'ts cross'd the river and Join'd us to day Several dear & wild turkeys have been kill'd within a day or two with which this Country abounds

MONDAY JULY 5th Genl Poor made an Entertainment for all the Officers of his Brigade to celebrate the Anniversary of the declaration of American Independence 87 Gentleman ware present at dinner after which the 13 following toasts ware drank 1--4th of July 76 the ever Memorable Patriotick Eara of American Independence 2nd The United States 3d The Grand Counsel of America 4th Gen'l Washington & the Army 5th The King & Queen of France 6th Genl Lincoln & the Southern Army 7th Genl Sullivan & the Western Army 8th May the Counsellors of America be wise and her Soldiers Invincible 9th A Successful & decisive Campaign 10th Civilization or death to all American Savages 11th the Immortal Memory of those heroes that have fallen in defence of American Liberty 12th May this New World be the last Asylum for freedom and the Arts. 13th May the Husbandman's house be bless'd with peace & his fields with plenty.

The whole was conducted with such Joy & festivity as demonstrated an Independent Elevation of Spirit on this Important & enteresting Occasion.

6th One Winslow a Soldier in the 3d N. Hampshire regt was drown'd this morning by going into bathe a very severe shower of thunder hail rain & wind came on at abt 1 P. M. many peices of the hail ware as large as hens Eggs but of a very erregular form

7th I eat part of a fried Rattle Snake to day which would have tasted very well had it not been snake

8th Nothing extraordinary

10th A detachment of 150 men was sent from the 2nd & 3'd N Hampshire regt under the command of Col Reid towards Easton to repara the rode & to help forward some wag-gons with provisions.

11th. we receiv'd our New Commissions upon the new Arrangement to day which we have been expecting for Eighteen Months I rec'd several letters from N Hampshire to day in one of which I am inform'd of being married but have not learnt to whome

12th nothing new

13 Col. Butler Misses Butler and a number of the ladies honour'd us with a visit from town this afternoon with whom we spent a very agreeable afternoon

14th nothing new

15 we hear the Main body of the Enimy have retir'd from Kings ferry on the Hudson river but have left a post there.

16th I went with Generals Sullivan Maxwell & Poor together with a number of other Gentlemen to vew the ground where the Battle of the Butlers was fought

17th we hear the enimy are pursuing their savage plan of burning plundering & destroying defenceless towns that they have burnt fairfield Norwalk & a part of New Haven in Connecticut & Bedford in N York State These things we may thank our good friends the tories for what will not those hell hounds doo us There was a very striking instance of their more than savage barbarity in the battle of the 2 Butlers One Henry Pencil of Wyoming who was fortunate enough to make his escape from the field of Battle on to an Island in the river with one or two more without their arms near night a small party of the enimy came on to the Island the foremost of which was John Pencil brother to s'd Henry who upon discovering his brother call'd him a damned rebel & threaten'd to kill him. Henry fell on his knees & begged for his life saying brother John I am in your hands I'll be your slave I'll go with you but pray spare my life we have differ'd in sentiment & have met on the field of Battle but as I am now fully in your power for God's sake don't kill me but his unatural & more than savage brother Cain like deaf to all his cries & Intreaties damn'd him for a rebel deliberately charg'd his gun & shot his brother then tommahawk'd and skelped him Immediately some savages cam up and ask'd him what he had done he told them he had kill'd his brother Henry a dam'd Rebel These savages curs'd his unnatural behaveyer & threaten'd to serve him the same way The above account I have from one Mr. Slocum a young fellow belonging to Wyoming who lay in the bushes so near Pencil as to hear all that passed

18th nothing extraordinary 19th do 20th Do

21st We are informed by a letter from one of Genl Washington's Aids that Genl Wain with a body of Light Infantry on the night of the 15th Inst surprised & took a small Garrison near Kings ferry on Hudsons River call'd Stoney Point the particulars have not come to hand but it is said the number of men kill'd and taken is about 600 & a quantity of Artillery & Stores &c.

22nd we have a confirmation of the news of yesterday

23d I went with several other Gentlemen 8 miles up the River to an old Settlement call'd Lackawane to fish and hunt dear where we stayed over night.

24th Came home with but few fish 70 boats arriv'd from Sunsbury with provisions and stores to day.

25th Seven men belonging to what is call'd the German regt ware sentenced by a General Court Martial to suffer death for desertion

26th we are Informed that Genl Parsons has had an Engagement with a body of the Enimy near Wilton 7 miles from Norwalk in Connecticut and finally repuls'd them.

27th Genl Poors Brigade moov'd down the river & Join'd the Main army at what is called the town The above mentioned deserters that ware order'd to be executed to day are pardoned by the Genl who has declar'd he never will pardon another man in like circumstances

28th Col Reid arriv'd with 80 waggons with provisions and Stores from Easton, The pack Horses are destributed in the several Brigades & mark'd

29th we are inform'd that a party of Savages with some british troops have taken a small fort on the west branch of the Susquehannah near Sunsbury have plunder'd the Inhabitents of their cattle, horses & every other thing they could carry off and another party has been down to a place call'd the Minnisinks on the deleware river and have had an action with a party of our Millitia in which the Millitia were rather worsted & and lost a number of men but the Millitia being reinfors'd the enimy ware oblig'd to retreat we likewise are inform'd that Genl Clinton has moov'd up from New York & taken possession of Kings ferry again with his main body

30th the army under Genl Sullivan is order'd to March to Morrow Morning towards the Indian Settlements A very severe campaign I expect we shall have

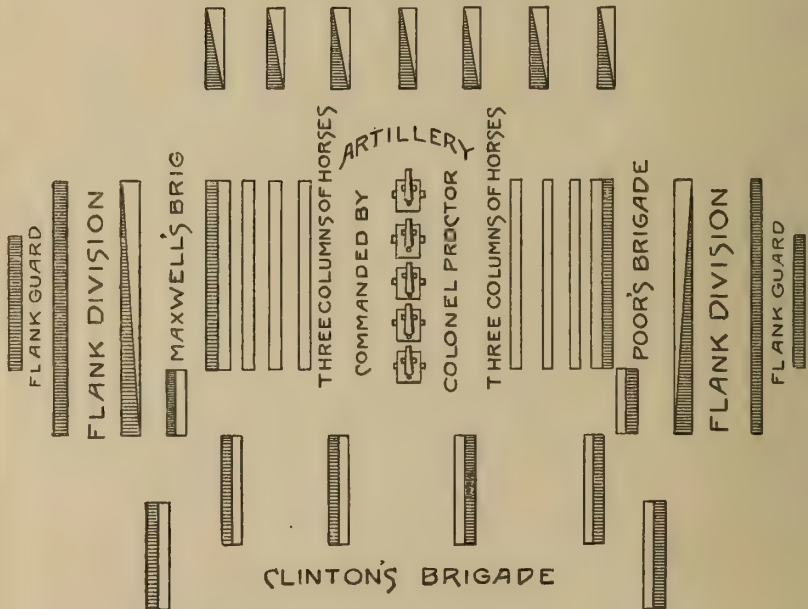
Genl Sullivan's army at Wyoming consists of the Troops following viz Maxwells

Brigade consisting of Ogdens Datens Shreefes and Spencers regts—Poors Brigade consisting of Cilleys Reids Scammel's & Courtlands regts—Hands Brigade consisting of the German regt Shot's Corps Spoldens Independant Ccpany & HHubley's regt from Penselvania

WYOMING JULY 31st 1779 This day the army Marches for Teoga in the following order

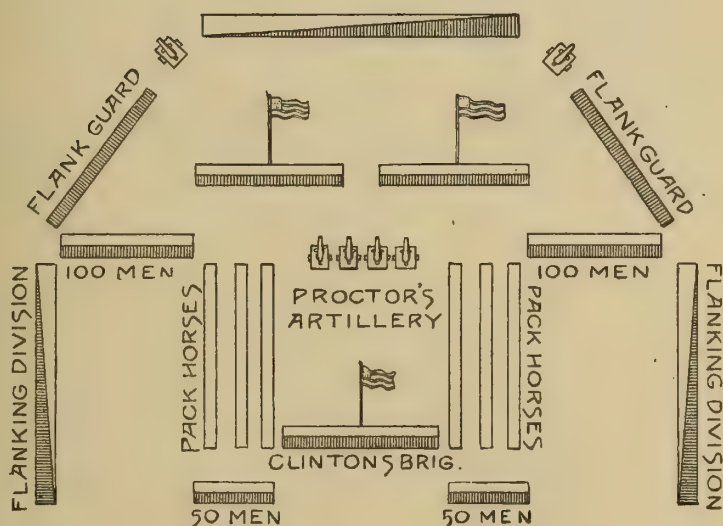
ORDER OF MARCH

LIGHT TROOPS COMMANDED BY
GEN'L HAND



-ORDER OF BATTLE

LIGHT CORPS COMMANDED BY
GENERAL HAND



NOTE—The foregoing sketches of Order of March and Order of Battle are just as found in the journal and are as originally issued : by Genl. Sullivan's order of the 24th August the Brigades of Poor and Maxwell changed places in conformity to a previous arrangement.

HEAD QUARTERS EASTON MAY 24, 1779

When the army shall be fully assembled the following Arrangements are to take place
 Light corps commanded by Genl Hand consisting of Armandts corps Sholts Do 6 companies of Rangers Wm. Butlers regt Morgans Corps and all volunteers that may Join the army

Maxwells Brigade	{	Ogdens Dayton	}	Regts
to consist of	{	Shreeves & Spencers	}	

and form the left of the front line

Poors Brigade	{	Cilleys Reids	}	Regts
to consist of	{	Scammels & Cortlandts	}	

to form the right of the front line

Clintons Brigade	{	late Livingstons Dubois	}	Regts
to consist of	{	Ganseworths & Oldens	}	

to form the 2nd line or Reserve

The right of the first line to be cover'd by 100 men draughted from Maxwells Brigade the left to be covered by 100 men draughted from Poors Brigade Each flank of the 2nd line to be cover'd by 50 men draughted from Clinton's Brigade The Flanking division on the right to consist of Hartlies & Dattens regt with a draught from the line of 100 men The flanking division on the left to consist of the German Batln & 100 men draughted from the line. The order of Battle & the Order of March are represented On the Annexed plan and are to be adher'd to at all times when the situation of the Country will possibly admit & where a deviation takes place it must be carried no further than the necessity of that time requires

The Order of March the light corps will advance by the right of Companies in files & keep at least one mile in front Maxwells Brigade will advance by its right in files sections or platoons as the country will admit Poors Brigade will advance by its left in the same manner Clintons Brigade will advance by the right of regts by platoons, sections or files as the Country will admit. All the covering parties and flanking divisions on the right will advance by the left & those on the left by the right. The Artillery & pack horses will March in the Center Should the Army be attacked in front while on its march the light Corps will Immediately form and repulse the Enimy. The flanking divisions will Endeavor to gain the flank & rear of the Enimy while the line is forming The pack horses will in all cases fall into the position represented on the annexed plan Should the Enimy attack on either flank the flanking division attacked will form a front and sustain the attack til reinforced in which case a part of the light troops is to be Immediately detach'd to gain the Enimies flank & rear the covering parties of the 2'nd line will moove to gain the other flank Should the Enimy attack our rear the 2nd line will face & form a front to the Enimy the covering parties of the 1st. line will moove to sustain it while the flanking Divisions face about and Endeavour to gain their flanks & rear Should the light troops be driven back they will pass thro the Intervals of the main Army & form in the rear Should the Enimy in an Engagement with the army when form'd endeavour to turn either flank the covering parties will moove up to lengthen the line and so much as may be found necessary from the flanking divisions will display outwards to prevent the attempt of the Enimy from succeeding the light Corps will have their advance & flank guards at a good distance from the Main body the Flanking Divisions will furnish flank guards & the 2'nd line a Rear Guard for the Main Army When we find the light Corps engag'd with the Enimy in front the front of the pack horses will halt and the rear close up while the columns moove in a small distance Close & display Columns which will bring the horses in the position represented in the plan for order of Battle Should the attack be made on either flank or Rear the horses must be kept in the position they are in at the commencement of the attack unless other orders are then given

JULY 31 1779 After passing the forenoon at very severe fatigue in loading the boats & pack horses the army movd from Wyoming at 2 o'clock P. M with 120 boats about 1200 pack horses & 700 beef cattle We proceeded to Lachawanea 10 miles & Encamp'd here

has been a very pleasant settlement the land is very fertile & level the Inhabitants being drove off & the place dessolated by the Savages last year it is now uninhabited We have had a remarkable rainy time for 10 days past & still continues

AUGUST 1st SUNDAY As the boats didnt get up last night the army did not march till 4 o'clock P M Proceeded 7 miles the way most horribly rough we found great difficulty in getting forward the pack horses it was late in the evening before we arriv'd at our Incamping ground Our rear Guard did not arrive til near day brake We incamp'd on a fine peice of Intervale which has been Inhabited but shared the fate of Wyoming last year This place was Formaly Inhabited by savages was called Quilutimack

2nd The army lay still to repair the pack sadles &c &c We took a number of fine fish with a sean to day Such as bass pike chubbs &c &c

3^d The army march'd at 7 o'clock proceeded 12 miles to some dessolated fields at the mouth of a creek called Tunkhannunk we had much better marching to day

4th Marched at 6 o'clock proceeded 17 miles to a dessolated farm call'd Vanderlips which is an excellent tract of land we passed several dessolated farms to day one of which was on a Stream 5 miles from where we incamp'd last night call'd Meshoping the land we have marched over to day is very Mountainous

5th Marched at 10 o'clock proceeded to Wyolusing 10 miles This has been an old Indian Town Situate on an Excellant tract of Intervale land about 80 families of this town were christianis'd by a Moravian parson & form'd into a regular town in the center of which they had a chappel The land on this River being purchas'd by the Connecticut Company in the year 1770 or 71 the savages moov'd off further westward & left this place in possession of a few Americans who sence the commencement of this war have left it & Join'd the Enemy. This Town stood on a point of land round which the river makes a very large bow or turn above the town a large stream emties into the river called Wyolusing The land here is covered with a very large burthen of English Grass on the Intervale near this place are much the largest trees I ever saw the growth is Black walnut & buttenwood.

6th we remain at Wyolusing to day to recruit our horses and cattle

7th The weather being rainy we lay still

8th The Army march'd at 6 o'clock I had the flank Guard passed Several high mountains & several dessolate farms proceeded to what is call'd the Standing Stone bottom where there is a learge body of excellent land that has been Improv'd Genl Sullivan is so unwell that he is not able to command the army and is oblig'd to proceed by water

9th March'd at 7 o'clock proceeded 3 miles to a dessolate farm on the mouth of a stream call'd Wesawking here we halted an hour then proceeded 12 miles to a large body of clear Intervale cover'd with high Grass & incamp'd This place is within 4 miles of Tiogea & has been inhabited by both white People & Savages & is Call'd Sheshekonunk The land we march'd over this day is very fine indeed Genl Sullivan is not so unwell as he has been & has resumed the command of the army again The weather being very warm & our march very severe many of our men falter'd to day

10th The Army lay still The Genl & a number of field Officers are reconnoitering the country and endeavoring to find a place where the army can ford the river. The General Course from Wyoming to Tiogea is near North

11th The Army forded the river where the water was so deep and rappid that we found great difficulty in fording After fording the river proceeded 3 miles & crossing the west branch of the river called the Tiogea branch ariv'd at Tiogea Setuate on the point where the west branch forms a Junction with the Susquehannah On both sides of the Tiogea branch are very large bodies of clear Intervale cover'd with high grass where there has been a learge Indian Settlement and where Queen Hester (Queen of the Six Nations) resided until last autumn Col Hartley with a party of troops burn'd her palace Genl Sullivan has been fortunate enough to reach this place with his Army without any considerable accident happening.

12th We are beginning to erect works for the security of the troops & Stores to be left at this place The Genl receiv'd intelligence this afternoon by a Small party that had been

sent to make discoveries that the Enemy appear to be in great confusion & about moving from Chemong an Indian town 12 m up the Tiogea branch in consequence of which the whole army fit for duty march'd at 8 o'clock P M in order to Surprise the enemy at Chemong On our march we pass'd several very difficult defiles & as the night was very dark & the path but little us'd we found great difficulty in proceeding Genl Hand with his Brigade was to go round & fall into the rode that leads from the town up the river while Genl Poor mov'd directly to the town & made the attack if he found the enemy in possession of the town at day brake we arriv'd at the Town but found it deserted only two or three Indians were seen running from the town The Town consisted of about 30 houses situate on the bank of the Tiogea Their houses were built with split & hew'd timber cover'd with bark There were 2 large buildings which were said to be Publick houses There was very little left in the houses except baskets buckets & skins the houses had no chimney or floors & ware very dirty & smookey about sun rise all the buildings ware set on fire On examination we found that a party of the enemy incamp'd about 60 rods from the town last night and from all appearence the enemy left the town last evening Genl Hand with his brigade pursu'd the enemy about 2 miles & was fired on by a party of Indians from the top of a hill who run off as soon as the fire was return'd Genl Hand had 6 men kill'd & seven wounded three of the latter ware officers The enemy ware pursued by our troops but not overtaken We found a number of very large fields of corn in the whole about 40 acres about fit to roast which we cut down and destroy'd in doing which a party of our men ware fir'd on by a party of Tories & Indians across the river who kill'd one man & wounded 4 After completing the distruction of the corn Town &c we return'd to Tiogea where we arriv'd at dark very much fatigued having march'd not less than 30 miles & the weather very warm Chemong lays about N^W West from Tiogea

14th Nothing new

15th 1000 chosen men under the command of Genl Poor ar order'd to march to morrow morning up the river to meet Genl Clinton who is in his way to Join us with his Brigade & is in danger of being attackt by the Enemy before he can form a Junction with our main army I am order'd on this Command This afternoon a small party of Indians fir'd on some men who were without our guards after horses & cattle kill'd & Scalp'd one man and wounded another A party was sent out in pursute of them but could not come up with them

16th Genl Poor march'd with his detachment at 10 o'clock A M proceeded in 2 columns 13 miles up the Susquehanna over very rough ground We encamp'd near the ruins of an old Indian Town call'd Macktowanunk The land near the river is generally good.

17th We march'd early this morning proceeded 12 miles to Owagea an Indian Town which was deserted last Spring after planting About the town is a numbar of fruit trees & many plants & hearbs that are common in our part of the country here is a large body of clear Intervale cover'd with Grass Our march to day has been very severe & fatigueng especially for the left Column (to which I belong) as we had to pass several difficult steep hills & bad Moraisses

18th We march'd early this morning proceeded 14 miles to Chaconnut the remains of a large Indian town which has been likewise abandoned this summer Here we found plenty of cucumbers squashes turnips &c we found about twenty houses which we burnt Our days March has been more severe than yesterday as we had besides hills & common swamps one swamp of about 2 miles so covered with large pines standing & lying which appeared as tho several hurricanes had been very busey among them since which a tremendous groath of bushes about 20 feet high has sprung up so very thick as to render passing thro' them Impracticable by any troops but such as nothing but death can stop At sunset we ware very agreeably allarm'd by the report of a Cannon up the river which we suppos'd to be Genl Clintons Evining Gun.

19th Our troops ware put in motion very early this morning after marching about one mile Genl Poor receiv'd an express from Genl Clinton informing him that the latter expect'd

to be here by 10 o'clock A M in consequence of which we return'd to our old incampment where Genl Clinton Joined us at 10 o'clock with 2000 men Including Officers boatmen &c He has 208 batteaux with provisions Ammunition etc after mutuil congratulations & Compliments the whole proceeded down the river to Owagea & incamp'd This evining the town of Owagea was made a bone fire of to grace our meeting Our general course from Tiogea to Choconut is about N East

20th We have a very heavy rain to day & no tents but we are obliged to ride it out

21st We march'd early proceeded within 10 miles of Tiogea

22nd March'd at 6 oclock & at 11 ariv'd in Camp where we were Saluted with 13 Cannon & a tune on Col Proctor's band of Musick.

23d We are preparing to march with all possible expedition about 5 oclock this afternoon a very shocking accident happened in our Brigade A Soldier very accidentally discharg'd a musket charged with a ball & several buckshot 3 of which unfortunately struck Capt Kimbal of Col Cilley's regt who was standing at some distance in a tent with several other officers in such a manner that he expired within 10 or 15 minutes as universally lamented as he was esteem'd by all who knew him One of the shot wounded a soldier in the leg who was setting at some distance from the tent Capt Kimbal was in

24th The remains of the unfortunate Capt Kimbal was Inter'd at 11 Oclock A M with the honours of war attended by Genl Poor & almost all the Officers of the Brigade with Col Proctors Band of Musick The Army is very busey in preparing to march

25th We find great difficulty in getting ready to moove for want of a sufficiant number of horses to Carry our provisions Ammunitions Stores &c however we are to morrow without fail with 27 days flower & live beef Our whole force that will march from here is about 5000 men Officers included with nine peices of Artillery Three of the Anyda Warriors ariv'd in camp this afternoon who going on with us as guides two runners ariv'd from Col. Broadhead at Fort Pitt Informing that Col Broadhead is on his way with about 800 men against the western Indians.

26th Our Army March'd at 12 oclock in the order laid down in the plan of order of March & Battle A garrison of about 300 men is left at this place under the Command of Col Shreeve The army proceeded about 4 miles & incamp'd Mr. Lodge a Gentleman who survay'd and Measur'd the rode from Easton to this place goes on with in order to take an actual survey of the country who measures the rode as we go on

27th The Army March'd at 8 o'clock Our march were very much Impeded by the Artillery & Ammunition wagons which we have to clear a rode for thro the thick woods and difficult defiles The army was obliged to halt 7 hours at one defile to day for the artillery and baggage at 10 P M we ariv'd our incamping ground a learge body of clear Intervale where we found about 70 or 80 acres of fine corn our march has not been more than 5 miles to day

28th As we had the corn to destroy before we could march it was 2 oclock P M before we moov'd off the ground By reason of a high mountain that shuts down to the river so as render passing with the artillery impractacable we ware oblig'd to ford the river twice before we got to Chemong with the artillery pack horses and 1 Brigade The water was so high as render'd fording very difficult & dangerous A considerable quantity of flower Ammunition & baggage was lost in the river at 10 in the evening the rear of the army ariv'd at Chemong where we incamp'd Our march to day has not been more than 3 miles A small scout of ours return'd to day which informs that they discover'd a learge incampment about 6 miles from Chemong A small party of Indians fired on a party of our men to day that ware setting fire to some houses over the river but did no damage

29th The army march'd at 9 o'clock A M proceeded about 5 miles when our light troops discover'd a line of brestworks about 80 rods in their front which after reconnoytering ware found to extend about half a mile in length on very advantageous ground with a learge brook in front the river on their right a high mountain on their left & a learge settlement in their rear called New Town Their works ware very artfully mask'd with green bushes so that the discovering them was as accidental as it was fortunate to us Skirmishing on both sides commenc'd soon after we discover'd their works which con-

tinued until our Disposition was made which was as followeth viz The Artillery to form in front of their works cover'd by Genl Hands Brigade Genl Poors Brigade and riflemen to turn the Enimies left & fall in their rear supported by Genl Clintons Brigade Genl Maxwells Brigade to form a Corps de reserve the left flanking division & light Infantry to pursue the Enemy when they left their works At 3 P M Genl Poor began his rout by Collums from the right of Regts by files we pass'd a very thick swamp so cover'd with bushes for near a mile that the Collumns found great difficulty in keeping their order but by Genl Poors great prudence & good conduct we proceeded in much better order than I expected we possibly could have done After passing this swamp we inclin'd to the left crossed the creek that runs in front of the enimies works On both sides of this creek was a large number of new houses but no land cleared soon after we pass'd this creek we began to assend the mountain that cover'd the Enimies left Immediately after we began to Assend the Mountain We ware saluted by a brisk fire from a body of Indians who ware posted on this mountain for the purpos of preventing any troops turning the left of their works at the same Instant that they began their fire on us they raised the Indian yell or war whoop The riflemen kept up a scattering fire while we form'd the line of Battle which was done exceeding quick we then advanced rappedly with fix'd bayonets without firing a shot altho they kept up a steady fire on us until we gain'd the summit of the Mountain which is about half a mile We then gave them a full volley which oblig'd them to take to their heels Col Reids Regt was on the left of the Brigade was more severely attackt than any other part of the Brigade which prevented his advancing as far as the rest After we had scower'd the top of the mountain (in doing which Lt Cass of our regt tommohawked an Indian with the Indians own tommahawk that was slightly wounded) I being next to Col Reid on the left finding he still was very severely ingag'd nearly on the same ground he was first attackt on thought proper to reverse the front of the Regt & moove to his assistance I soon discover'd a body of Indians turning his right which I turn'd about by a full fire from the regt This was a very seasonable releaf to Col Reid who at the very moment I fir'd on those that ware turning his right found himself so surrounded that he was reduc'd to the nessessaty of retreating or making a desparate push with the bayonet the latter of which he had began to put in executien the moment I gave him releaf The Enimy now all left the field of action with precepetition & in great confusion pursued by our light Infantry about 3 miles They left a number of their packs blankets &c on the ground Half an hour before the action became serious with Genl Poors Brigade the Artillery open'd upon their works which soon made them works too warm for them We found of the Enimy on the field of action 11 Indian warriors dead & one Squaw took one white man & one negro prisoners from whom we learnt that Butler Commanded here that Brandt had all the Indians that could be mustered in the five Nations that there was about 200 whites a few of which were British regular troops It seems their whole force was not far from 1000 These prisoners inform us their loss in killed & wounded was very great the most of which they according to custom carried off Our loss in Genl Poors Brigade kill'd and wounded is

	Kill'd	Wounded	
Major	0	1	Major Titcomb
Capt	0	1	Capt Clays
Lt	0	1	Lt. McCawley died the same night.
Non commissioned & privates	3	29	

Our loss in Kill'd & wounded in the whole Army except Genl Poors Brigade was

Kill'd	-	-	-	-	-	0	Wounded	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
--------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

At sunset the army Incamp'd on the ground lately occupied by the Enimy

30th The Army remain'd on the ground to day destroy'd a vast quantity of corn & about 40 houses The Army by a request of Genl Sullivans agree'd to live on half a pound of beef & half a pound of flower pr day for the future as long as it may be found messessary our provisions being very short This night our sick and wounded together with the Ammunition waggons & 4 of our heaviest peaces of Artillery are sent back to

Tioge by water which will enable the Army to proceed with much greater ease & rapidity Our course from Chemong to here is about N West

31st We march'd at 10 o'clock The right Column march'd on the hills some distance from the river the left column & Artillery march'd by the river The land we march'd over fine Found and Destroy'd several fields of corn & houses Proceeded $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles to where the Alliganer & Kaiyugea branches of the river unite On the point between these two streams was a very pretty town call'd Kannawaloholla which from appearance was deserted this morning Some boats were seen by our advanced parties going up the Allaganer branch A number of feather beds were emtied in the houses our soldiers found several learge chests buried which were fill'd with a great variety of household furniture & many other articles After halting here an hour we proceeded between the two rivers on a fine plain about 5 miles & incamp'd A detachment was sent up the Allegana branch in pursute of the Enemy

SEPTEMBER 1st The detachment that was sent up the river in pursute of the Enemy return'd this morning. They could not overtake the Enemy but they found & destroy'd several learge fields of corn

The Army march'd at 10 oclock proceeded about 3 miles on a plain then came to what is call'd bair Swamp which extends to French Katareens 9 miles The growth is pine Spruce & hemlock exceeding thick A small river run thro it which we had to cross about 20 times On both sides of this Swamp is a ridg of tremendous hills, which the collums were oblig'd to march on having a rode to open for the artillery proceeded very slowly At dark when we had got within about 3 miles of Katareens Town we found ourselves in a most horrid thick Mirey Swamp which render'd our proceeding so difficult that it was 10 oclock in the Evining before we ariv'd at the town where we found fires burning & every other appeerence of the Enimies having left the town this afternoon This Town consists of above 30 houses There is a number fruit trees in this town The stream that we cross'd so often to day runs thro this Town & into the Seneca or Kannadasegea Lake the south end of which is but 3 miles from this Town

2nd The Army lay still to day to recrute and to destroy the Town corn &c A very old Squaw was found in the bushes who was not able to go off with the rest who informs us that Butler with the Tories went from this place with all the boats the day before yesterday the Indians warriers mooved off their families & Effects yesterday morning & then return'd here and stay'd till Sunset She says the Squaws & young Indians were very loth to quit the town but ware for giving themselves up but the warriors would not agree to it Several horses & cattle ware found at & about this place A party of light troops ware sent this morning to indeavor to overtake some of the Indians who left this place last evining but return'd without being able to afect it object

3d The Army march'd at 8 oclock after proceeding about 3 miles over rough ground came oposite to the end of the Lake & then found good marching the land very fine Proceeded 9 miles & incamp'd at 4 oclock P M near the east side of the lake This Lake is 40 miles in length & from 2 to 5 in width & runs nearly North & South.

4. The Army march'd at 10 oclock proceeded 4 miles to a small village where we found several fine fields of corn after destroying the village and corn march'd on 8 miles further and incamp'd The land we passed over this day is very fine

5th the Army march'd at 10 oclock and proceeded 5 miles to an old Indian town call'd Candaia or Apple Town where there is a very old orchard of 60 trees & many other fruit trees The town consists of 15 or 20 houses very beautifully situated near the Lake In the Town are 3 Sepulchers which are very Indian fine where I suppose some of their chiefs are deposited At this town we found a man by the name of Luke Sweatland who was taken by the Savages at Wyoming last summer and was adopted into an Indian family in this town where he has liv'd or rether stay'd about 12 months He appeer'd quite overjoy'd at meeting some of his acquaintance from Wyoming who are in our army He said the savages were very much straiten'd for food from April until corn was fit to roast that his being kept so starved prevented him from attempting to desert altho he had frequent opportunities by being sent 20 miles to the salt springs to make salt which springs he

says affords salt for all the Savages in this part of the country He says the Indians were much alarm'd and dejected at being beat at New Town They told him they had a great many wounded which they sent off by water We destroy'd large quantities of corn here. An express arriv'd this afternoon from Tyogea by which I receiv'd a letter that inform'd me that Abner Dearborn a nephew of mine about 16 years old, who was wounded in the Battle of New town died of his wounds the 2d inst

6th The horses & cattle were so scattered this morning that the army could not get ready to march until 3 P M proceeded 3 miles & incamp'd Oposite to where we incamped on the other side of the Lake we discovered a settlement & where we could see some Indians driving horses

7th Took up our line of march at 7 o'clock proceeded 8 miles and came to the end of the Lake where we expected the Enemy would give us another battle as they might have a very great advantage over us as we forded the outlet of the Lake. When we arriv'd in sight of the ford we halted & several scouts were sent out to reconnoiter the adjacent woods when we found the coast was clear the army pass'd the ford proceeded three miles by the end of the Lake & found a small settlement which we destroy'd & then proceeded 2 miles from the Lake a large town call'd Kannadasegea which is consider'd as the Capital of the Senecas and is call'd the Seneca Castle It consists of about 40 houses very irregularly situated in the center of which is the ruins of a Stockade fort & block house Here is a considerable number of apple & other fruit trees & a few acres of land clear cover'd with English grass Their cornfields which are very large are at some considerable distance from the Town we found In this town a white child about 3 years old which we suppose was a captive In the house was left a number of Skins some corn & many of their curiosities

8th The Army lay still to day The riflemen were sent to destroy a town about 8 miles from hence on the west side of the lake Call'd Gaghsonghwa We found a number of stacks of hay not far from this town which we set fire to A Scout of ours burnt a town to day about 10 miles N East from hence on the road to the Kayugea Settlement call'd Skaigees or long falls

9th By reason of a rain last night the Army could not march till 12 o'clock All our sick & Invaldees were sent back this morning to Tiaogea under an escort of 50 men We proceeded about 3 miles thro old fields cover'd with grass then enter'd a thick swamp call'd the 10 mile swamp we proceeded 4 miles in this swamp with great difficulty crossed a considerable stream of water & incamp'd

10th the Army March'd at 8 o'clock Proceeded thro the swampy & passed a large body of clear land covered with grass after leaving the clear land march'd one mile & Came to a small lake called Konnoadaiguah we forded the outlet of this lake proceeded about half a mile & came to a very pretty town call'd Kannandaguah consisting of about 30 houses much better built than any I have seen before Near the town we discover'd very large fields of corn Near which the Army incamp'd several parties were order'd out this afternoon to destroy the corn &c

11th The Army Mov'd at 6 o'clock march'd 14 miles to an Indian town called Anyeya situate on a body of clear intervalle near a small lake of the same name. This town consists of 10 or 11 houses. Near it was several large cornfields The land we march'd over to day is very good & a great part of it very thinly wooded & cover'd with grass It appears as if it has been cultivated heretofore

12th The weather being foul the army did not march till 12 o'clock A small post is establish'd here where we leave our provisions & Ammunition except what will be necessary to carry us to Chenesee (25 miles) & back again One piece of artillery is left at this post the Army march'd 11 miles this afternoon over a body of excellent land.

13 March'd at 7 o'clock Proceeded $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to a town call'd Kanegsas or Quicksea consisting of 18 houses situate on an excellent Intervale near a small lake we found a large quantity of corn, beans Squashes potatoes water Melons cucumbers &c &c in & about this town The army halted here 4 hours to destroy the Town & corn & to build a bridge over a creek At this town liv'd a very noted warrior called the Great Tree who

has made great pretensions of friendship to us & has been to Philadelphia & to Genl Washingtons head Quarters since the war commenced & has received a number of Presents from Genl Washington & from Congress yet we suppose he is with Butler against us

A party of Riflemen & some others 26 in the whole under the command of Lt Boyd of the Rifle corps was sent last night to a town 7 miles from here to make what discoveries he could & return at day brake Four of his men went into the town found it abandoned but found 3 or 4 scattering Indians one of which they kill'd and Skelp'd & then returned to Lt Boyd after sunrise who lay at some distance from the town He then sent 4 men to report to Genl Sullivan what he had discover'd and mov'd on slowly with the remainder toward camp After he had proceeded about halfway to camp he halted some time expecting the Army along he after halting some time sent two more men to Camp who discover'd some Scattering Indians & returned to Lt Boyd again he then march'd on his party towards camp & discover'd some Scattering Indians one of which one of his men kill'd He soon found himself nearly surrounded & attackt by two or three hundred savages and Tories he after fighting them some time attempt to retreat but found it impracticable 6 or 7 of his men did make their escape the remainder finding themselves completely surrounded ware determin'd to sell themselves as deer as possible & bravely fought until every man was killed but two which ware Taken one of which was Lt Boyd Some of the men that made their escape came to camp & inform'd the Genl of the matter upon which Genl Hand with the light troops ware order'd to march to the place of action but too late they left all their packs hats baggage &c where the action began which Genl Hand found.

After we had finish'd the bridge the army march'd on proceeded 7 miles to the before mentioned Town & incamp'd This town consists of 22 houses situate on a small river which falls into the Chenesse river about 2 miles below here and is call'd Gaghegwalahale

14th. The Genl expected to have found the great Chenessee town within 1½ miles of here on this side the river but upon reconoytering found that the town is 6 miles from here & on the other side of the river The army was employ'd until 11 o'clock in destroying corn which was found in great plenty at 12 Marched after fording the small river that the town stood on and passing thro a small grove we enter'd on what is called the Great Chenessee flats which is a vast body of clear Intervale extending 12 or 14 miles up & down the river & several miles back from the river cover'd with grass from 5 to 8 feet high & so thick that a man can git thro it but very slowly. Our army appeerd there to very great advantage moving in the exact order of March laid down in the plan but very often we that ware on horse back could see nothing but the mens guns above the grass After marching about 2 miles on this flat we came to the Chenessee River which we forded passed over a body of flats on the other side & assended on to oak land proceeded 3 miles & arriv'd at the town which we found deserted Here we found the bodies of Lt. Boyd & one other man Mangled in a most horred manner From appeerances it seems they ware tyed to two trees near which they lay & first severely whipp'd them their tongues were cut out their finger nails plucked off their eyes plucked out then speer'd & cut in many places & after they had vented their hellish spite & rage cut off their heads and left them. This was a most horrid specticle to behold & from which we are taught the necessity of fighting those more than devils to the last moment rather then fall into their hands alive

This is much the leargest Town we have met with it consists of more than 100 houses is situate on an excellent piece of land in a learge bow of the river. It appears the savages left this place in a great hurry & confusion as they left learge quantities of corn husk'd & some in heeps not husk'd & many other signs of confusion

15th At six o'clock the whole Army ware turn'd out to destroy the corn in & about this town which we found in great abundance we ware from 6 o'clock to 2 P M in destroying the corn & houses It is generally thought we have destroy'd 15,000 bushels of corn at this place The meathod we took to destroy it was to make large fires with parts of houses & other wood & then piling the corn on to the fire ading wood as we piled on the corn which Effectually destroyd the whole of it a woman with her child came to us to day who was taken at Wyoming when that place was cut off Her husband and one

child were Kill'd & Skelp'd in her sight when she was taken She inform'd us that Butler & Brant with the Tories & Indians left this place in a great hurry the 13 inst & are gone to Niagara which is 80 miles from hence where they expect we are going She says the Indians are very uneasy with Butler and their other leaders & are in great distress

We have now got to the end of our route & are turning our face homeward At 3 o'clock we fac'd to the right about & march'd in high spirits recross'd the Chenesee river & incamp'd on the Chenesee flats This place lays about west from teogea

16th A number of fields of corn were discover'd this morning at different places which employ'd the army until 10 o'clock in destroying At 1 o'clock P. M we recross'd the stream at Gaghchegwalahale & at 4 ariv'd at Kanigsas or Chockset & incamp'd 14 of Lt Boyd's party were found this afternoon near together skelp'd Honyose an Onyda Indian of considerable note that was with Lt Boyds party was among the dead

17th The army march'd at sunrise & at 12 o'clock ariv'd at Anyaye where we left our stores & found all safe

18th the Army March'd at 8 o'clock proceeded to Kaunandaguah & incamp'd Four Onyda Indians one of which is a Sachem met us to day who say that 100 of the Onydas & Tuskaroras set out with them to join us but meeting an Indian that left us sick at Kannedasagea when we were advancing who told them we march'd on so rappedly that they could not overtake us so as to be of any service they all returned but these four

19th The Army march'd to Kannadasegea An Express ariv'd from Genl Washington to day by which we are assured that Spain has declared War against England & that the Grand Fleets of France and Spain have form'd a Junction at Sea

At several towns that our army has destroy'd we found dogs hung up on poles about 12 or 15 feet high which we are told is done by way of sacrifice When they are unfortunate in war they sacrifice two dogs in the manner above mentioned to appease their Imaginery god One of these dogs skins they suppose is converted into a Jacket & the other into a tobacco pouch for their god The woman who came to us at Chenesee says the Savages hung up dogs immediately after the Battle of New Town

20th 500 men are detach'd under the command of Col Butler who is to march round Kaiyugea lake & destroy the Kaiyugea settlements at the East side of the Lake 100 men under the Command of Col Ganseworth are order'd to go and destroy the Mohawk castle on the Mohawk river & to proceed from thence to Albany

The Army march'd this afternoon cross'd the outlet of the Seneca Lake & incamp'd

21st I was order'd with 200 men to proceed to the west side of the Kaiyugea Lake from thence by the side of the lake to the south end to burn and destroy what Settlements corn &c I might find At 8 o'clock I march'd proceeded an East course about 8 miles and found 2 or 3 wigwams in the wood* with some small patches of corn Squashes water mallons and cucumbers and about 14 or 15 fine houses which we could not take after Destroying this little village proceeded 4 miles to the lake where I found a very pretty town of 10 houses† and a considerable quantity of corn all which we burnt We discover'd another small Town about a mile above this which we likewise destroyed This place is call'd Skannayutenate.‡ After destroying this Town I march'd on one mile and came to a new town § consisting of nine houses which we destroy'd and proceeded 1 mile

Note.—The notes with initials J. S. C., were made by Gen. John S. Clark, 1879.

* This hamlet appears to have been located on the farm of Thomas Shankwiler near the south-east corner of lot 15 in the town of Fayette, Seneca Co., probably on Sucker brook.—J. S. C.

† A town of ten houses, located on the west bank of Cayuga lake at the north-east corner of the town of Fayette, in Seneca County, about a mile and a half from present Canoga village. Destroyed Sept. 21, 1779.—J. S. C.

‡ SKANNAYUTENATE, a small village located about forty rods from the shore of the lake, on the south bank of Canoga creek, about half a mile north-east of the present Canoga village. On the north bank of the creek, between the site of the old Indian town and the north and south road passing through Canoga, is said to be the birth-place of the renowned Seneca orator, Sagoyewatha or Red Jacket. Destroyed Sept. 21, 1779.—J. S. C.

§ NEWTOWN.—An Indian village of nine houses, located on the west bank of Cayuga lake, on the Disinger farm, a mile south of present Canoga village, and directly opposite the village of Union Springs on the east side of the lake. Destroyed Sept. 21, 1779.—J. S. C.

& found one learge house which we set fire to and march'd on two miles further & incamp'd The land we March'd over this day is exceeding fine.

22nd I march'd half an hour before sunrise proceeded about 5 miles and came to the ruins of a Town that a party of our men burnt when the army was advancing who mis'd their way and happen'd to fall in at this Town about half a mile from the town I found a large field of corn and 3 houses We gathered the corn & burnt it in the houses This Town is called Swahyawanah *we march'd from this place about 5 miles & found a wigwam with 3 Squaws and one young Indian who was a cripple, I took 2 of the Squaws who ware about 40 or 50 years old and march'd on about 3 miles and found one hut and a field of corn which I burnt & proceeded about 4 miles & incamp'd

23d March'd at Sunrise proceeded without any path or track or any parson who was ever in this part of the country before to guide us and the land so horred rough and brushey that it was hardly possible for us to advance however with great difficulty & fatigue we proceeded about 8 or 9 miles to the end of a long cape † which I expected was the end of the lake but found was not From here We marched off 2 or 3 miles from the Lake and then proceeded by a point of compass about 8 miles & come to the end of the lake and incamp'd This lake is about 40 miles in length & from 2 to 5 miles in wedth and runs nearly N and S parralel with the Seneca Lake & they are from 8 to 10 miles apart.

24th March'd at Sunrise proceeded about 3 miles on the high land and came to an old path which led us to two huts and some corn fields which ware about one mile from where we first found the old path after burning these two houses & corn I sent several small parties different ways to loock for a large Town that I had been inform'd was not many miles from the end of the lake The parties found 10 or 12 scattering houses and a number of learge cornfields on and near a streem that falls into the Lake After burning & destroying several houses & cornfields a small party that I had sent out discover'd the Town about 3 miles from the lake on the above mentioned Stream this town & its sub-urbs consists of about 25 houses & is called Coreorgonel ‡ & is the cappel of a Small nation or tribe called the _____ My party was employ'd from 9 oclock A M till sunset I expected to have met Col Butler with his party at this town

* SWAHYAWANA. was on the farm of Edward R. Dean, in the north-east corner of the town of Romulus, Seneca county, on the north bank of Sinclair Hollow creek, near the shore of the lake, and almost exactly opposite the important town of Chonodote, on the east side, the site of present Aurora. Was burned September 6. by a party that wandered from the track of the main army when they passed up on the east side of the lake.—J. S. C.

† TAGHANIC POINT, formerly known as Goodwin's Point. The bank of the lake both north and south of this, is very much cut up with ravines, and the lake shore is too rocky and precipitous for an Indian path. For several miles the trail was back two miles from the lake, along the heads of the ravines, probably passing through Hayt's corners and Ovid Centre. From this high ground the lake appears to end at Taghanic Point.—J. S. C.

‡ COREORGONEL, called De-ho-riss-kanadia by George Grant, was located on the west side of Cayuga inlet, about three miles from the end of the lake and two miles south of Ithaca. The main village was on a high ground south of the school-house on the farm of James Fleming, nearly opposite Buttermilk Falls. Several skeletons have been exhumed here within a few years, and the usual variety of relics found, such as hatchets, wampum, beads, &c. A solitary apple tree still remains, a fit memento to represent the race by which it was planted. When first known to the whites there were five boles starting from the ground, but these are now reduced to two, and are probably shoots from the original tree cut down or girdled by Dearborn. The town was destroyed September 24, 1779. At this time it contained twenty-five houses, besides ten or twelve scattered between the main village and the lake. Colonel Butler after passing up on the east side of Cayuga Lake halted here on the 25th, and found Rev. Dr. Kirkland's horse in the vicinity of the smoking ruins.

A peculiar interest is attached to this locality and village, from the fact that here the representatives of a once powerful people, sought to preserve for a brief period, the last remaining spark of a council fire that from time immemorial had burned brilliantly in the presence of assembled nations, numbering their warriors by thousands They were called by the Iroquois TODERICH-ROONES, one of the tribes known to the English as Catawbas, sometimes called Saponies. They formerly resided between the Potomac and Roanoke rivers, east of the Alleghanies. A most inveterate hostile feeling existed between them and the Iroquois, which reached back to near the middle of the seventeenth century. A peace was arranged as early as 1685, though negotiations with the government of Virginia, and again what was expected to be a "lasting peace" and firm

25th I march'd at sunrise for Katareens Town where I was order'd to join the main Army I proceeded a due west point over a terrible rough mountainous country about 18 miles and at 4 o'clock arriv'd at Katareens but the army was gone forward I proceeded 6 miles in what is called the bair Swamp and incamp'd

26th March'd at Sunrise at 12 o'clock joined the army at Kannawalohala which is 4 miles from where we fought the Enemy the 29 of August The army had a day of Rejoicing here yesterday in Consequence of the News from Spain.

27th Some detachments were sent up the Allegana river to destroy what houses and corn fields they might find

28th The same parties that Went yesterday were sent again to day further up the river to destroy a tory Settlement that a small party discovered yesterday and a large detachment was sent off to compleet the destruction of the corn &c at and about Newtown At 12 o'clock Col Butler with his party arriv'd in Camp on their route round the Lake they burnt & destroy'd several towns and a vast Quantity of corn.

29th The Army march'd to Chemong

30th arriv'd at Tiogea where we were Saluted with 13 Cannon which we answer'd with the same number Col Shreeve who commanded the Garrison made an entertainment for the Genl & Field Officers this afternoon was spent in festivity and mirth Joy appear'd in every countenance We now have finish'd our campaign & gloriously too

OCTOBER 1st We are begining to prepare to march for Wyoming

2nd Genl Sullivan made an entertainment for all the Genl & Field officers to day this evening we had an Indian war dance at Head Quarters The Onyda Sachem was Master of ceremonies

3d The army is preparing to march for Wyoming

4th The Army march'd 15 miles down the River

5th The whole Army Imbark'd on board boats except what was necessary to drive the pack horses & cattle & the

7th Arriv'd at Wyoming in high spirits During the whole of this Severe Campaign our loss in kill'd died of wounds & Sickness did not exceed 60 men

alliance, was concluded in 1714, but in the night after the close of the council, the Iroquois deputies, while reposing in fancied security were treach-rously murdered while asleep. This aroused the Iroquois to vengeance, and the war was renewed with unexampled ferocity, with a determination to totally extirpate the base, faithless and treacherous people. In 1717 through the intercession of Governor Hunter, at the request of Governor Spottswood of Virginia, a truce was arranged, and in 1722 delegates from the Five Nations met Governor Spottswood at Albany to conclude what was to be an "everlasting peace," in which the Iroquois bound themselves not to cross the Potomac or go over the Alleghanies, without a passport from the Governor of New York, Governor Spottswood engaging that the tribes in his locality should not pass to the north or west of same lines. The tribes mentioned by the Governor were the "NOTTOWAYS, MEHERINS, NANSEMONDS, PAMUNKEYS, CHICOHOMINY, and the CHRISTANNA INDIANS whom you call TODERICHROONES," and others—in all, ten nations. This council was conducted with great formality, and valuable presents were presented, among which were a "fine coronet" and a "gold horse shoe" with an inscription. In 1738 they were again at war, and in 1742 at peace. In 1751 Governor Clinton says "the Governor of South Carolina sent six chiefs of the Catawbias to make peace with the Five Nations," and says that "they had been at war as long as any one in this country can remember." In 1753 Sir William Johnson mentions the fact that the Cayugas "are about to strengthen their castle by taking in the TODERIGHROONES." In the same year they are mentioned as attending a conference at Mt. Johnson, and are described as "one of the nine confederate nations." The town is indicated at the head of Cayuga lake on the Guy Johnson map of 1771, in the same position where it was found by Colonel Dearborn in 1779, under the name of TODEVIGHRONO, the name of the people. In 1750 Zeisberger, the Moravian missionary, passed through this valley while on his way to visit the Cayugas, but makes no mention of an Indian village in the vicinity. Undoubtedly they settled there in the summer of 1753. Their cleared fields were found on the present site of Ithaca on the first settlement of the country by the whites and were the first lands occupied in the county. The town is indicated but not named on the map of Mr. Lodge, the surveyor who accompanied Colonel Butler's detachment. To stand on the identical spot from which this people sunk into oblivion, appeared like standing on the grave of a nation. Their history, the beginning of which extends far back into the unknown and unattainable, ends where that of civilization begins, and adds another name to the long list of extinguished nationalities that preceded us in sovereignty. Here their council fire, fanned by the last expiring breath of a once brave and numerous people, was extinguished forever.—J. S. C.

8th Genl Sullivan receiv'd an express this evining from Genl Washington informing him that Count De Staing is on the coast near New York with a fleet & Army in consequence of which Genl Sullivans army is order'd to march the 10th inst for Head Quarters.

10th The Army March'd for Easton & the 15th ariv'd there this army has marchd from Tiogea to Easton (150 miles thro a mountainous rough Wilderness) in 8 days with their artillery and baggage an extreodinary march indeed

16th 17th & 18th Remain at Easton

we are inform'd that Count Destang has taken several ships of war together with all the transports & troops the Enemy had at & near Georgia he is expected dayly at New York

25th our army is to march the 27 Inst towards Head Quarters

an express ariv'd this day from Head Quarters which informs that the Enemy had evacuated their posts at Kings ferry & have retired to N. York.

JOURNAL OF DR. EBENEZER ELMER.

DR. EBENEZER ELMER, Surgeon in second New Jersey Regiment. The following is a *literal* copy of his journal, made by Rev. David Craft, from a verbatim copy in the hands of Lyman C. Draper, Esq., Corresponding Secretary of Historical Society, Madison, Wis., printed in the "Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society," Vol. II. pp. 43-50.

Memoirs of an expedition undertaken against the Savages to the westward, commenced by the Hon. Major General John Sullivan, began at Easton on the Delaware (by Lieut. Ebenezer Elmer), from whence I shall reckon our distances affixing it as my meridian.

JUNE 18th. 1779. Having pack-Horses purchased, Saddles & other Qr Masters Stores provided for the Expedition, We left Easton with the 2nd & 3d Jersey Regts of Genl Poor's Brigade, vizt. Scammel's & Scilly's & Cols Proctors Artillery, with 6-6 & 4 pdr & two Howitzers taking with us the pack-horses & we marched 12 miles and encamped.

19th. Proceeded on—crossed thro. a Gap of the Blue mountain & So on by Brinkers Mills where a Commissary's Store is kept. Drew 4 days provision—Marched on thro. a barren country to Larnards log tavern where we encamped, 28 miles from Easton.

20th. Marched at 8 o'clock over hills from our last nights encampment, being at the foot of Pokono Mountain, a very beautiful prospect & thro. vales & dessarts to a stream thro. the barrens called Rum Brook, here we encamped letting our Horses Brouse in the woods. The Stoniness & Hilliness of the country prevented our going farther, the team-horses being very tired. Mr Kirkland Missionary among the Indians Joined us to-day—distance 33 miles—

21st. Marched at Sunrise & about 6 o'clock Came to the great Swamp, which is interspersed & barren piney Spots throughout very Stony. There is three or four Brooks which run thro. it being branches of the Leehigh—In some places the timber is very tall & thick, mostly white pine & Hemlock with some Birch, maple & Locust trees, many of the white pines are 150 foot clear of any limbs. At Locust Hill near the centre was proposed for our encampment, but for want of water we were obliged to proceed on clear through 53 miles, from the meridian course, on a line about N. W. tho. the road bares various courses. The last vale of this swamp is called the Shadow of Death.

Having come so great a distance in such bad roads the waggons did not get in till late in the evening & several broke, some left behind, many horses tired some & died & others lost—lay all night on a bushy spot among the pine knots by ye edge of the Swamp called the Fatigue Camp.

22nd. By reason of the disaster of yesterday among the teams & Horses we were obliged to lay still to bring them up this day until 2 o'clock P. M. when we decamped & marched on thro a country very Similar from that we had passed over before we came into the Swamp to the 58 mile post: Here we were encamped at the deserted house of one Bullock by the side of a cripple called Sullivan's Camp: Good large pasturage of wild grass in it surrounded by pine land.—The tracts of some Indians were said to be observed just on our flanks tho it is a doubt with me whether they were real. This road

to Wyoming from Pokono mountain is entirely new, but will undoubtedly become public should that place flourish.

23d.—Marched at 6 o'clock thro. the woods some distance when we came to ye summit of a mountain which Showed Pokono, the Blue mountain & the Hills over Wyoming ; We descended this Summit near 4 miles & reached the foot among the Oak & Hickory on the flats About 12 o'clock we came to our encamping ground on ye banks of the Susquehannah at Wyoming 65 miles from Easton. The place does by no means answer my Expectation, yet it must be acknowledged that the points & in some places a depth of better than a mile is exceeding good bottom, yielding excellent grain or grass & having such a beautiful river running thro. it navigable for boats makes it much more agreeable —On the east side of the river is a great deal of pine land. The inhabitants are mostly killed or driven away & their habitations destroyed. The devastations of war are not less conspicuous here than in any place in America.

24th.—Rec'd some flying intelligence that ye enemy were in force of 3 or 400 at Chemong & likewise that the Indians were in Counsil. Probably on finding that we are coming upon them Strong they are a mind to bring us to terms—We are well assured that some enemy (numbers unknown) have been reconnoitering our strength & sulking in the woods,—Wrote a letter to Dr. Burnet & Mr. Neils. Spent chief part of the day in fishing—Salmon trout, Succers, Bass & common trout are pretty plenty in the river We caught a number with a Seine—The first Regt marches down the river to guard up provision boats, they expect to go down as far as Sandbury in Shemoking 60 miles from here —Genl Hand we found at this place Colo Courtlands & Butlers & Hartley's Regt with the German Corps besides Spencers & Ogdens

25th. Very warm in ye afternoon a Smart shower of rain—Five miles from this place on the road we came, Capt. Davis & Lieut. Jones of this state were murdered by the Savages, the 23'd of April last & their scalpts taken off, with five men who were out with them a hunting— —A monument is erected on the Spot to commemorate the bloody tragedy & the blood of Lieut. Jones Exhibited on a board crying for vengeance.

What renders the action peculiarly inhuman was that the Scalps were all taken off by a Squaw, consort to a Sachem & that of, some while they were alive ; enough methinks any of the sex possessed with natural Sensibility shudder at the thought, and even ye hardy made to reprobate it with horror.

26. Being Saturday continued at this place

27—Being Sunday Mr. Hunter gave us a Sermon from the first Psalm in the woods.

28. Very warm—Spent the day as usual in the duties of my Station, walking abroad &c A dance on ye green in the evening.

29th. This morning 34 boats arrived at this place from Sunbury with Flour beef & military Stores. This was very fortunate as there was not one days provision in the Stores after all their great Spunk in furnishing the army with provision for the Campaign. Thro. negl't & carelessness in the Commissaries great quantities of Beef was so damaged that the men could not possibly eat it ; Such rascally conduct ought to meet with the severest punishment. The horses purchased for this expedition for want of care in the Conductors are many of ym lost. In July last Butler with his savage brood made a visit to this place. The inhabitants under command of Colo. Butler went forth to oppose them : A Battle ensued in wc. many fell. The enemy however superior in force soon surrounded our people took & murdered all of them to abt. 50 who were in number 500. They then proceeded down the flats to the fort wc. Capitulated with a promise of no lives being taken away but those in the Continental service who were conveyed away. Yet they did not keep their word but slew many—After this they killed & distroyed all Kattle, grain & everything wc. fell in their way. After continuing thus long they retired on hearing a party was coming out to oppose them.

30th Nothing new.

1st JULY. Michael Rosborough of Sussex County New Jersey having been sentenced to suffer death by a Court martial, whereof Gen'l Maxwell was President held at Easton for enticing Soldiers to desert to ye Enemy & offering his aid to conduct them away was

executed at this place to day. Lawrence Miller of the Same place Sentenced by ye Court to suffer likewise was reprieved under the Gallows & Expresses every token of repentance & true thankfulness afterwards. But the poor wretch who was executed appeared to leave the world with that careless stupidity of his future State which had before marked his life—dreadful thought :

2nd Colo. Armands Independent Corps being directed by his Excy. Genl Washington to repair to Head Quarters, left this place for that purpose this morning—with whom went Colo. Brearley who is going to officiate as Chief Justice in ye State of New Jersey—Sent a letter to T. Elmer, P. Stretch & Dr. Burnet.

3d. In the afternoon most of the Subalterns met at ye Colo. Marque to take a drink. After Several toasts had gone round being : Saturday night they agreed to drink Sweet-hearts & wives on Honor. The following Ladies were toasted

Miss H. Burnet by Lieu Jno. Peck
 “ S. Burnet by Lt. Danl Lane
 “ Abby Wheeler by Mr Wm Shute
 “ Minney Baldwin by Lt. Osman
 “ P. Weaver by Lt. Weyman
 “ Phebe Atwood by Lt. S. Shute
 “ N. Shreeve by Lt. Shreve
 “ P. Johnson by Lt. Appleton
 “ N. McWhorter by Dr. M. Elmer
 Mrs. Jelpb by Dr. E. Elmer
 “ Foster by Lt. Halsey

4th. At 10 o'clock the troops went to attend divine Service Mr Hunter preached a very good Sermon from Heb. xii, 13 (?) verse—Dined with Dr. Hogan ——— 5 o'clock Mr. Kirkland preached to ye Inhabitants & some gentlemen who attended from vi Mathew 13 verse—This morning near 30 boats went down the river after provisions. The hands enlisted for the purpose of navigating the boats having mostly deserted & left them we were obliged to turn out a Command for that purpose—The Flats here are very fertile, most of the hills are inhabitable & not arable on account of the rocks—The river Susquehanna runs thro, being a beautiful winding rivulet, mostly near 60 perches wide. In some places the current is very easy, in others considerable descending & rapid. The freshes frequently in the Spring rise to 10 feet & overflow some of the low flats. It abounds with a variety of good fish as rock Shad, Sucurs, Chubb &c—The Shawnee Flats which lie about 3 miles below here are some of the best here known producing every kind of food in the greatest abundance. Fort Jenkins lies on the river 30 miles below.

5th. Pleasant weather. Capt. B. set out for Philada. wrote to Dr. I. Elmer.

6th. A very Smart thunder Shower from the eastward in the P. M.—Colo. Proctor having made an entertainment for a number of officers, a truly merry Career was the consequence.

7th One of our Soldiers being about 3 miles from Camp was fired on by an Indian who shot a hole through the sleeve of his coat, but did no damage—The Indian as he says was accompanied by two more which he saw. They did not pursue, being so nigh Camp I suppose were afraid of being detected.

8th. Two Scouts of two officers & 25 men each, went out from this Brigade this morning in pursuit of the Indians discovered yesterday but returned p. m. without effecting anything A kind of thoughtful melancholy possessed my mind this evening w^c. prevented my taking any rest untill the latter part of the night, constantly ruminating on the past transactions of life & my future prospects therein

JULY 9th.—This day 43 boats loaded with stores, provisions &c, arrived at this place, with them came up Colo Hubley's Regt. of foot being the one formerly Commanded by Colo Hartley—These stores however were found insufficient for the Expedition wherefore Capt. Cummings was ordered out with a party to go down to Coxes Town after flour, who set out just before night—Col. Dayton, Capt. Mitchell & Some others arrived here to day by whom we recd. the Jersey papers of the 23d & 30th ult ; with some private letters & intelligence, that ye Enemy had desisted from the attempt on Fort Clinton.

10th. Rainy in P. M.

11th. Showery all day which prevented Sermon or Assembly

12th JULY.—Information being recd that 300 Indians are down in this quarter, a command was ordered out this morning thro. the Swamp with 1 field piece, to endeavor to bring em to action & protect the stores which are coming up. Yesterday Sergt. Barum (or Borum) arrived with letters from Newark, he came with Some continental waggons loaded with provision &c. A command to set out to-morrow morning down the river to fall in with the Indians from that way if they be thither

13th.—From Middletown on the river to Harris's Ferry is 10 miles, from thence to Esther or Coxes Town is 7 miles, from thence to Shomoking is about 53 miles, from Shomoking which includes lower Paxton to Fort Jenkins is 30 miles. From thence to the centre of Schawne flats which are 3 miles long is 26 miles, & 4 more to ye Town of Wyoming which stood on the East side of the River—The command ordered out last evening set off this morning—Major Conway commanded it—From this place to Wyalusing is 60 miles, from thence to Tyoga 40, from thence to Chemong the first present inhabited Indian Settlement is 12 miles.

14th.—Nothing new.

15th.—Played Shinney with Genl. Maxwell, Colo Dayton & a number of Gentlemen.

16th.—Played as yesterday. Genl. Sullivan attended & was much pleased with our activity in the performance.

17th.—Dined with Genl. Sullivan, a very considerable number of Genn. were present & we were entertained with a great plenty of good punch.

18th. Being Sunday Mr. Hunter gave us a Sermon from John VI—68—In ye Evening wrote Letters to send to Newark in the morning.

19th.—Despatched ye Letters wrote yesterday The party who went after the desert-ers which left the German Regt. Some days ago returned this evening with 25 of them which they took abt. the gap of the mountain.

20th. Capt. Bowman Arrived to day from his command at Brinkers Mills & brought with him 270 head of cattle for the army here. A number of horses also arrived. Sergt. Jones with the party which accompanied him to Wyalusing returned without discovering any parties at all. They returned in 26 hours.

21st.—We received at this place the following agreeable intelligence viz. That Genl. Wayne with a party of Light Infantry on the night of the 15th instant surprised & took the Garrison at Stoney point consisting of British, Scotch and New Levies commanded by Colo. Johnson consisting of about 500 with 16 pieces of artillery, Baggage, Stores &c. We had only 5 killed—Maj'r. Ogden arrived from Elizabeth Town with a number of letters—At evening the Jersey Stores arrived here—

22nd. Set out on Command with the Regt. to meet the Boats at the falls 4 miles below the Schawne Flats—Arrived there with all the boats & continued at the place all night.

24th.—After seeing the boats all safe over the falls in the morning we set out for camp. Halted & dined at the flats & then after fording the river went into Camp. The Genl. returned his thanks in Genl. orders to the officers & soldiers who were employed in forwarding up the Stores, and gave orders for preparing to march on Wednesday next.

25th—Stormy day—nothing done.

26th.—Drisly weather in the forenoon, the afternoon of the day more fair—All hands dined at the Colonels to day & after dinner we took a hearty game of Bandy wicket.

27th Five men belonging to the German Bat. being sentenced by General Court Martial to be Shot to death for desertion & approved by the Genl. were ordered to be executed this day but were reprieved—unwell with an Intermitt Fever.

28th.—Went down to the flats to dress a man who was wounded by the Indians. He was hunting 16 miles from home & setting by ye root of a tree Recd. a Ball through his side from a person very near him & upon rising recd. another in his thigh from a distance: Notwithstanding his two wounds he got clear, they fearing to follow him. He supposed there was 4 or 5.

29th. Nothing material

30th. This day was employed in preparing for our march which is to commence to-morrow.

31st. Left Wyoming abt. 12 o'clock & marched 10 miles to Lacanawanunk river which we crossed & encamped on the upper banks. The boats were not able to get up with us on account of the falls — rainy night.

1st. AUGUST 1779—Lords day—after waiting till 2 o'clock P. M. for the Boats to get up & the Tents to dry we decamped & travelled on, passed by a very grand and curious Cataract wc. proceeded from a spring on the top of a mountain; It is divided into three distinct falls not less than twenty feet each—We passed very difficult rocky way, thro. one old farm & on the second flat encamped 7 miles from our old station—The place is called Quilutimac.

2nd. Tarry'd all day for the boats and pack horses to come us.

3d. Left Quilutimac at 7 o'clock & marched over hills & dales, rocks & mountains thro. a country diversified with almost every appearance but that of cultivation, but small places indeed will admit thereof. We marched 12 miles to Tunkanunch river which we crossed & encamped on a level on the upper side.

4th Marched at 7 o'clock A. M. Country much as yesterday. Precipices to rise very steep, exceeding stony & dangerous. Several horses have fallen & broke everything at these places in the course of our march—After some time we came to a long flat the lower part of which is well timbered. Particularly famous for walnut trees, hence called Walnut Swamp. Many of them are four feet over & 30 & 40 feet clear of limbs. The upper part of the flat is an old farm where we halted. The land in all these places is fully equal to any I ever saw, but they are in general small, many of them not consisting of more than twenty acres. The inhabitants are all gone, not one from Wyoming upwards to be seen; many went to the enemy, the others were killed by the Savages. We marched 14 miles to Vanderlips Farm.

5th—Left Vanderlips Farm at 10 o'clock & proceeded on our march, at 12 we passed Tuscarora river & so on thro. an open woody country on the top of the mountain. The day we were alarmed on our march by some people on head discovering ye flank guards & supposing them to be Indians. The Troops was beat & a solid column forme'd, soon after however the mistake was found out & we went on. After descending the high precipice we reached the lower part of Wyalusing flats. Remarkable large timber in the wilds—Button trees 6 feet over & others very large, about 6 o'clock we came to our encamping ground at Wyalusing. The Boats arrived at evening. Most extraordinary clover & spear grass throughout the cleared land. Soon after we arrived Sergt Martin Johnson died after marching all day. He was a very hard drinker. Frequently got quite intoxicated therewith & had complained for two nights of being unwell but having a great Spirit proceeded to march till quite overcome with heat and fatigue, having his vitals decayed by Spirituous Liquors readily accounts for his sudden death. This place is but about 53 miles from Wyoming. Lodged pretty quietly all night with a hungry belly.

6th In order to refresh the men & cook provision we remained this day on our ground. The flat at this place contains abt. 1000 acres part of wc. is cleared & the most of it full of spear & other English grass—rainy night.

7th. On account of the wetness of the morning ye army remained on the former quarters all this

8th—set out on our march at 6 o'clock, at the upper end of the flat, crossed a creek called Wyalusing creek, passed this day over one very large mountain, the rest of the road was tolerably level—We marched abt. 12 miles to a flat which was however far from being equal to former one, little pasture, mostly weeds & bushes. The place is called the Standing Stone Genl Sullivan by reason of Indisposition went on board the boats Genl Maxwell commanding ye army. It is 55 measured miles from Wyoming to Wyalusing.

9th—Drisly morning. Marched from the Standing Stone at 7 o'clock & proceeded up ye river till we came to Sheshacununk plains, marched on to the upper part on a flat of

about 1000 acres, with very large wild grass, three miles from the mouth of Tioga Creek. This day we passed thro. a plain mostly wild known by the name of Rush or Long Bottom. Having marched nearly 15 miles we arrived late & much fatigued, but the Boats remained 4 miles in our rear all night being unable to reach us. No enemy to be seen tho. some huts was observed. Rainy in the night.

10th Boats arrived at 9 o'clock A. M. Provision was drawn—3. Regts set out for Tioga the remainder of ye army continued on the former ground. The Generals went up with ye party to reconnoiter the place. The whole returned P. M. They found a cow over the river & brought her off. Some fresh tracts were observed but no Indians to be seen.

11th.—Crossed the River & sending our Regt. & 2nd. N. York do. to cover the crossing of the army they all got safe over—We marched up to Tioga Branch forded that & encamped a little above on the main Branch called the North Branch—Queen Esthers Palace stood on the lower side of the Tioga Branch, where is a large plain Similar in appearance to that we came from on the other side of the river—Here I inquired of the Surveyor & found that the distance from Wyoming to be 80 miles consequently 145 from the Meridian Course N. N W by W—Our camp is on a pine ridge between the main & Tioga Branch but near the former. In the flat below near the forks & on the other branch is excellent grass, Some English but mostly wild Opposite on the other side of each branch is considerable of a mountain wc. overlooks all the plains. The buildings here are mostly destroyed by Colo. Hartly last fall & the place has been but little frequented by the Indians since, only being crossed on their tours down the country. Two old brush encampments were found below and burned. Probably they were made by the party which was down at Wyoming last April. The horrors of a wilderness with the beauties of a fertile nature are blended in our prospects at this place.

12th—Capt. Cummings who went out with Lieut. Jenkins of Hand's Brigade & 6 men of our Regt who went out last evening to reconnoitre Chemong returned about 3 o'clock P. M. & by the report which they brought of the moving situation of the Indians, it was thought proper to move after them this evening accordingly at dark all the well & hearty men of the army with one days provision cooked & otherwise light paraded, leaving the invalids & some officers Genl. Maxwell to command with the Guards standing—Colo. Proctar with a Cohorn went likewise leaving the rest of his Regt. behind—at 10 o'clock we marched in the following order, Genl. Hand in front, Genl. Poor with his Brigade followed by the right, & Genl. Maxwell's commanded by Colo. Dayton followed in the rear by the left. By reason of the dark defiles which were to pass the day appeared by the time we had got 7 miles on our way. After which we proceeded with all possible rapidity & arrived at their Castle abt. 14 miles at abt. 7 o'clock A. M. We found them forsaken, but by the Scattered Situation of their effects which were left we had reason to suppose they went off very precipitately

Burning their dwellings & destroying their patches of corn & garden stuff was immediately fallen upon: Genl. Hand in the mean time proceeding on with intent to catch them if possible—After marching about 2 miles he was fired upon from a very secure ambuscade, he immediately rushed up & dispossessed them of their fortress but by their rapid & scattered retreat he was able only to wound one before they were entirely out of reach. In this skirmish Colo. Hubley's Regt. which was in front had 6 killed & 9 wounded among the latter was one Capt. & one adjt The army moved on to the place, but could effect nothing—The Bells of the Cattle were heard ahead but we could get none. After this one Regt & three others were sent over the river to destroy some corn; while they were doing this all hands carelessly at work, they were fired on across the river. The men in confusion, all they do was to get off—Finding it impossible to catch them after destroying all we could, we marched off for Tioga—On this side was a large patch of corn wc. we left Standing till we should go up again. The whole of their corn, beans & potatoes I judge was near 200 acres—The number of Indians which harassed us was about 50. wc. served to afford them time for their cattle to get off. We arrived in Camp at dark much fatigued on the 14th.

JOURNAL OF SERGEANT MOSES FELLOWS.

MOSES FELLOWS, of Salisbury, Vt., was Orderly Sergeant in Capt. James Gray's Company of Scammel's, 3d N. H. Regiment. This company was of Salisbury men. He has worthy descendants, grandsons, residing in that vicinity. The original journal is in possession of A. Tiffany Norton Esq., Lima, N. Y. The following is a *literal* copy, the first thirteen pages are missing.

CHOUDEUR CAMP: our Course To Day about Northerly. No house from where we marched this morning to wyoming.

JUNE THE 21st marched 20 miles through a rough Country and a new Rode, the Land Coverd with Pine Hemlock Spruce &c: we Eat Breakfirst at a Small river Cald Tunkhannah. Passd another Stream Cald Tobehannunk and another the Leahigh; we passed what is Cald the Shades of Death a Glomey thick Part of The Swamp.

22^d we marched but 5 miles to Day to a Disolate house where one Mr. Bullock once Livd But was Drove off by the Savages.

23^d we marched to the fort at Wyoming 7 miles where Sevrall Regt are Encamped: Our General Course to day we Past north w., the whole Country from Eastown to wyoming is very poor & Barren and I think as never will Be Settled; it abounds Chiefly in Deer and Rattle Snake; the Land At wyoming on Both Sides the river is Good, But the Good Land Extends But a Small Distance from the river; the inhabittance have been very much Distressed by the *

The next Day being the First of august & in the afternoon we marched About 8 miles & came to a place called tunkhannah & their we tarrid all night and the Next Day it being the 2st Day of august we Drew Five Days allowance & on the — Day we marched at 7 o'clock and marched 12 miles to a Place Calld whywomick on Susquehanah River; the Path was Very Good Considering Such a rough Country but a vast sight of hills Exceding Steep: the forth Day we marched Fourteen miles & Came to a Place Calld Disolate farmes. This way was No road but an old foot Path & high hills, never was known, for their was mountains Seven miles Long & Exceding Steep, after we Left these mountains We Came on a tractt of Land Such I never Saw before: the 5th Day we marched 10 miles and Came to a place Calld Wildlucit; know Person would Have thout of Seein Such Lands as here was for such a Groth I beleive never Was known, for button wood Trees was Eight or nine feet Though: & the Land was all Intervail; the next Day being rainy & our troops Could not march

7th We marched at 7 o'clock, Proceeded 3 miles to a Disolate farm upon the mouth of a Small River Calld Wesuking, where our Light troops Encampt last night; Halted an Hour & then Proceeded to a Large Tract of Beautiful Cleard Intervail Covered with very High Grass, this is with in 4 miles of Tioga and is Called Shesheamunk: it has Ben Inhabited By Both Indians & white People: we marched over a Large Body of Excellent Land this Day, the weather Being very warm and our men Gave out With fatigue Especially those on the Right flank Who were obliged to Cross Several High mountains.

* Several pages missing.

11th we march'd at 8 o'clock In the morning & marched one mile & Came to the Main River & their we all forded across & a tedious time we had for the warter was up to our Brest & the Current run very swift Indeed and we had Exceeding Hevy packs at the Same Time & after we waided a cross we marched one mile further & Came to Place where Queen Easter had her Palace : But it was Burnt Down we marched one mile Further and Came to another Large River but Not Equal to the other : we forded that With Little or No harme & marched one mile further and Came to tyoga ; this days march was only four miles : the Next Day being the 12 Day of august we Lay Still : Likewise the 13 day : this Day we had intelligence of the Enemy were about moving of, in Consequence of which the main Body of our army Marched at 8 o'clock this Evening in order to suprise the enemy at Chemong By Day Brakes ; on our march We Passed Several Defiles and thick Swamps and Arrived near the town by Brake of Day : and marched into the town with fixt Bayonets and our Peaces charged ; this Town Consisted of about thirty or forty houses : these houses was Considerable Convenient But they had know Chimeys or no flores Except the Earth : and about Sunrise found the town abandoned two or three Indians only to Be Seen and they making their Escape ; about sun rise the Whole town was Burnt ; on Examination we found that a part of the Enemy Had Encamp'd about 50 or 60 rods from the town Last Night : and from all appearance the Inhabittance Had Left the town But a Fue hours Before we Arrived : Genl. Hands With Some Lite Troops Pursued them about a mile, When they were fired on from the top of a hill by about 30 Indians Who Run off as soon as the fire was Returned ; they unfortunately for us wounded three officers killed Six Privates and wounded Seven : The Enemy were persued But Escaped : Distroyed 40 acres of Indian Corn : when a Small Party of Indians and tores Fired upon our men across the River & kild one man and wounded five more of our N. Hampshire troops ; after Completion of The Distruction of the town and Corn we Returned to tioga where we arive at Dark very much fatigued : Having marchd 24 miles within 24 houters : the Weather Exeding Hot.

16th Day 1000 Chosen men under the Comand of Genl. Poor were ordered up the River to meet Genl. Clinton who is on his Way to Join us with his Brigade & is in some Danger of Being attacked By the Enemy Before he can form a Junction With our main army, and on the 21 Day they riv'ad to our Camp where we Received them with Great Joy and Saluted them with 13 Canon fired and a tune on Col. Proctors Band of musick.

The 26, our army marched at 12 o'clock according to the order of march Heretofore Laid Down, Col Proctors artilery in Senter, Genl. Hand Brigade in front, Genl Poor Brigade on the Rite of Col Procter, and a rite flanking Division on the rite of Genl Poor ; and on the Left of Colo Procter Genl. Maxwil Brigade and another flanking Partey on theire left, and Genl. Clintons Brigade In the rear of the whole army, and the Pack horses & Cattle marched in Betwixt the Coloms within the two flanking Divisions.

We marched the 26th at 12 oclock, Proceeded 5 miles and Encamped.

27th we marched, much Impeded by the Artilery and amunition Waggons threw thick wood and Difcult Defiles, Such Cursing, Cutting and Diging, over seting Wagons, Cannon and Pack Horses into the river &c is not to Be Seen Every Day—the army obliged to Halt 7 houer at one Place, for what we Should have Been Beter without the heavy artilery, at 10 o'clock we arived at a large Place of Corn Containing about 80 Acres as Good as I ever beheld, with Great Quantities of Squashes Beenes &c. As Genl. Clinton Brigade did not Git up last night and Having all the Corn to Cut down this afternoon we did not march until 2 o'clock, our Brigade & Part of another & the artilery Baggage & Pack horses & Cattle forded the River twice this afternoon, the warter was waist Deep and Very rapid. Some of our Baggage & flower and ammunition Was Lost In the ford. Our march to Day not More than three mile, at 10 o'clock in the Evening the rear of the baggage Past the last ford ; the army Encamped at Chemung. By a Small Scout of ours that Came in the afternoon we are Informed that their is a Large Encampment of the Enemy About 4 miles from Chemong a Small Party of them fired on a Party of ours that was Setting fire to Some Houses But no Damage.—

29 the army marched at 9 o'clock, Procecd 5 miles Where our light Troops Discovered

a Line of Breastwork about 80 Rods In their front, Which upon Reconnoitering we found to Extend about Half a Mile with a Large Brook in front of the Breastwork on their right a mountaing on their Left a Large Settlement In their rear Cald new town, their workes were very Seasonably artfully maskd With Green Bushes, that I think our Discovering of them was very accidentally as well as fortunate, the Ground they occupied was well chosen ; Scurmishing on Both Sides was Commanded immediately after our first Discovering their Work which Held until our disposition was made, Which is as folowes ; the artillery to form in front of the works, While Genl. Poors Brigade with the Right flanking Devision and the rifle men turned The Enemy Left, By ascending the mountaing and fell in with the Enemy Rear, Supported By Genl Clinton Brigade ; Genl Maxwell Brigade formd a Corps Reserved ; Genl. Hands Brigade and the Left flank Covered the artillery to Persue the Enemy when they Began to Retreat ; at 3 o'clock Genl Poor Brigade Began their rout By Colums from the Right of the Regt, Passd a very thick Swamp Secured with Bushes for Near a mile that the Column found Great Difficulty In keeping their order But By Genl. Poor Good Conduct we Proceeded in much Better order than we Expected we Posibely Could Have Done, after Passing the Swamp we forded a Large Creek on Both Sides of which there was a Considerable Number of Houses which Apred to Be lately Built and no Land Cleard about them, after Passing this Crick We Soon Began to asend the mountain where we Were Soon Salluted By a Brisk fire and an Indian Yell or a war Hoop, the Riflemen kept up a Scattering firing which we formed the Line of Battle, then we advanced with Fixed Bayonets without Firing a Shot altho they kept up a Steady fire upon the whole of the way up the Hill, Which is about Half a mile ; Col Reeds Regt which was on the Left of the Brigade was more Severely atacked Which Prevented His Being able to advance as fast as the rest of the Brigade ; after the Brigade Expected Col Reed Regt. Had Gained the Summit of the Hill We Commenced a heavy fire upon the Enemy which they were not able to with stand But Were oblige to take to there Heels ;—Colo. Reed Still Sustaining a heavy fire from a Large Body of the Enemy which Prevented His asending the Hill, Induced Colo Derbon, as he was next to Him, to reverse the front of the regt and move to his asistance, as Genl Poor was on the right of the Line and at such a Distance as Rendered it Imposible for Colo. Derbon to obtain Seasonable Orders Whether to go to the asistance of Colo. Reed or not, but he moved With out, found a body of the Enemy turning Colo. Reed Right which upon Receiving a full fire from our Regt Left the field of action with Precepiation, Which Proved a very Seasonably relief to Colo. Reed, who had at the very moment that Colo. Derbon Commanded the fire on those that were turning His Right, Being Reduced Extremely of Retreating or Charging Bayonets upon Double his numbers that had formed a Semicircle Round Him, He put the Latter in Practice, the Enemy finding themselves So Severely Handled Quit the field of action and made the Best of their way off about 5 o'clock, our troops that were in action Discovered Greatest Bravery and Good order ; Half a hour Befor the action became Serious With us the artillery Began a very heavy fire which obliged them to Retire and being Persued By our Lite troops about 3 miles so as to oblige Enemy to Leave a Great Part of their Packs &c. ; our Whole Loss killed and wounded in Genl. Poor Brigade was

1 majr. wounded.

1 Capt. Do

1 Lt. Do Died the Same night

non Commisond } 2 kild 29 wounded.

Privates }

The number of the Kildd & wounded in the whole army Exept Genl. Poor Brigade was 4 wounded ; The Enemy Loss found on the Ground 11 Indians Warriars Dead & one Squah, 1 tory Prisoners one negro from Which prisoners we Learns that the Enemy Strength was 200 whites and 600 Indians and that they Had a Great many Kild and wounded and the Remainder most Horridly Pannic Struck ; at Sun Set the army Encamped on the Ground Lately occupied By the Enemy where we found a number of new Blankets Inserted with many Packs trinkets.

30th Remained on the Ground this Day Destroyed a vast number of acres of Corn & Burnt about four houses ; the army By a Request of Gen. Sulivans have agreed to Live on Half allowance of meat and flower When we Can Get Corn ; this Night all our wounded With 4 of our Heaviest Pieces of artillery and all the amunition Waggon were sent off by Warter to tioga which Will Enable the army to march With much greater Ease and Rapidity ; our Course from Chemong about North w.

31 we marched at 10 o'clock, the Right Colum on the Hill, the Left By the River, the Land Very Good Several Large Fields of Corn ; we Proceeded 9 miles to where there was a Very prity town Calld Kannawahalla Which from appearance was abandand this morning. Some Boats Was Seen Going of by our advance Gard, a Large number of feather Beds were entied In the houses, our Soldiers found Several Chest Buried filld with varity of Household furniture and other things ; after halted Here about an Hour we Proceeded up Between the two Rivers on a fine Plain about 5 miles and encampd, the whole army forming a Holow Square which Enclosed our Horses and Cattle ; a Detachment of our army persued a party of the Enemy up the allegany River about 9 miles ; Could not overtake them But found & Destroyed Several Very Large Cornfields.

SEPR. 1st. We marched at 9 o'clock, after the Detachment Before mentioned Joind and Proceeded 3 miles on a plain, then Passd a narrow Defile Between a high mountain and a Deep marsh, then Proceeded one mile & Entered What is Cald the 9 mile Swamp and a most horrid Road for the artillery Between and Pack Horses were obliged to ford thirty times, the rite hand Hand Colom were obliged to march over the mountains the whole way, our advance guard Arived at a Town Cald French Cathrene at Dusk, found fires Burning and Every appearance of the Enemy Having Left the Place but a fue minits, the main army at dark Was 2 miles from the town, In one of the thickest & Most Miry Swamps I ever Saw, it was with the Greatest Difculty we Got through the mire to the town where we arived all But Genl Clinton Brigade at 10 o'clock Very much fatigued ; this town Contains about 30 Houses Some of Which were Very Good for Indians Houses, there is a number of fruit trees in the town, the Streame we forded So often runs through the town and into Connadaga or Sineca Lake the South End of which is But 3 miles from this Town.

2d we found an old Squaw In the Bushes that was not able to go off, By whome we learn that Butler with the tories Went from this Place with All the Boats the Day Before yesterday, the Indians Warriors moved off their famelies & Effects yesterday morning and then Returned to the Town where they Staid till Sun Set. She Says that the Squaws and Indians were Loth to Leave the town and were for giving themselves up, But the warriors would not agree to it. She likewise Says that Butler met a reinforcement of Indians here who would

* * * (pages 50 & 51 missing) * * *

Battle their and was adopted into a family in this town Where he Has Lived or rather Stayed until Now ; he appeared Quite overjoyed at meating Some of His old acquaintance of wyoming Who are Volonteers In this army ; he Says the Savages were very much Distressed for Provision from april till Corn was fit to Eat, that their Whole Dependance was Hunting. he Say the Indians Were Very much alarmed & Dejected at their Being Beat at new town, they say they had 7 warriors killd And a Great many Wounded which were [sent] To Conadasaga By water ; Destroyed the town orchard Cornfield &c.

6 DAY we marched & Proceeded 5 miles and Encamped ; Opposite to the Shore the Ground we Encamped on we Discovered a Settlement Where we Could See a number of Indians Driving Horses ; passed the ford march about 3 miles by the Side or rather the north End of the Lake and to a Small Settlement which We Destroyed & Proceeded 2 miles further to the Capital of the Sineca Cald Connadasaga Where we Rived at Sun Set ; here We Expected to have taken Some Prisoners, two Brigades Being ordered to march round the town, one on the right the other on the Left but found no Persen in or about it Exept one White Child about 3 years old Which we Suppose is a Captive ; this town is Cald the Sineca Castle ; in the Center of the town has Been a Stockade fort & a Block Hous Which are gone to ruin ; their was left in the Houses a Great number of Skins, Some Corn and Many of their Curiosities.

8th the army Lay Still to Day, the Rifle men were Sent to Destroy a town about 8 miles from here on the Side of the Lake, Gaghasieanhgwe ; we found a Very large fields of Corn and Grass about this town, A Considerable Quantity of Hay In Stacks which We St on fire ; one of our Scouts Burnt a town yesterday Cald Long falls 10 miles N. E of this town on the way to Cayyuga.

9th By Reason of the Heavy Rain last night we were Not able to move this Morning till 12 o'clock for Geneses ; what Corn, Beans, peas, Squashes Potatoes, Onions, turnips, Cabage, Cowcumbers, watermilions, Carrots, pasnips &c. our men and horses Cattle &c could not Eat was Destroyed this Morning Before we march ;—all the Sick and Invalids were Sent Back this morning under an Escort of 50 men to tioga ; we Proceeded about 3 miles, the Great Part of the way through Old fields that are Gone up with Grass Trees & Bushes, then Entred a thick Swamp through which we Proceeded with Great Difficulty 4 miles, then Crosst a Stream & Encamped in an old field. Before we marched this We totally Destroyed the town & orchard.

10th the army marched at 8 o'clock. Proceeded 3 miles through a thick Swamp, then Came to Large fields that have Been Cultivated formerly But are Gone over with Grass and trees, these field Continued about 5 Miles with Intervail ; after Leaving the fields one mile we Came to a Very Pleasant Pond or Lake Cald Connondaguah, We forded the outlet of the Lake, marched About Half a mile and Came to an Indian town Cald Connondaguah Consisting of about 30 Houses Which were much Better Built and Situated than any I have Seen Before ; the army would Have marched Six miles further to day after Burning the town, finding at Some Distance from the town Several Large fields of Corn we were ordered to march to the fields and Encamp, Which we did at 3 o'clock p. m. Several Parties Were ordered out this afternoon to Destroy the Corn.

11th the army marched this morning at Sun rise to an Indian town Cald anyayea or Honneyayeu, Consisting of about 8 or 10 Houses, as Situated on a Large Body of Cleared Land, a Small Lake around it Several Large Corn fields ; the Greatest Part of which We have marched to Day is Covered over With Grass and Some Scattering trees, it had Been the appearance of being formerly Cultivated

12th the weather being foule the army did not march until 12 o'clock ; a Small Post is Established Here at Which the Provision, Pack Horses &c will Be Left until we Return ; What is nesseray for to Cary With us to Geneses (25 miles and Back Here) ; Piece of artillery Will Be Left also ; the army marched 11 miles this afternoon over an Exelent Body of Land and Encamped at Sun Set.

13th marched at 7 o'clock proceeded 1½ miles and Came to a town Cald Kagnegasas Consisting of about 18 Houses Situated on a fine Piece of Intervail where we found Large field of Exelent Corn with a Great Plenty of Beans & Squashes, Potatoes, mush milions ; Here the army Halted 4 Houres to Build a Bridge over a very bad Crick & destroy the corn and at this town Lived a very noted Warrior Cald the Great tree who Has Pretended to be very friendly to us and to His Exellency Genl. Washington and from Congress ;* a Party of Rifle men & some others 26 in number under the Command of Lt. Boyd of the Rifle men was Sent Last night to reconnoiter a town 7 miles from this and was ordered to return at Day Break, they killed and Scalped an Indian of the town in the morning and Returnd about Half way to Camp where they Imprudently halted and Sent 4 men To report to the Genl what they Had Discovered ; after Laying Still Some time they Had Discoverd Some Small Indian Scouts Between them and Camp Which they Persued until they Had Killd one of them, they were then attackd By a Body of two or three Hundred and Indians, Lt Boyd Sustained the fire for Some time But Being nearly Surounded attempted to make His Escape But was So Closely Presued that himself & 19 men were taken and kild ; the enemy left all their Packs, Hats and many other things Where the action Commenced, which we found ; Immediately after the army marched on, we Proceeded to the above Mentioned town and Encamped ; this town is Cald Gaghehewarahare it Consists of above 22 Houses and is situated on a Small River the Falls into the Geneses River 2 miles from the Town.

* So in original.

14th we marched at 12 o'clock ; after fording Small river Which this Town Stands on and Passing a Small Grove we Entered upon the Great Geneses flats which is a vast Body of Cleard Intervail Covered With Grass that was from 4 to 8 feet High, these flats Extend 12 or 14 miles on the River, our army moving in the order of march Laid Down appeared to great advantage, after marching about 2 miles we came to what Is Cald Genese Lake or River the Largest we Have Pased Since we have Left Sisquenhannah, after fording the River and Pased over a Body of flats we asending a hill marched 3 miles and Came to the Great town Chenese ; this town is Situated on a Beautiful Tract of Land in a Bow of the River and Consists of about 130 Houses the Greatest Part of Which are Verry Compact. When we Entered the Town We found Lt. Boyd & one man Dead and most Horribly mangled, they were Laying near a tree which we Suposed they were tyed To While they were massacred as their was Blood & other Signs near the tree ; it appeared they first whipt them and Very Severely, then Cut Out their tongues & Plucked out their Eyes and nails, then Stabd them With Spears and after Venting all their Hellish Spite Cut off their Heads and Left them, this was a Horrid Spectacle to Behold Indeed, and from which we are taught nesesity of fighting those more then Devil as Long as we have Life Rather then to Surrender Ourselves prisoners ; it appears that the Savages Left this Place in a Great Hurry as they Left a Quantity of Corn Gathered and Some Husked hung up to Dry and Some Laying in Heaps husked and unhusked

15th at 6 o'clock the whole Army was turned out to destroy the Corn one Regt. from Each Brigade With the rifle men and artillery to guard the army while the Corn was Destroyed. We were from 6 to 2 o'clock Very Bussy until we Compleated our Work ; it is thought we have Destroyed 15,000 Bushels of Corn, Besides Beans, Squashes, Potatoes in abundance, a great Part of this Corn was Planted By the tories under Butler and Intend's for a magazine to aid them to Carry on their war against our Fronteers as we are informed By Some Prisoners ; the method we took to Gather it into the Houses Putting wood and Bark with it then set fire to the Houses ; thus it was effectually Destroyed. Some we hove into the River ; this is the End of our journey we are now turning of our face homeward ; a woman With her Child came to us this day who was Brought a captive from Wyoming.

* * * pages 74, 75 of journal missing * * *

At Diferent Places This morning which Employed the army till 11 o'clock to Distroy. We Crossed the Crick at Gaghehegwarahare and at 4 arived at Kanaghsas and Encamped —13 of Lt. Boyd Party Were found to Day dead and scalpd near to gether and as they were all shot it appears they Bravely fought till Every man was kild and of Consequence kild a number of the Enemy ; Honyose oneida Indian who was one of the Party among the Dead and Very much mangled

17th we Marched at Sun rise Proceeded to anyaye where We Left our Stores and found all Safe to our Great Joy as we were much afraid that the Party that Cut off Lt. Boyd would have found out the Cituation of our Small Garrison and make an atempt to Suprise it Which Would have been a fatal affair to our army ; our Soldiers in High Spirits and are Willing to make great marches ; the Reason is obvious we are Going Homeward.

18th the army march at 8 o'clock, Proceeded to Kanandaguah & in camped.

19th. we marched to Kannadasagea the 13th in this town we found hung up about 10 or 12 feet from the Ground on a Pole Set up we Suposed, two dogs Which is their method of Sacrafising to their Imaganary Gods of war in time of Danger.

the following to Be added to the 15th. this woman informs us that the Dogs spoke of yesterday were Sacrifised on hearing of the Battle of Newton and of Desolation of their Country as we march thru it.

JOURNAL OF MAJOR JEREMIAH FOGG.

MAJOR JEREMIAH FOGG, the oldest son of Rev. Jeremiah Fogg, of Kensington, was born in 1749, graduated at Harvard College in 1768; spent several years as a teacher, in Newburyport, where he commenced the study of law with Theophilus Parsons, the most eminent jurist of the time. At the commencement of hostilities, in 1775, he entered Col. Poor's regiment as one of the staff officers and continued in the service through the whole war. At the close of the revolution, he returned to Kensington, took a prominent part in the political movements of the country, was for several years a member of the New Hampshire Senate, and died in 1808, at the age of 59. He married Lydia Hill of Cambridge.

The following is from a printed copy of his journal, 150 copies of which were published, Exeter, N. H., from the *News Letter Press*, 1879. He held the position on the roster as captain in the second New Hampshire regiment.

JOURNAL OF

Major Jeremiah Fogg, of Col Poor's Regiment N. H. during the expedition of Gen. Sullivan in 1779, against the western Indians.

AUGUST 13. 1779.—Col. Cilley's regiment with several others were afterwards sent to destroy a field of corn near that place and were fired upon from the same hill. One man was killed and several wounded, but it is uncertain whether by the enemy or our own men, as the fire was very irregular. At two o'clock we set off for Tioga, after burning the town and destroying all the corn on our way. Several colts were taken here. Arrived at Tioga at 8 o'clock, much fatigued, having marched nearly 40 miles and had no sleep for 36 hours.

14th. Very warm. This being the place assigned for Gen. Clinton to join the army, and Gen. Sullivan being apprehensive of his being in danger, detached Gen. Poor, with 900 men and 8 days' provisions, with orders to proceed up the river, as a reinforcement in case of an attack. Gen. Clinton had, previous to this, received orders not to move from the head of the river, until Sullivan had marched 9 days from Wyoming, a reasonable time to reach Tioga.

15th. This day a party of Indians appeared near Gen. Hand's encampment, scalped one of our drivers and wounded one more. Parties were sent off in pursuit of them, but ineffectually.

16th. After making a proper disposition of the troops, the General marched at 10 o'clock and encamped at MAWKUATOWOUGUH (alias Red Brook) 12 miles from Tioga situated on that river, where there is some good interval.

17th. Marched, at 6 o'clock, passed through exceedingly good land, and at 2 o'clock arrived at Owegy, lately inhabited by the savages, but on the destruction of Onondaga it

was abandoned, as were all the settlements on the river above Tioga. This is a pretty piece of land through which runs a creek about three rods wide. A small party were sent up to explore, and about a mile up the creek found 12 horses, but no Indians.

18th. Marched at half past 6, passed through good land, but badly watered, arrived in season at Choconut Flats, formerly a pretty settlement of fifty houses, seven of which, only, were standing. Three miles short of this, is Choconut Creek about three rods wide. Several parties having been sent with information of our march to Gen. Clinton, we began to fear he had not decamped from the head of the river, as we had arrived nearly at the place where we should probably meet him without any account from him, but to our great joy at sunset we heard his evening gun, about 8 miles distant, which we answered with a Cohorn. From this place is a path across the mountains to Wialusing distant 2 day-march, 14 miles.

19th. Marched at eight o'clock, but soon met a sergeant from Gen. Clinton, with a letter informing us that his army would be at Choconut brook by five o'clock. Consequently we counter-marched, and before night, arrived at Owego, and burnt 19 houses. Gen. Clinton had about 1800 men, 208 boats and one month's salt provision, with two Oneida Indians.

20th. Rained violently, which rendered it exceedingly bad for men without tents. Remained on the ground all day.

21st. Encamped at MAWKUHTOWONGUH.

22nd. Very pleasant, arrived at Tioga about one o'clock to the great joy of our soldiery, as by bad economy they had consumed eight days' bread in five. On the arrival of the boats 13 cannon were fired. The prospects of affairs at this period, seems to promise a speedy movement. Hitherto nothing has appeared, but a suspicion of embarrassments and, even now, no great things are expected. Gen. Clinton proceeded from Albany, with 1800 men and three months provisions, reckoning from the middle of June, transported the whole, together, with 208 boats by land to Schenectady, from thence by water to Canajoharie on the Mohawk river, then by land to lake Otsego 18 or 20 miles of very bad road, where he continued six weeks, waiting for Gen. Sullivan's orders. On the ninth of August he marched about half his troops, the rest embarked on board the boats, and proceeded down the river, those by land keeping pace with them as a guard. The water in the river by this time had become so low as to render the navigation totally impracticable without having to resort to artifice. Therefore, previous to his quitting the lake, he built a dam at its mouth till the water was raised three feet higher than was natural. The night before embarkation he hoisted his gates, which afforded a sufficiency of water for his purpose. Four of Col Cilley's regiment sent express on the 15th to Gen. Clinton, with five days provision, are not yet heard of, and are supposed to have taken a wrong branch. A fine jaunt. Every department is busy in preparing for the march. In our absence up the river a party of savages fired on four men, near Gen. Hand's encampment scalped one and wounded another.

23d. Unfortunate day—a hapless youth, as he was carelessly handling a musket charged with a ball and five buckshot, discharge it and the whole passed through a tent in which were several officers. Three of the shot struck Capt. Kimball, Paymaster of the First Regiment; one passing through the centre of his body immediately put an end to his life. He was possessed of every qualification to render him dear, useful and agreeable to his friends, and his integrity, capacity, good temper and strict attention to duty were such, that all must mourn his loss. Man knoweth not his time. Capt. Kimball had served in five campaigns, and though his duty seldom called him into danger, yet at a time, when there appeared the least danger, his life was required, while others exposed to ten thousand and angry balls are spared.

24th. Capt. Kimball was buried with the honors of war. A soldier in the York Brigade, was badly wounded by the accidental discharge of a musket. Misfortunes, according to the ancient whim, seldom come single. Our army paraded and the baggage was out, but we found a great want of bags and horses, and spent the chief of the night in cutting up tents and making bags.

25th. Three Oneidas came from their castle—men of integrity and sobriety. One, who was before with us being a worthless fellow, introduced himself to them, but was received with a most peculiar air of coldness and silent contempt. Want of horses prevents our marching this day, and parties are sent out to collect those astray. Received intelligence that Count D'Estaing had been engaged with Byron, to the advantage of the Count; and that Lt. Vincents, Grenada and Tobago were taken by our allies. Two runners came in from Col. Broadhead informing us that he had marched five hundred men towards the Genessee.

26th. After much difficulty, by the middle of the day, the army got in motion towards Kanasadaga, with nine pieces of artillery and their appendages; the transportation of which, to Genesee, appears to the army in general, as impracticable and absurd as an attempt to level the Alleghany mountains. Our army is supplied (at least nominally) with thirty days' provisions and encamped three miles from Tioga, where appeared to have been a body of fifty Indians in ambush, with a view to fall on men that might be sent to mow grass. After the encampment, we were alarmed by unusual cry of the army, caused by the appearance of a doe, running through the lines; she happening to run near our quarters, we attempted to seize and confine her, but found her too full of springs! The first salutation I met with was her head against my forehead, which knocked me down, stunned me and prevented my further pursuit. She ran over me treading on me in several places. This days' march must have been attended with very little difficulty, as the ground was level and dry, admitting the army to march, exactly, on the order on paper.

27th. Marched about 8 o'clock, and kept our order until arriving at a mountain, where we were obliged to deviate. The right column commanded by Gen. Poor passing over it; from the top we had a most romantic prospect. Unfortunately the river rose this day four feet, and prevented our crossing it, so that the wagons were obliged to go through the narrows, where was a bank twenty feet high, almost perpendicular, the ascending of which delayed us till dark. After seven hours' digging, with the assistance of a regiment with drag-ropes, the artillery and pack-horses ascended the bank. The rear did not move from its yesterdays encampment. Several other defiles retarded the movement of the artillery, and we had not got three miles at 10 o'clock at night—the most disagreeable day's march since we left Wyoming. A universal cry against the artillery. Encamped in the most beautiful piece of land seen in this country, resembling the flats of the Raritan. Here was an immense quantity of corn, some of whose stalks measured fifteen feet. Beans and squashes were in abundance, and a greater quantity of which was never eaten in twenty four hours by the same number of men.

28th. This morning we had a dainty repast on the fruits of the savages. Our friends at home cannot be happier amid their variety of superfluities, than we were while sitting at a dish of tea, toast, corn, squash, smoked tongue, &c. After destroying sixty or eighty acres of corn, the army marched. Three brigades went over the mountain on the east side of the river, while Maxwell crossed, with the artillery, and baggage, and re-crossed near Chemung. Two Indians were discovered and fired on by soldiers on our flanks, but they missed them. Crossing the river was attended with some difficulty, horses, drivers, and bags of flour were carried off in the current, but the water was not deep enough to drown them. Our Indian scouts returned, informing us, that a number of fires were discovered within ten miles of Chemung. Capt. Wait was sent to the top of a high mountain to lay during the night and to make discoveries of the fires, but could discern nothing but smoke which appeared to be half as great as the smoke of our encampment. Arrived at Chemung about six o'clock.

29th. After collecting our horses and cattle, which had gone astray, we marched towards the enemy, whom we expected to fight before night, and, in two miles discovered a fortification. The riflemen advanced and began a fire on them, while the artillery was carried to an advantageous piece of ground. At the same time, Gen. Poor's and Clinton's brigades attempted to gain their left and rear, by a circuitous march in which we passed through a new town of about forty houses, and, with difficulty crossed a brook and ascended a tedious mountain; but previous to this our artillery had begun a heavy

cannonade on their works. Just as we were beginning to ascend the mountain, the enemy began a scattering fire from the top. The troops immediately formed a line and pushed forward, reserving their fire till they arrived at the summit of the mountain, when the enemy gave way in the centre and at the same time attempted to gain our left. Col Reids regiment, by misfortune, had separated nearly a gun shot from the main body and received the chief of the fire but returned it with equal fury, charging them at the same time. Col. Dearborn, being informed of Reid's detached situation, wheeled his regiment to his assistance and at the critical moment gave a full volley on the enemy's flank, which completed their rout.

Killed		Wounded	
Col. Cilley's	Reg. 1 Lieut.	Lieut. McCally	and 1 private
" Reid's	" 1 Corp.		6 private
" Scammell's	" 2 Corp.		6 "
" Alden	" 1 private		7 "
Covering party	1 "		several

In the action, six Indians were left on the ground dead. One Tory was taken prisoner who told us, that their whole force was 600 Indians commanded by Brant and 200 whites commanded by Butler; among which were a British sergeant, corporal and 12 privates. A negro was afterwards taken, who gave nearly the same account, except the the number of Indians, which he thought to be only 400. Indeed the affair of the day was conducted with much propriety and forebode a full execution of our plan. The New Hampshire Brigade may at least add a new feather to their caps. Although the enemy galled us, killing three and wounding forty; yet we convinced them that they may in vain attempt to withstand an army like ours.

In the circuitous march to gain their rear, my horse stumbled under me and broke his neck.

30th. Reconnoitered the ground and lines of the enemy. They had chosen an advantageous piece of ground and with logs and some digging extended their works from a small eminence on their right, looking the river and intervals to another on their left, near a swamp. The whole work was blinded by a body of green bushes, placed artfully in front. This morning died Lt. McCally of Col. Cilley's regiment, in consequence of an amputation performed yesterday. He was a brave, ambitious and worthy officer.

In the evening our wounded, together with all the wagons and four pieces of the heaviest artillery, were sent back to Tioga by water, to the great satisfaction of the army.

Went over the field of battle to view the slain. No army can have higher spirits than ours resulting from victory and a consciousness of superiority, while our enemy are fleeing from their country.

Scarcity of provisions and the extensive plan before us, induced the General to address the army, requesting them to comply with half allowance, while corn and vegetables could be obtained. So great and noble was their spirit, that scarce a dissenting voice was heard in camp; while manifesting their consent by an universal hurrah! A wag observed, that he had seen men shout for joy in a time of plenty but not for half allowance.

Present prospects forebode success, although hitherto, nothing but a succession of clogs and embarrassments have attended us. Eight days' flour was this day dealt, which relieved a number of horses for Gen. Clinton's brigade.

31st. Very cool and clear. Having now disencumbered ourselves of the wounded, wagons and heavy artillery (equally agreeable) we proceeded with four light three pounders and a small howitzer; burning Newton on our way, which consisted of fifteen or twenty houses. Our wing passed over hideous mountains and ravines; some of the banks of the latter were thirty feet, almost perpendicular. After we had passed the mountain, we came on to a platt of fine land, at the crotch of the river five miles from Chemung.

Some of our light corps discovered a party of the enemy in boats, going up the main branch, but could not overtake them. A number of arms, hats and trinkets were found scattered on the way, which indicated the confusion and hurry in which they decamped.

This day's march of ten miles was performed with little difficulty ; four of the last being in an open pitch pine plain covered with good grass, in which we encamped.

SEPT. 1st. This morning frost was found in our camp. The army marched about 8 o'clock. The plain continued several miles and then we passed through a defile having an extensive morass and creek on our right and a high mountain on our left which is said to be a part of the Alleghany range. We then entered a swamp, which continued six or eight miles, full of morasses, ravines, windfalls and almost every obstacle to impede artillery, while there was a chain of mountains on either side, on which the flanks marched. The right column likewise marched on the mountain with great fatigue ; passing a number of prodigious gullies. The land in general this day was as uneven as the sea in a tempest. After night came on, the army had several miles of woods and bogs to pass, which employed many of us five hours. Gen. Clinton's brigade, with the cattle, did not arrive until the next day. The whole night was a disagreeable scene of confusion ; and darkness was almost perfect. Fires were built in many of the most difficult places, to build bridges and facilitate the passage. Many horses and bags of flour were lost in the bogs.

When the infantry arrived at Katharine's town fires were burning in the wigwags and kettles of broth were on the fire. This town consists of twenty houses, took its name from a French woman of great interest named Katharine, who settled here and carried on merchandise. She owned a number of horses and cattle.

2d. Early this morning we found in a bark hut an awful object and upon examination it appeared to be Madam Sacho, one of the Tuscarora tribe, whose silver locks, wrinkled face, dim eyes and curvitude of body denoted her to be a full blooded antideluvian hag ! Her language was very little understood by our interpreters. However, one of our Oneidas could understand her and communicated to them in his own language. She gave the following account viz : That she was left by necessity, and expected to have been killed and seemed thankful, that the good spirit had influenced our great chief to save her ; that Butler and his whites had gone off two days before ; that a reinforcement of Indians met him at this place, prepared for war ; but those who had been defeated told them that we were too numerous, the woods were full of men, &c , that the squaws and the little ones were anxious for peace, but that Butler had told them that all would be put to death.

The fatigue of yesterday prevented our marching this day, which was spent in eating and destroying corn and squashes. The grandeur of this town is by no means equal to its fame. Through it runs a pretty rivulet which enters Seneca lake, three miles from the town.

This day we passed through a good tract of land on the east side of Seneca lake. The right wing marched on the top and edge of a mountain from whence is a fine prospect of the lake for several miles. This lake is about thirty-seven miles long from two to six wide, running north nearly straight ; and in it are no islands. It is a most beautiful body of water.

This day's march was very pleasant, but at night we encamped without forage. Col. Smith was sent forward with a party, who discovered a man on horseback and four Indians ; but they escaped him.

4th. Rain in the morning, which prevented our marching till eleven o'clock. Within four miles of this place, we passed a small settlement and a few acres of corn. Night coming on, we were obliged again to encamp without forage ; excepting wild beans, of which our horses were very fond, and kind nature has been very bountiful in dispensing them throughout this country. Many horses have fallen this day under burdens.

One of the Oneidas was sent off this morning to rouse his brethren to take up the hatchet and join us at Kanadasaga.

We marched eleven miles this day and found exceedingly good land and marching.

5th. With much difficulty we collected our horses and cattle and marched at 10 o'clock. We passed one difficult ravine, but found the rest of the way good. Came once in sight of the lake near a house and small field of corn and arrived at Kindaia or Appletown at 2 o'clock. The village has twenty houses and eighty large apple trees, but only six fami-

lies have lived here since the destruction of Onondaga. From a captive whom we retook at this place, we learned that the enemy were in great confusion after the action at New-town. Two of them had run from thence, in less than twenty four hours, proclaiming their defeat in the death hallo ; being almost spent with fatigue, while their voices were scarcely audible by their continual vociferation. Some were for revenge, but the more timid and prudent were for escaping with their little ones, as they believed us to be 10.000 going to Niagara. Kindaia is pleasantly situated near the lake which is here about five miles across.

6th Our army by a general order the preceding day, discharged their pieces which terrified and dispersed our cattle and horses, and eighteen of the latter were never found. This accident detained us until 2 o'clock, so that this day's march has been only two miles. Encamped amidst a great plenty of pea-vines.

A party that had been sent in search of three servants who by mistake had gone to Cayuga lake, found there a small town, which they destroyed and brought off a horse.

7th. Between seven and eight, the army marched, had good level land all day, and about two arrived at the outlet of the lake, where we expected violent opposition ; but were agreeably disappointed, notwithstanding which the greatest caution was used, in crossing the river, which is about three or four rods wide. Nature could not have formed a better place for an ambuscade, as the lake was on our left and an impervious swamp on our right for half a mile. Having passed the ford and defile, we marched to Kanadasaga, two and a half miles from the lake, an Indian settlement of about thirty houses, called the Seneca Castle. Here the English in the course of the last war, attempted to establish a post beginning a picket fort, but were compelled to desist, as the savages declined having any civilized people get a foothold in their territories lest in process of time, they should deviate from the lines and customs of their predecessors, by degenerating into a regular system of government, agriculture and mode of life, whereby they would cease to be Indians. To avoid such evils, every precaution has been taken to prevent a survey of the country, while maps of it hitherto taken, seem rather to blind than enlighten a traveller.

Notwithstanding the occult and evasive qualities of the Savages with which our general must before this time have been acquainted he made a disposition of his troops, thinking to surround and surprise the town, after having been five hours within three miles of it. Genl. Hand's infantry and Col. De Bois' flank men were to begin the investigation on the west, while the main body encircled them from each wing. But oh ! sad mishap ! When our commander advanced to complete his part, to his great mortification, he found the detachments either misled by their guides or else had mistaken a field of pompions for the town. But whatever might have been the cause, the whole party from the monkey to the rat, had armed themselves with almost every species of the vegetable creation, each man with three pompions on his bayonet and staggering under the weight of a bosom filled with corn and beans, when in accents more sonorous than those of an injured husband, he broke out "You d——d unmilitary set of rascals ! what, are you going to storm a town with pompions ! Turn aside, open to the right and left, that men unaccustomed to plundering, and such scandalous conduct may execute the design ! Ye officers, never more show your heads with military characters." In an instant the whole band was disrobed of their vegetable accoutrements and armour, and pompions, squashes, melons and mandrakes rolled down the hill like hail-stones in a tempest.

No person was found in the town, save a child about three years old, emaciated almost to a skeleton, sitting on the green and playing with a young chicken. It is generally supposed to be a prisoner left by the savages, as a mother cannot forget her sucking child, besides it could speak and understand only Indian. A milch cow was found near it, which was probably left for his support.

The land between the Seneca and Cayuga lakes appears good, level and well timbered ; affording a sufficiency for twenty elegant townships, which in process of time will doubtless add to the importance of America. The communication of the Seneca with Cayuga is passable with boats and is about twenty miles.

Whether the God of nature ever designed that so noble a part of his creation should remain uncultivated, in consequence of an unprincipled and brutal part of it, is one of those arcana, yet hidden from human intelligence. However, had I any influence in the councils of America, I should not think it an affront to the Divine will, to lay some effectual plan, either to civilize, or totally extirpate the race. Counting their friendship, is not only a disagreeable task, but impracticable; and if obtained it is of no longer duration than while we are in prosperity and the impending rod threatens their destruction. To starve them is equally impracticable for they feed on air and drink the morning dew.

8th. The army remained on the ground, feeding on the produce of the country. A detachment under Col. Smith, was sent down the south side of the lake to destroy a small settlement, where were found a great quantity of fruit and some swine and fowls.

A council was held, on the expediency of proceeding to Genesee—a march necessary but to appearance, almost impracticable and, by many thought to be imprudent. Pimps and tale bearers were brought from every brigade, to ascertain the minds of the general officers, and some attempted to argue them into the propriety of an immediate return. How incompetent are men of inferior stations to judge in matters of such a nature, especially when they are not availed of any of the principles on which to form their judgement. One instance of this kind happened, in which the subject had well nigh been sent without the sentries, with orders for them to fire in case of his return.

"Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cantum." It was determined to go on the other sixty miles, notwithstanding we had only provisions (full allowance) to carry us back.

9th. After sending back Capt. Reid, with the invalid men and horses, the army marched at 12 o'clock; passed through many cleared lands and swamps and encamped seven miles from Kanadasaga. Col. Smith's party joined us.

10th. Marched at 8 o'clock, and in about seven miles, passed the outlet of a lake on our left, which to appearance was two miles wide and five long, near which was a town of thirty houses, called Kandaigua, which we immediately burned, intending to proceed further; but finding a large quantity of corn, about half a mile distant, we were obliged to decamp. From the structure of many of the buildings it appeared that some Tories had lived here. When our advanced parties arrived three Indians were discovered in the town, and some fires were burning near by. Marched nine miles to day.

11th. The General beat at five, and the army marched at half past six. Passed through many fields of grass very high; and over hills, ravines and morasses, and encamped at Annaquayen thirteen and a half miles, consisting of eight houses, near which is a lake, half a mile wide and five long. This town took its name from a misfortune which befel an Indian here, viz:—the loss of a finger, which the word signifies.

Having now so nearly performed our march and many of our horses being unfit for service the General detached a Captain and fifty men, who took charge of the greatest part of our flour and ammunition stores in and near an Indian house. The bags of flour served as a defense against the enemy, by way of pallisade. The feeble horses and two pieces of artillery were likewise left.

12th. Rained in the morning which prevented our marching until 12 o'clock. The land through which we passed this day, was very hilly but not difficult. Encamped near Adyutro, a town of twenty five houses, a great quantity of corn, &c. Here, once lived the famous Seneca chief, called in English the Big tree, whose house was entirely built of cedar. Marched eleven miles.

13th. Very early this morning the army marched to the above town and halted for breakfast. We were detained here some time in making bridges over a rivulet and swamp.

The preceding evening a party of four riflemen and Honniose, an Oneida Indian, were ordered to reconnoitre the next castle and return by day-break. But by mistake twenty nine went, four of whom discovering four Indians in the town, killed and scalped one and wounded the second. The officer (Lt. Boyd) instead of returning, as was expected, sent four of his men to inform the General, detaining the remainder until the army should arrive; but, hearing some Indians had been discovered near by, marched down and was drawn into an ambuscade wherein Boyd, and about twenty men were cut off. Soon after

a party fired on Mr. Lodge, the surveyor and party, and mortally wounded one man ; but by the timely firing of a sentry all the party got in.

The army then marched to the castle, called Gohseolahulee (which signifies spear laid up), of about twenty houses. From some appearances, we apprehended that the enemy would oppose us at this town and proper caution was taken ; but we were once more agreeably disappointed. Here appeared the heathenish custom of offering sacrifices. Two dogs were found suspended on a pole, which signified that evil spirit was to be pacified by their skins, which would serve to make him a tobacco pouch and waistcoat. Marched seven miles.

14th. This morning the army crossed a creek about one rod wide, and soon entered upon a large flat of intervalle, containing about twenty thousand acres, with not a stump nor a tree upon the whole, but grass from six to ten feet high. Here our whole army was seen in the same accurate order as on paper.

The Genesee river is about half a mile from our last encampment and is four or five rods wide and very rapid. The army forded the river in platoons and locked arms to guard against the rapidity of its current. A soldier who was on this extensive plat twenty eight years ago (1751) said that it had then the same appearance. After crossing the river we ascended an eminence, perhaps one hundred feet higher than the river, on the top of which is a plain of considerable extent and from which is a gradual descent each way. This tableland overlooks the country and intervalle around it for many miles, and is I think, best calculated for a county seat, town or city, as to situation, of any place in America. Before sunset we arrived at Genesee, the grand capital and extent of our route, where were a hundred and twenty houses and as many acres of corn.

The remains of Lt. Boyd and one rifleman, taken the preceding day, were found with their heads cut off, and eyes and tongues out and every species of barbarity committed, that the united malice of all the infernal devils could dictate. The savages had the day before burned a house in the ashes of which were the bones of several men, which were doubtless savages killed by the riflemen. Burning with them is frequently a substitute for interment.

15th. This morning a captive woman and child at her breast came in from the woods having escaped from the savages. Can any greater transition happen to a human being except a pardon at the gallows ? She was taken at Wyoming last spring with five children, where her husband was killed, and child was scalped before her eyes. This day was spent in destroying corn which had become so ripe that we were obliged to burn it in the kilns. Some corn-stalks were seventeen feet long. The whole army was employed, but at 3 o'clock we *faced to the right about*. A most joyful day ! Marched back to the east end of the great flat and encamped. Marched five miles.

16th. Encamped at Adjutso, where we completed the destruction of a large quantity of corn. About a mile distant we found the bodies of thirteen men and the Indian killed on the 13th inst., so that of the twenty-nine that went out, eleven returned ; sixteen were killed, and two are now missing. Marched seven miles.

17th. At day break our tents were struck and the army arrived at Annaquayen, at half past twelve and found our stores and little garrison safe ; for which we had much concern. Marched twelve miles.

18th. Marched to Kanadaigue, passed the outlet of the lake and encamped on its side. Bluback, the Oneida Indian, who had been sent home for purposes before mentioned, returned with a young sachem and a warrior, giving the following account : That he delivered the message of Gen. Sullivan to his brethren at Oneida, the requisition therein named was fully complied with, and the nation to a man turned out to join our army and marched to Cayuga ; but meeting an impertinent Indian going from our enemy, informing them that our work was done and their services not wanted, they turned back ; that the nation congratulated our chief on the success of his arms in this quarter, and begged that Cayuga settlement might be spared for the sake of the few righteous among them ; that the corn would greatly alleviate the distresses of the friendly Onondagas, but the matrimonial connections of these tribes rendering the requisition suspicious, it was not

granted. He likewise informed them that Marquis LaFayette had arrived ; that New York was burned ; with a number of stories calculated to gain their point ; but all are supposed to be Indian tales. Marched ten miles.

19th. Marched to Kanadasaga, sixteen miles, and arrived about sunset. On our march we met an express with letters from Gen. Washington, together with newspapers informing us of Spain's declaring war with England and many other pieces of agreeable intelligence.

20th. Two detachments, one of six hundred men commanded by Col. Butler was sent on the east side of the Cayuga, to destroy the settlements, and the other under Col. Gansvoort of one hundred men to the Mohawk country for the same purpose. Soon after the army crossed the outlet of Seneca lake, and encamped four miles from Kanadasaga.

We now suppose ourselves at home and quite out of danger from the savages. Col. Smith was again sent out with a party on the west side of the lake, to accomplish the burning of the corn before cut down.

21st. Col Dearborn with two hundred men, was sent down on the west side of Cayuga lake to conclude the destruction of the country. Our army marched thirteen miles and encamped.

22d. This morning there was great appearance of a storm. Marched sixteen miles. A sore mortality among old horses, twenty died this day besides about sixty were shot by the rear guard.

23d. This morning the most able horses were selected to carry the ammunition, which moved with very little obstruction.

Dined at Katherinestown, where we found the old squaw just as we left her, twenty days before in her bark hut, with a quart of corn by her. It appears that there had been a young squaw with her, whom we found dead forty rods distant ; supposed to have been shot by some of our expresses, a few days before. The old one, from her appearance must have been ninety years old. Such is the enmity of our soldiery against the savages, that they would readily have murdered this helpless impotent wretch. But the common dictates of humanity, a veneration for old age and a regard for the female world of any age or denomination induced our General to spare her, giving her the choice of going with the army, or remaining in her wigwam, with a month's provisions ; and she preferred the latter.

The army proceeded three miles further and then encamped. Marched twelve miles.

24. This day we passed through the swamp with little difficulty, and arrived at Fort Reid before night, where were one hundred head of cattle, a plenty of flour, spirits &c. Captain Reid had been ordered to this place (before known by the name of Konnawollahollah) with two hundred men and one piece of cannon, where he had thrown up some lines, being the point of confluence of the Tioga and Cayuga rivers.

On our march this day, we received intelligence that Col. Clark had taken Detroit with two hundred and fifty prisoners.

25th. A Feu de Joie for Spain's declaring war with England.

26th. Col Dearborn and party returned, who left us on the 21st near outlet of Seneca lake. His course was about east, twelve or fifteen miles when he struck Cayuga lake, ten miles from its mouth. From thence he proceeded on the west side, to the south end ; in which route he burned five towns, containing fifty houses, destroyed a quantity of corn, took four prisoners two of whom he brought off, both females, the other two being superannuated and infirm were left. That lake extends nearly as far south as the Seneca, and ten miles further north, while the land is broken and the shore very irregular

27th. A large party under Col. Cortlandt was sent up the Tioga river to destroy corn.

28th. Col. Butler and party arrived from his expedition around the Cayuga. After leaving Kanadasaga, they marched twenty three miles nearly north east, keeping in sight of the stream that runs from Seneca lake, which is generally shallow and rapid, running into the Cayuga half a mile from its mouth. They forded the neck of the lake where it was four hundred yards across and three feet deep with a muddy bottom. From thence they proceeded on the eastern shore, destroyed one hundred houses, five hundred fruit

trees and an immense quantity of corn. The land was good and much like that between the lakes.

Large detachments this day were employed in destroying corn.

29th. The army marched eleven miles and encamped on the Flatt below Chemung.

30th. Arrived at Tioga about 3 o'clock, where we were saluted by thirteen cannon from the fort. From hence we have water carriage to Wyoming, a most fortunate affair as our horses are worn down and our men are naked.

Although we are, now, one hundred and twenty miles from peaceful inhabitants, yet we consider ourselves at home, and the expedition ended; having fulfilled the expectations of our country, by beating the enemies and penetrating and destroying their whole country. The undertaking was great and the task arduous. The multiplicity of disappointments, occasioning a long delay at the beginning, foreboded a partial, if not a total frustration of our design; but the unbounded ambition and perseverance of our commander and army led him to the full execution contrary to our most sanguine expectations.

The army marched from Tioga, with twenty pounds of beef and twenty seven pounds of flour, per man, with which they marched twenty days out through an enemy's country yet unexplored with five pieces of artillery; having a road to clear, through swamps and over mountains a hundred and fifty miles; after having marched three hundred from their winter quarters; a cruel, subtle and desultory foe to contend with; void of hospital stores and conveniences for the sick and wounded; scarcely able to move for want of means of transportation, one battle, at the extent of our route, must have been attended with consequences, such as nothing but the event itself could ascertain; yet a march of three hundred miles was performed, a battle was fought and a whole country desolated in thirty days.

But let us not arrogate too much, for "The battle is not to the strong," is a proverb fully verified in this expedition; the special hand and smiles of Providence being so apparently manifested, that he who views the scene, with indifference, is worse than an infidel. The dimest eye must observe through the whole a succession of most fortunate events. The very evils that at first predicted a defeat, were a chain of causes in our favor. (I mean our delay). Had we marched when we wished we could not have had a general engagement; for a great scarcity amounting almost to a famine, the preceding year had prevented their embodying, until the growth of the present crop and we must therefore, have been harassed, daily by small parties much to our disadvantage. The artillery, which at first, seemed a clog and totally useless, served a noble purpose the action being general, their total rout together with the thunder of our artillery impressed them, with such a terrific idea of our importance that a universal panic struck both the sachem and the warrior; each finding full employment in removing his little ones from threatening danger. The place of action was likewise remarkable having water carriage for our wounded. Not a single gun was fired for eighty miles, on our march out or an Indian seen on our return. Then when we expected the greatest harassment a hundred might have saved half their country by retarding us until our provisions were spent; and a like number hanging on our rear in the return, would have occasioned the loss of much baggage and taught us an Indian dance. Their corn and vegetables were half our support, which we should have been deprived of had our march been earlier. And to say no more, the extraordinary continuance of fair weather has infinitely facilitated our expectations; having never been detained a single day; nor has there been an hour's rain since the thirtieth day of August.

The question will naturally arise, what have you to show for your exploits? Where are your prisoners? To which I reply, that the rags and emaciated bodies of our soldiers must speak for our fatigue, and when the Querist will point out a mode to tame a part-ridge, or the expediency of hunting wild turkeys, with light horse, I will show them our prisoners. The nests are destroyed, but the birds are still on the wing.

JOURNAL OF ENSIGN DANIEL GOOKIN.

DANIEL GOOKIN, Ensign in Second New Hampshire Regiment. He was the son of Rev. Nathaniel Gookin of Northampton N. H., born March 2, 1756; was commissioned as Captain after the war from Oct. 20, 1786. In 1809 was appointed a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and in Dec. 1815, Judge of Probate, which office he held until constitutionally disqualified by age. He was an active member of the county Agricultural Society and of the New Hampshire Cincinnati. He died Sept 4, 1831. A portion of his Journal, from May 4 to September 5, 1779, was published in Vol XVI, No 1, New England Hist. and Gen'l Register, January, 1862.

"Journal of March from North Hampton, N. Hampshire, in the year 1779," by Daniel Gookin of that place.

TUESDAY, May 4, '79. Set out from N. Hampton for the army. Lodged at Andover, Mr. Adams, 30 miles.

5. Thro' Tukesbury, Bilrica, Bedford, Concord, Malborough to Landlord Sawings, 38 miles.

6. Marched thro' Northborough, Salsbury, Woster, Leister, Spencer, Brookfield. Lodged at Landlord Coley, 35 miles.

7. Marched thro' Weston, Palmer, Wilbraham to Springfield. Lodged at Landlord Cottons, 32 miles.

8. Thro' Suffield (at this place my dog Bark left me) to Simesbury, 22 miles.

9. Sunday. Thro' Harrington to Litchfield. Landlord Thomsons at the Gaol, 25 miles.

10. Washington, New Milford to pinch gut. Lodged at Camps' Tavern, 24 miles.

11. Marched thro' Danbury to Ridgfield. Lodged at Keeler's tavern, 18 miles.

12. Wednesday, thro' Salem (this is in New York) Courtlandt's manor, correspond to Soldier's Fortune, 6 miles above Peekskill where the regt was encamped, 30 miles.

13, 14, 15, 16. Staid at Soldier's Fortune.

17. Marched from our encampment thro' Fishkill, crossed North River. Lodged at Newburg, 21 m. Here Gen. Poor over took us.

18. Marched thro' New Windsor to Bethlam, 9 miles.

19. to Chester, 12 miles.

20. to Warick, 14 miles.

21. Rainy Day, did not march, this place is 4 miles in the Jersey.

22. Did not march.

23. To Sussex Court House, here are four or five houses, very good, but the houses from North River to this place are small, the country mountainous, the valleys fertile, bearing large crops of wheat and rye, the men do but little work, and the women great sluts, marched 22 miles.

24. Marched to Hope, a small moravian town where there is one of the finest mills I ever saw, built of stone, the sluice way of this mill is cut thro' stone 800 feet in length, 30 feet deep in some places.

25. Marched within 5 miles of Easton, encamped in Woods, marched in 19 miles.

26. Marched into Easton 5 miles, this town lies on the west side of Delaware river, 60 miles by land above Philadelphia; this town is very pleasantly situated on the Delaware and Lehi, the river runs thro' Bethlehem; they have a fine Stone Church and Court House which lie in the centre of the town and a Stone Gaol; the inhabitants German, buildings most of them stone.

27, 28. We encamped on the Banks of the river Lehi. Bethlehem lies 12 miles up this river.

29, 30. Went to church, heard a sermon in Dutch, saw the Priest administer the Sacrament, there was boys belonging to this church not more than twelve years old; their manner of administering the sacrament is first the men come around the altar, the minister takes small white wafers about as big as a copper which he puts into their mouths speaking to every one, the same with the wine, the organ going all the time and people singing. Sunday afternoon went to church, heard sermon preached by Jersey Chaplain.

31. I [] & Rec'd one Hundred Dollars of Capt. Fogg.

JUNE 1, '79. Rec'd this day a certificate from the State of New Hampshire, appointing me an Ensign in Col. Reids Regt. to take Rank from 6 May, 1777.

2, 3. On Court martial.

7. Bought of Capt. Carr a Hanger for one hundred and fifty Dollars. Borrowed of Capt. Fogg 200 Dols.

14. Heard of the Victory Genl Lincoln gained over the British at Charleston, S. Carolina. Fired a fuze de joy on the Occasion.

18. Marched from Easton to Hilerston, 12 miles and encamped.

19. To Poconoco Mount, Point Lawrence. To wain 17 miles. Country all mountainous and Barren.

20, 21, 22, 23. Marched thro' Long Swamp to Wyoming 36 miles, there is one house 7 miles from this (no inhabitants) that is all for 36 miles back.

24. On guard. Provisions scant, Beef very poor; there has been a large quantity condemned.

26. Indians discovered last night near one of our piquets.

27. Removed our camp to the west side of the river, about 3 miles up; this is allowed by judges to be the best land they ever saw and sure I am that I never saw an equal to it, our garden spots in New Hampshire not excepted, the interval surpasses all description; the river Susquehanna on which this lies, abounds with fish, shad in great plenty in the spring, as they go up to spawn, and the shores are covered with these fish which have died up the river, thro' their too long stay in Fresh water. The land at present is unimproved, the inhabitants being killed in an engagement with the Indians and Tories, last summer. 300 were killed and scalped at one time.

29. Mr Bell arrived from N. Hampshire.

30. Our men went out this day gunning, saw deer and wild Turkey, killed none; this country has a mountain which affords excellent stone-cole; our blacksmith told me its almost equal to Newcastle Cole.

JULY 5, 1779. This day Genl Poor gave a genl invitation to the officers of his Brigade to dine with him in commemoration of American Independence (the fourth being Sunday) we had an elegant entertainment. A number of patriotick [toasts] drank, &c. &c.

6. This day a shower rose in the East and rained very hard with thunder & hail, the hail was as big as pullets egg.

12. Received Commission as an Ensign in the 2d N. Hampshire Regt giving me Rank as Ensign from the 6 of May, 1777; my warrant I rec'd at Easton.

21. The Genl congratulates the Army on the success of our arms at Stoney Point, this newes he received by letter from one of Genl Washington's Family, the following is an extract: (to wit.) Brigadier Genl Wayne with part of the light Troop surprised and took

Prisoners the whole of the garrison at Stony Point, all the cannons, stores, mortar, howitzers tents, baggage, &c. &c. without the loss of more than four or five men, no officers killed or badly wounded; if this story turns out as true as the news from Genl Lincoln did, Amen for orders. Mr Bell being on detachment with Colo. Reid at Brinker's Mills by Major Titcombs desire I did Adgts duty from the 10 &c. &c. drew very bad provisions it being that which was condemned some time past all the alteration in it is that it has been smoked which takes out some of the ugly smell but the juice of the grape continues in it yet. Owing to the badness of the Provision some of our officers and men are sick.

28. Colo Reid & Mr Bell & the Detachments that went with him, arrived at Camp, drew our horses, making all the preparations possible for a march up the river. Agreeable to Genl orders we moved down yesterday from Forty Fort to Wyoming.

31. Marched from Wyoming to Leighawaneuch, our baggage was carried on pack horses provided for that purpose. 9 miles.

AUGUST 1st. By reason of the boats not getting up the river, we did not march till three o'clock in the afternoon. Marched to Quilutimack. 4 miles.

2. Our moving so late from Leighawanock yesterday, and the badness of the roads, several of the pack horses (with flour and other stores over set) which put us under the fatal necessity of tarrying all this day and night at this Post.

3. Marched at Seven oclock in the morning over a very mountainous country to Tunck Hanich twelves miles, our baggage arrived safe this night, one of our men caught a wild turkey and another a deer both of them alive, the deer attempted to run thro' the troops but got grabbed; not very well, up last night on guard &c. &c. Crosd several very fine streams in our march this day, (or rather) waded thro' them.

4. Marched at six o'clock in the morning, the country much the same as yesterday untill we arrived within about 3 miles of this Encampment when we come to most excellent land on the interval, there were black walnut trees four feet through, not only one or two but a very large number of them that hold their bigness equal to pine. The land back of the interval descending gradually toward the river afforded a most exalted prospect. On our march came across what they call Indian apples, they grow on a small bush only one stock which is about two feet high, six inches from the top there is one branch, on this branch there is a very large leaf and in the crotch of these grows the apple about as big as a walnut shell and all over it has a thick skin like Lemmons, and the middle of it very fine tasted. Encamped at Vanderlips desolate farm, 42 miles from Wyoming.

5. To Wylucing 10 miles. On our march this day came across very large Buttonwood trees one of which I had the curiosity to measure, it was nineteen feet eight inches round, 19-8 inches. Capt. Fogg measured one 21 feet round.

6. By reason of the rain did not march this day.

7. The weather still continuing bad cannot march this day was sent out Corpl Mill with some men to spy out the country.

8. Marched at six o'clock in the morning to Standingstone, 10 miles.

9. Marched to Shackanack, 14 miles, very tedious days march this.

10. Did not march from the Shackanack bottom by reason of the boats not arriving.

11. To Tioga 4 miles waded across the river up to our middles, currant running strong, Col. Barber came very near drowning crossing the river. The number of horses that came from Wyoming was Genl Poor's Brigade 300, Genl Maxwell's 300, Genl Hands 200, Colo Proctor 100, the horses from the Publick stores 300 besides the riding horses of the officers, 120 boats, 800 head of cattle &c. To see with what patience the soldiers endured the fatigues of this march wadeing rivers, climbing mountains and a number of other things too tedious to mention, afford a pleasing prospect that in time we shall have soldiers equal to any in the world.

12. Waiting at this post for Genl Clinton's Brigde the Troops employed in building four block houses and a fort for the security of the garrison, and the provision that is to be left at this post.

13. Genl Sullivan hearing that part of the enemy lie at Chemung gave orders for the whole army's moving which we did soon as ever it was dark last night, marching all night

arriving at Chemung at day light, but the enemy had just moved out of the town which we set on fire, destroyed large fields of their corn, beans, potatoes, squashes, cucumbers, water mellons &c, they plant with as much exactness as any farmer and their corn and other things [were] very forward our men pursued them, came up with them and exchanged some shots—we had 7 or 8 killed and a number wounded, returned to Tioga in the evening from this to Chemung is said to be 12 miles.

14. In our nights march fell and hurt my Knee which is somewhat painful—a good deal fatigued, &c. &c. &c.

15. Sunday a small party of the enemy came down to the outpost of our encampment and Killed one man and wounded another.

16. A detachment of 900 men commanded by Genl Poor went to meet Genl Clinton.

17. The army preparing to march wh ch we shall do as soon as Genl Clinton arrives. Tioga lies on the west side of Susquehanna river and just in the crotch of the river that comes by Chemung, one man killed and scalped this day by the Indians.

20. A party from Genl Clinton arrived last night giving an account of his being within eighteen miles of this post. Rainy last night and to-day.

21. Cutting up tents for bags to carry flour.

22. Sunday on guard—Genl Clinton's brigade arrived this day, they have better than 200 boats and 1800 men.

23. This day about 3 o'clock a very melancholy accident happened in camp—Samuel Gordon, soldier in Capt. Duston's company taking a gun in his hand and snapped it (not knowing it was loaded) the gun went off, killed Capt. Kimball of Col Cilleys Regiment as he was sitting in a tent, and wounded one more. Capt. Kimball was buried with the honors of war.

24. The army struck their tents at 3 o'clock and loaded them and the rest of the baggage—and the flanks and the infantry and covering partys took their foot in order of march—I was drafted from the right flank.

25. Wednesday, was to have marched this day but the stores not being ready prevented our marching in the morning and in the afternoon it was rainy.

26. Thursday early in the morning received a letter from my sister Betsey, dated July 10. Marched from Tioga at 11 o'clock fore-noon about two & a half miles above Fort Sullivan.

27. Marched at nine o'clock but proceeded very slow on account of the Artillery and the Horses being over loaded, did not arrive till 9 o'clock at night which was at the corn-field.

28. Marched at 3 o'clock afternoon over a very high mountain from which we had a fine view of the country—arrived at Chemung and encamped—passed a defile a mile in length.

29. Sunday, marched at nine o'clock about 4 miles when our advanced party discovered the enemys breastwork which they seemed determined to defend, upon this we formed ourselves and waited for the rear to come up, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon we were ordered with Genl Poor's and Genl Clinton's brigades to gain the rear of the enemy. Just as we began our march the cannon began to play on the enemys line which drove them from the breast-work before we had time to gain their rear—they took possession of a high mountain which we immediately attacked and gained the summit of—in this attack Major Titcomb was wounded thro' the belly and arms, Capt. Claves thro' the body, Serjeant Lane wounded in two places, Serjeant Thurstin & Twelve Rank & file wounded. Corp. Huntress Killed.

Lt McCalley of Colo Cilleys regiment was wounded in the knee, the wound was so bad that they were obliged to take of his leg—Colo Reid's regiment suffered the most, the infantry and rifle men pursued them by the river whilst we were gaining the rear ; the name given this place by the Tories is Newton, about 6 miles from Chemung.

30. Monday did not march—on fatigue Lt McCalley died this morning of his wound—here were large fields of corn and beans which our people destroyed. In the engage-

ment yesterday one Tory was taken and one negro. They gave an account that both Butler and Brant were at this post, they had with them 1 sergt 1 corpl & 12 regular soldiers, 600 Indians, & two hundred Tories, that they live on green corn and beans, have no meat all. Our men found considerable plunder buried in the ground. They got yesterday several Indian scalps, &c. &c. &c.

The Genl returns his thanks to the army in general and to Genl Poor's brigade in particular for their spirited exertions yesterday.

31. Tuesday. Last night our wounded were sent down the river to Tioga & the ammunition waggons were sent back. We proceeded on our march at 9 o'clock with 4 small pieces of cannon and one Howitzer. The ammunition was carried on pack horses. Marched to [] 10 miles and pitched our tents there, put to half allowance.

SEPTEMBER 1. Marched at 9 o'clock across what they call the 12 mile swamp. This swamp is composed of mountains and valleys which rise and fall as quick as possible one after the other, it being such bad going were not able to arrive at our encamping ground till ten o'clock night. The troops much fatigued & great loss of Flour, Ammunition &c. &c.

2. One Indian squaw left on this ground, she was so old they could not carry her off—Genl Sullivan gave her a pardon—she gives an account that the warriors went out from here as our advanced guard entered—they had a council of war where in the squaws were for throwing themselves on our mercy, but the sannops would not consent—on guard last night and to day—did not march on account of the baggage not all arriving last night.

3. Marched 5 mile and came to the Sinica Lake—a very fine level country along this Lake—Marched 12 miles this day.

4. Marched 14 miles; plenty of mandrakes or Indian apples along this country—encamped in woods.

5. Sunday. marched to T [] diah 6 miles and encamped; this is an old settled place, a number of 200 old apple trees and peach trees plenty—the houses here look quite comfortable, there are two tombs where their Indian chiefs were buried—here one of our men that was taken at Wyoming a twelve month ago made his escape from them and came to us, informs us that Butler is for fighting us again but the Tories say its only throwing their lives away for no purpose; cut down their apple trees.

JOURNAL OF SERG'T MAJOR GEORGE GRANT.

GEORGE GRANT, Sergeant Major in the Third New Jersey Regiment. Journal published in the *Wyoming Republican*, July 16, 1834, from the original furnished by Thomas Gordon, of Trenton, N. J., which has since been destroyed by fire. Republished in Hazard's *Register* (Pa.), Vol. XIV, pp. 72-76.

A journal of the Marches, &c, completed by the 3d Jersey Regiment, and the rest of the Troops under the command of major Sullivan, in the Western Expedition.

MAY 17, 1779. At 8 o'clock the 3d Jersey Regiment Marched for Samptown.

18. To Boundbrook; the weather wet, detained them there until the 23d. In the interim every man received two pair overalls each, and every one that had no blankets, received one—

23d. Marched to Tinbrooks Tavern.

24th. Marched to Pittstown, where they received tents for the Regiment.

25th. Marched to Johnson's Mills.

26th. Marched to Easton where they joined 1st Jersey Regiment, two New Hampshire Regiments, and Colonel Proctor's Artillery. Immediately on their arrival, a man of Col Dayton's Company, being disguised with liquor, unfortunately drowned himself in the Delaware river. A few days after arrived here the 2d Jersey Regiment. One Regiment of New Hampshire Troops marched for Wyoming in order to prepare the roads for the Artillery and wagons, as also did the 1st Jersey Regiment.

EASTON, JUNE 13. Three soldiers belonging to the Pennsylvania Regiment commanded by Col. Hubley, were executed for murdering an inhabitant at this place. The whole of the Troops on the ground were present at this melancholy occasion.

14. Was fired a few de joy at evening on account of a victory obtained over the enemy in South Carolina.

About this time were taken two men, one of whom formerly had been a Lieut. in the Militia, and was confined for enticing a number of the Artillery to desert to the enemy. A General Court Martial, whereof Brigadier General Maxwell was president, found them guilty and sentenced them to death.

18. The whole of the aforementioned Troops, warned by the firing of a Cannon, marched together with the pack horses, and baggage waggons at 4 o'clock in the morning on their way to Wyoming. The roads for this day's march were good—encamped at Hellard's Tavern, distant 11 miles from Easton.

19th. Marched to Larney's Tavern or Pokanose (Pocano) point.

20th. To Chouder Camp.

21st. To Fatigue Camp.

22. To Sullivan's Camp or Great Meadows.

23rd. To Wyoming, situate on the East Branch of Susquehanna. On the East side has been formerly a place of strength, near 400 families having lived here before these troubles began. The town formerly, has been regularly laid out, and the houses well built, but is now destroyed by the Savages and Tories, when the battle was fought here

between the two Butlers, last fall, when the enemy killed 300 of the inhabitants, burnt the Town and Fort, and left about 230 women widows. The land here is excellent, and comprehends vast mines of Coal, Pewter, Lead, Copperas, &c. The river affords abundance of fish of various kinds, and excellent. Here we joined the German Battalion, one York Regiment, Capt. Shott's Company, Capt. Spalding's Free Corps, composed of the inhabitants, and also the 4th Jersey Regiment.

JULY 1st. This day was executed one of the abovementioned traitors.

12th. Three friendly Indians and three soldiers were despatched from here up the river to reconnoiter—they proceeded as far as Wyalusing, 56 miles distant, and returned without anything material.

17th. Received the agreeable news of Gen. Wayne having surprised and taken 600 of the enemy at Stony Point, with also their baggage and artillery.

24th. Arrived a fleet consisting of 134 Boats loaded with provisions of all kinds; on the arrival, they fired 13 Cannon, and were saluted by the like number from the Garrison.

30th. A party of 600 men was employed from 6 o'clock in the morning until 9 in the evening, loading the Boats and Pack horses.

31st. At 9 o'clock the army began their march for Teago (Tioga.) Col. Proctor's Regiment of artillery, and a detachment from the whole army, manned the Boats. Col. Proctor commanded the fleet. The army marched to Lackawanna, distant nine miles from Wyoming, (Wilkes Barre.) This place contains 200 acres of excellent level land, and beautifully situated, having a fine creek bordering on the East side of the river in front, and a large mountain in the rear, which forms this place a triangular form.

AUG. 1st At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, marched for Wylutanunk—on the road passed a fine cataract, as handsome as ever I saw in Europe, the water falling near 300 feet. From this place we had a very bad road for upwards of 3 miles.

It was 10 o'clock at night before the troops arrived here, having to pass the most of the way a very narrow defile, the Pack horses not arriving until next morning, having several of their packs lost, consisting of liquors, ammunition, and provisions.

2d. Lay by—drew provisions—washed our linen. Distant from Lackawanna 7 miles.

3d. Marched for Hunck Hannunk, (Tunkhannock) distant 14 miles, the road in general very good, but exceeding steep and mountainous. Halted in a Valley 4 miles from Hunck Hannunk. Here refreshed, then proceeded to the aforementioned place, and encamped.

4th. Marched for Van De Lyp's farms—for one and a half miles the road bordering on the river, affording a fine landscape, the opposite side being formerly a large farm, extending for several miles, and called Catchakany plains. Then proceeded up a high and steep mountain, the road so narrow that not more than one man at a time could ascend it. One of the Commissaries horses fell down, this mountain and broke his neck, and several packs lost. The Troops halted, after crossing a creek, refreshed themselves. At the mouth of this creek is a cavity in a rock, also a small flat bordering on the creek. Here it is said a man and his family lived two years before these troublesome times began. From here we proceeded for the aforementioned place, which is beautifully situated on the border of the river, also very fine farms, but evacuated and destroyed by the Savages. Here is also a very fine Walnut Bottom, one of those trees being measured was found to be 14 feet through.

5th. Marched for Wyalusing, distant 14 miles, and crossed Tuscarora creek a fine plantation being formerly here. From thence proceeded forward. A soldier falling sick of the Falling sickness, died here, and one of Col. Proctor's artillery was drowned. Proceeding up the river, passed through a very fine Buttonwood bottom, some of them measuring 14½ feet through. Arrived at the aforementioned place about sunset, where a Sergeant of the 2d Jersey Regiment died suddenly.

This place is most beautifully situated, and fine pasture for cattle, also some orchards, and has been inhabited by 50 families, mostly of the people called Dunkards—they have been obliged to fly, and their habitations burnt.

6th. Halted to refresh the cattle, draw provisions, and washed our linen.

7th. Detained here this day on account of rain—in the evening all the troops on board the boats were reviewed, and the command given to Col. Courtland and Maj. Conway. Also orders for deducting $\frac{1}{4}$ per man per day.

8th. Marched for Standing Stone Bottom, a very pleasant place and a large plantation.

9th. Marched for Queen Hester's Plains. Had a very tedious and difficult march—the distance 14 miles. One Defile we passed near one mile and a half in length, where one man had scarce room enough to walk. Three cattle fell from this defile near 120 yards perpendicular, and were Killed. Several pack-horses were lost. This defile bordered close to the river—Towards 6 o'clock in the evening reached the Plains and encamped.

10th. Lay by on account of rain.

11th. This morning marched for Teauga (Tioga) distant 4 miles—the country level and fine land. Within half a mile of Teauga we crossed the Susquehanna, hanging our cartouch boxes on our bayonets, and wading the river up to our armpits. Previous to the troops crossing, Col. Proctor landed some of his artillery, on the west side of the river, and fired a few shots into the woods on the east side in order to annoy the enemy if any should be there. The army then proceeded to cross and landed on a beautiful meadow—halted for a quarter of an hour, then across the Teauga river and encamped. Capt. Cummings of the 2d Jersey Regiment was despatched towards Chemung with a small party to reconnoitre the enemy, who we were informed were strong at this point. The above party returned, with intelligence of the enemy abandoning Chemung in a very great confusion.

12th. General orders were immediately issued that all the army that were off duty and able, would hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning. At 8 o'clock in the evening the army began their march and marched all night at a very slow rate.

13th. At day break found that the Army were 5 miles from Chemung, detained by 2 very narrow defiles they had to pass. The morning being very foggy favoured our design, but on arrival found the town abandoned. Gen Poor's Brigade formed on a flat on the west side of Teauga—Gen. Maxwell's on the east side, set fire to and destroyed the town. Gen. Hand with the light troops marched forward for two miles when a party of the enemy which lay in ambush fired on the advance guard. This was returned so briskly that the enemy retreated with great precipitation, carrying off with them their killed and wounded, so that their loss could not be ascertained. The loss which we sustained was seven killed and nine wounded. Among the wounded are one Captain and one Adjutant. The troops then began to destroy the grain, &c. At 2 o'clock began our march backwards to Teauga. Chemung is pleasantly situated 12 miles from Teauga, on the bank of the aforesaid river, their corn, &c raised on the opposite side on a very rich flat, and produces a very large crop of corn, beans, &c.

14th. Nothing material.

15th. A Corporal and four men being sent to collect cattle, on their return was fired upon by a party of the Savages, who killed and scalped one, wounded another. Though all possible means were used to come up with them, yet they made their escape. A party from each Brigade was ordered to build Block houses on a Peninsula of the Teauga and Susquehanna.

16th. A command of 800 men was despatched up the river Susquehanna to escort Gen. Clinton's Brigade to Head Quarters, whereof Brigadier Gen. Poor had the Command.

17. The like accident happened as did on the 15th.

18. Nothing material.

19. This morning at 5 o'clock 9 men detached from Gen Clinton's Brigade, arrived here. They say they left the Brigade 22 miles distant, making the best of their way down. The remainder of this day and the preceding night has been one continual rain which detained General Clinton's army from joining the main body as soon as was expected.

20 & 21. Nothing Material.

22. This day at 12 o'clock arrived Brigadier General Clinton and his Brigade, also 200 Batteaus. Gen. Poor met them 40 miles from here, and escorted them in, his party being greatly fatigued.

23. A captain of the New Hampshire Troops was killed, and a soldier wounded by accident.

24. and 25. Several Tents cut up to make bags for the more conveniency of carrying Flour.

26. Marched this day on the road to Chemung, and encamped about 3 miles from Teaga, leaving Colonel Shreeve of the 2d Jersey Regiment with 200 men, properly officered, to Garrison the Peninsula; all the spare baggage, the sick, and women, were left at this port, and two 6 pounders.

27. This morning, the roads very bad, the ammunition wagons oversetting, retarded the march very much, also the field pieces and pack horses were a great obstruction; it was 12 o'clock at night before the whole of the army came to the encampment, the distance only 7 miles from the last encampment, and within 2 miles of Chemung.

28. This morning the troops went to destroying the corn with which this encampment abounds. At two o'clock the army marched for Chemung, and arrived there about sunset, and that with difficulty, having to cross the Teaga twice in marching about one mile. Chemung contained about 40 houses well built.

29. At 8 o'clock began the march, and continued for 4 miles, when the Rifle Corps were attacked by the enemy who had built a breast work, thinking to destroy our army at their crossing a narrow defile in front of their works. The left column stood to their arms, while the right column moved forward in order to gain the heights and if possible to cut off their retreat. The cannon began, and the shells were so freely distributed among the Savage and Tory brood that they were obliged to fly, which they did with such precipitation, that Gen Poor had not time to effect his purpose. The enemy then formed on a steep hill close to Newtown. Thither Gen. Poor followed, his men climbing the hill with charged bayonets, regardless of the enemy's fire, which was poured on them like hail; the enemy at last fled, leaving their dead on the ground to the amount of nine Indians; we took two prisoners, one white man and one negro. The army then encamped at Newtown. Newtown is six miles from Chemung. The enemy had rendezvoused here for eight weeks to the amount of 1500, and was put to the allowance of seven ears of corn per day for each man for the last eight days, and no meat. Here had been planted corn &c. for the purpose of carrying on their wanton depredations against our frontiers. About twenty of Gen. Poor's Brigade was wounded in mounting the hill. This town is newly built and pleasantly situated on the Teaga, with a high hill in rear of it, and a beautiful falls on the opposite side of the river.

30. This day was spent in destroying Corn, &c. and sending heavy baggage away, viz. 2 Howitz, one three pounder, and the men who were wounded, with the ammunition waggons, to the garrison at Teaga.

31. Marched for ten miles and encamped near the Caiuga Creek. The left column marched through and set fire to a settlement of eight houses. About two miles from Newtown, passed several defiles and steep hills.

Crossed the Caiuga Creek and halted in a town called Knawaholee, very pleasantly situated on a peninsula of the Teaga and Caiuga. From here the third Jersey Regiment was despatched up the Teaga to destroy what crops of corn, &c they could find, also to look out if the enemy had or might be there as the General was informed by the prisoners that they moved all their sick and wounded in boats up the river. They proceeded up the river for eight miles, destroyed the corn, &c, but could not perceive that any of the enemy had been there since the 29th. The Army proceeded and encamped ten miles from Newtown. Knawaholee contains twenty houses.

SEPT. 1. The army marched from their camp 10 miles from Newtown. The road was mostly through a large swamp abounding with vast quantities of large hemlock, the left hand column had to cross a creek, which empties into the Seneca Lake, near 30 times in the course of three miles. It was dark before the army could reach Catharine's Town, where they encamped, distance 13½ miles. The road in general very bad, several pack horses were lost, 2 horses had their necks broke, and many of the horses and men did not reach camp until next day. This town contains thirty houses, but poorly built, with

orchards—likewise a great quantity of corn, &c, and the creek above mentioned runs through the centre of the town and discharges itself into the Seneca Lake, 5 miles below the town.

2. The remainder of the army, &c. came in this morning, was found also an ancient Squaw of the Caiuga Nation, who gave an account of the precipitate flight of the enemy. The army destroyed the Town, Corn, &c. this day, also cleaned their arms, Linen, &c.

3. Marched from Catharine's Town for 12 miles and encamped, the whole of this day's march having a fine view of the Seneca Lake, the land excellent, and well timbered.

4. Continued the march as above for 12 miles, the land the same as yesterday, and the Lake in view. Four miles from last camp passed by an Indian castle, built on the edge of the lake, here was found several Indian colts, as was also at Catharine's Town. From here we proceeded on our way destroying several small cornfields, beans, &c. and encamped as above.

5. Marched to Kanadia, 5 miles distant from last camp, a very good road, a very fine cataract half way between here and the last camp. Kanadia is a very fine town well built with large orchards, the town bordering on the lake pleasantly situated. Here met with a man who had been captured by the Indians last fall at Wyoming. This town contains 20 houses, and here was lost 27 head of cattle.

6. For the most part of this day was destroying corn and collecting the cattle and horses. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon marched 4 miles and encamped close to the Lake, there being good pasture for cattle, &c.

7. Marched for Canadasago 12 miles from last camp. The march continued for 9 miles along the Lake, then waded the outlet. Gen. Maxwell's Brigade was then despatched through the woods in order to come on the back of the town, which was effected before dark, but found the town abandoned. The town is extremely well built, a good orchard, and an abundance of corn. The town consisted of 50 houses. Here we found a white child about 3 years old.

8. A party of 400 men was despatched to destroy a town called Gothsinquea,* situate on the west side of the Lake, consisting of 14 houses. A party of Volunteers made a forced march along the Seneca Lake and destroyed a town called Schoyerre,† consisting of 18 houses, very pleasantly situated, several Fish Ponds abounding opposite the town. The rest of the troops were employed destroying corn at and about Kanadasago.

9. Marched for 7½ miles through a swamp and encamped in the same.

10. Marched to a town called Kanadaque, distant 10 miles. This town consisted of 23 houses, very badly situated for water, the houses in general very large, with a good quantity of corn, &c. This town is situated about 1½ miles N. W. of the Chinesee Lake.

11. Marched for Hanayaya, distant 13 miles from Kanadaque, consisting of 10 houses, situated on the edge of another of the chinesee Lakes, on a fine flat. Here was left Capt. Cummings of the 2d Jersey Regiment with 50 effective men, with all the provision, ammunition, and all other heavy baggage that could be spared, also a three pounder and some of Col. Proctor's Artillery.

12. Marched for Kanaghaws, distant 11 miles, but a very indifferent road, and was obliged by night coming on to encamp within one mile of the above town.

13. Marched for the above town where the troops were ordered to halt and cook their provisions. The preceding night Lieut Boid of the Rifle corps was sent to reconnoitre. He had with him one Indian for a guide and 24 Volunteers. His orders was for only 5 or 6, and was to proceed to Chinesee, the capitol of their Country. They lost their way and fell in with a little castle on the Chinesee river. Here they surprised a few Indians, two of whom they killed and scalped, and was on their return to Kanaghaws, when they were surrounded by the enemy who killed 14 of the party, and took Lieut Boid and one man prisoner. The rest of the party made their escape to Camp. The light troops were immediately despatched to their assistance, but was too late, they having effected their

* Kashong—7 miles South of Geneva—G. S. C.

† Skoi-yase—present Waterloo.—G. S. C.

end, and made their escape with a great loss on their side. The Surveyor and a Corporal's Guard was also fired upon by the enemy who wounded the Corporal and one private. The army which was at this time destroying Corn, &c, was immediately ordered to march to the Little Castle, 7 miles distant, which contains 8 houses. Kanaghsaws consisting of 25 houses, is pleasantly situated in a large Valley, a very fine run of water running through the same. Encamped at the Little Castle.

14. Marched for Chinesee, the Capitol of the Indian country, crossed the little Chinesee River and marched through a large vale near 4 miles in length, where the enemy must have seen our whole strength and order of march.

Then crossed the Chinesee river and arrived at the Chinesee castle, here they found the fires fresh and the bodies of Lieut Boyd and the other his fellow sufferer mangled in a most inhuman and barbarous manner having plucked their nails out by the roots, tied them to trees and whipped them with Prickly Ash, whilst the rest threw darts at them, stabbed them with spears, cut out their tongues, and likewise cut off their heads. This town is very large and well built, containing 128 houses. The enemy from all their Nations have been employed here all last spring raising grain, &c. A woman came to us who had been captured at Wyoming by the savages with a child in her arms, about 7 or 8 months old. She says the Indians sent off all their Squaws and baggage to Niagara: The whole of the army now in high Spirits at this our last stage.

15. The whole of the army this morning with the greatest cheerfulness went about destroying the Corn, Beans, &c, which they effected by 12 o'clock. At 1 o'clock the army began their march to Teagoa and encamped in the Valley aforementioned close to the Chinesee river.

16. After finishing the destruction of all the corn at this place by crossing the river passed by the little Castle and encamped at Kanaghsaws. This place it is said was commanded by a negro, who was titled Capt. Sunfish, a very bold enterprising fellow.

17th. This morning began our march to Hanayaya. We found Captain Cummings and his party in perfect health and security, having erected a small fort for their safety, the work consisting of flour, also bags of flour, the latter they completed ambroziers picqueted on the outside with the tops of the Apple Trees sharpened.

18. Marched for Kanadaque. On the road was met by an Indian Sachem from the Oneida Nation who brought a message from that Nation in behalf of the Caiuga Nation besides some other important despatches.

19. Marched to Kanadasago and was met on the road by an express from Teagoa with an account of Major Lee of the light Dragoons having surprised the Garrison at Powell's Hook, dismantled the enemy's works, and brought the men that composed the Garrison off prisoners.

20. This morning a party of 200 men were despatched to Gothsenuqua to effect the total destruction of that place and any other that they might find on that side of the Lake. At 12 o'clock a party of 600 men was despatched with Lieut Col. Dearborne on the south side of the Caiuga Lake to destroy all that remained of that Nation on that side. Col. V. Schoyk* was despatched with 150 men through the Indian country towards Fort Schuyler to forward the baggage of Gen. Clinton's Brigade towards Albany. The army then marched to the ground they occupied on the 6th instant.

21. Marched for 18 miles situate between the two encampments of the 4th and 5th instant.

22. Marched to Catharine's Town and encamped on a meadow 3 miles beyond the town on the bank of the aforesaid Crooked Creek. Here we found the old Squaw before mentioned.

23. Marched to Knawaholee where they were met with provisions, &c. from Teagoa. Here Col. Shreeve had established a post during the absence of the army for the convenience of forwarding Corn, &c. to the Garrison. The Army now received their full allowance of provisions, they having cheerfully submitted, by giving three huzzas, on the 30th of August to live upon half the usual allowance. The army now halted to refresh themselves, wash their Linen, and also to clean their arms, small parties every day fetch-

* Probably refers to Col. Gansevoort.

ing in Corn, &c, to send to the Garrison. Col Smith and his party joined the army at this post on the 25th instant, as did Col. Dearborne on the 27th, having destroyed on the Caiuga, Houses, to the amount of 18, and a town situate on the border of the great Swamp called De Ho Riss Kanadia, containing 25 houses very elegantly built, likewise destroyed a great quantity of Corn, Beans, &c.

I return to the 20th to follow Col. Butler, who left us at Kanadasago, and proceeded along the outlet of the Seneca Lake for 8 miles and halted at Schoyerre,* formerly destroyed by Col. Harper.

21. Early this morning a party of 200 men under the command of Major Scott, was despatched to destroy Corn, &c, the remainder with Col. Butler proceeded on forward. Seven miles of the road was very bad, the land poor and barren and no water. They then entered on an excellent Swamp which produced fine Timber, the soil exceeding rich and fertile. This extended for 4 miles when they reached the Caiuga Lake. This they crossed at a place, wading it to their breasts in water, where they halted, waiting for Major Scott and his party. As soon as they had joined they proceeded along the Lake side, the land excellent, the Timber large, the country level and well watered. Came to a habitation within 1 mile of Caiuga town and encamped 18 miles from Schoyerre.

22. Marched to Caiuga† 1 mile distant. This town is large and commodious, consisting of 50 houses mostly well built. The party went immediately to destroying corn, &c, with which this place abounds, but the water very bad and scarce. Here was found some salt of the Indians making from the Salt Springs‡ which are in this country. Found several muskets here branded with the brand of the United States, also a few Regimental coats, blue, faced with white.

23. The most part of the day taken up in destroying scattering towns, corn, &c within two and three miles all around this town. About 4 o'clock marched for another town distant about 4 miles but could not learn any name for it and here halted for this night.

24. This morning went to destroying corn, beans and Orchards. Destroyed about 1500 Peach Trees, besides Apple Trees and other Fruit Trees. This town consisted of 13 houses; Then marched for 18 miles, the first 12 the land exceedingly good, the other 6 not extraordinary.

25. Marched for 10½ miles, the road mostly bad, having to ascend and descend extremely steep and difficult mountains, then through thick and difficult Swamps, passed the end of the Caiuga Lake and halted at the above distance at De Ho Riss Canadia which they found burnt and the corn partly destroyed. Here was found the Rev Dr. Kirkland's horse supposed to be left here by the party who destroyed the corn, &c.

26. Marched for 18½ miles through the Great Swamp.

27. Marched for 17 miles, 15 of which was through the above swamp most part of the way they had to steer by the sun, there not being the least resemblance of either road or path. A man of this party died suddenly.

28. Marched for one mile and crossed the outlet of the Caiuga Lake and came upon the ground occupied by the army on the night of the 31st of August, from thence to Knawaholee where they joined the main body of Gen. Sullivan's army.

29. The whole of the army marched 2 miles beyond Chemung.

* Skoi-yase.—G. S. C.

† Gai-o-gouen, of the Jesuit Relations, and site of the Mission of St. Joseph, called also Cayuga Castle, and the same described as three towns by Thomas Grant under the names of Cayuga Castle, fifteen houses; upper Cayuga, containing fourteen houses; and Cayuga, containing thirteen houses. The houses were very much scattered, and on both sides of Great Gully brook on the south line of the town of Springport in Cayuga County. Greenhalgh, an English trader, passed through the Cayuga country in 1677, and found them then occupying "three towns about a mile distant from each other; they are not stockaded. They do consist in all of about one hundred houses and intend next Spring to build all their houses together and stockade them. They have abundance of corn, and lie within two or three miles of lake Tichero."—J. S. C.

‡ These salt springs were located on the opposite side of the river from Choharo, at foot of Cayuga lake. Luke Swetland, a prisoner in 1778, made salt at these springs, which he says was of excellent quality.—J. S. C.

30. Marched to Teaoga. The Garrison saluted the army by a discharge of 13 cannon, which was returned by the Park of Artillery. The army then proceeded to their respective encampments. In the evening Col. Shreeve made as grand an entertainment as the circumstances of the place would admit to which the commander-in-chief and the rest of the General and Field officers were present.

OCT. 1, 2, and 3. Nothing material.

4. The army marched within 4 miles of standing Stone Bottom.

5. The whole of the army embarked on board the Boats except a few who rode the Pack Horses.

7. Arrived at Wyoming and was saluted by the Garrison.

8. The Commander-in-Chief was the first person on shore. A grand entertainment was ordered by Col. Butler, the Commander at this post, at which was present the Commander-in-chief, &c.

10. This afternoon the army began their march to Easton, but on account of the badness of the road they were obliged to encamp within 4 miles of Wyoming.

11. Continued our march to the edge of the Great Swamp and encamped.

12. Continued the march through the swamp the roads being extremely bad. The Pack Horses took a wrong road, and the troops were obliged to lie without their tents or covering during a very stormy night,—Encamped at Chouder Camp.

13. Marched to Brinker's Mills where the Pack Horses came up.

14. Marched to Hilliards Tavern.

15. To Easton.

17. The whole army was mustered, and a Thanksgiving Sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Evans, Chaplain to Gen Poor's Brigade, at which was present the Commander-in-Chief and the whole of the Army at this post.

27. Crossed Delaware and encamped opposite Easton.

28. Marched to Queensborough Oxford Meeting House.

29. To the Log Goal.

30. To Sussex Court House.

31. To Wallen's Tavern.

Nov. 1. To Warwick.

2. Parted with the Western Army.

3. Marched to Sterling Iron Works and from thence to Pompton.

4. To Moristown.

5. To Springfield.

6. To Scotch Plains and encamped. Remained there in tents for six weeks during the most severe and cold weather.

DEC 16. Marched for Chatham.

17. To Eyre's Forge and encamped and began to build huts.

25. Removed into our huts and ended the Campaign.

Here ends the glorious and Noble Campaign, which gave honor to Sullivan, Clinton and Wayne, That they be always crowned with merit, To lead their men on with an undaunted Spirit.

GEORGE GRANT Serg. Maj.
to the 3d Regiment of N. Jersey.

JOURNAL OF LIEUT. JOHN L. HARDENBERGH.

JOHN LEONARD HARDENBERGH was a native of Rosendale, Ulster County, N. Y., born in 1748. In July 1776, his name appears as First Lieutenant in the Second New York Militia, which regiment was raised under a special call. November 21, 1776, he was commissioned First Lieutenant in the Second New York Continental Regiment, Col. Ritzenma, who was soon superseded by Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt. From the autumn of 1776 to the winter of 1780, Lieutenant Hardenbergh was identified with the Second New York, sharing its fortunes, and participating in the important battles in which it was engaged, when the five New York regiments were consolidated into two, in which arrangement he fell into that class of officers who were retained in service but not attached to any battalion. But in July, 1782, he was made Captain of Levies under Lieut. Col. Weissenfels, in which capacity he continued for the remainder of the war.

He was one of the surveyors of the Military Tract and his field books, neatly kept and carefully preserved, are now in the possession of the Cayuga County Historical Society. He was the first settler and owner of a tract of land at what was called Hardenbergh's Corners, now the flourishing city of Auburn, N. Y., having settled there in 1792. He died April 25, 1806.

In 1879, the Cayuga County Historical Society published No. 1 of their Collections, comprising the journal of Lieut. Hardenbergh, which was then in the possession of the family, in the hand writing of Lieut. Hardenbergh and undoubtedly an original made by him during the campaign of General Sullivan against the Indians. The notes of Gen. John S. Clark are valuable, as they are the result of a laborious investigation of some two years, during which time he was indefatigable in searching out every scrap of historical information relating to the Sullivan expedition, and made a thorough inspection of the line of march of the army, tracing up and critically examining all the important localities and Indian village sites. Being by profession a Civil Engineer and Surveyor, and having seen active service all through the late civil war,

none could be more thoroughly competent for such a task than Gen. Clark, and it will be found that his notes are invaluable and his maps and description of the battle of Newtown and of the Groveland ambuscade, are an important addition to the literature of the campaign and a valuable aid in arriving at a correct understanding, the conclusions reached being the result of a most patient examination of all accessible authorities and likely to stand the test of the most intelligent and critical scrutiny.

JOURNAL.

SATURDAY, MAY YE FIRST.—Drew out of our Winter Quarters at Wawarsink* and encamped in a field near Jacobus Brown's at that place.

SUNDAY, MAY 2ND.—Laid still in camp.

MONDAY 3d.—Drew provisions and prepared for a march.

TUESDAY, 4th.—Struck our tents. Loaded our baggage in order to proceed on our march for Weyoming, but being alarmed by an express that the savages were murdering the inhabitants at Fantine Kille,† about five miles in our front, Col. Cortlandt marched to

* WAWARSINK—An Indian word, said to signify "a black bird's nest," the name of a town and village in south-west part of Ulster County, N. Y., containing a post village of same name, located on Rondout Creek on the line of the Delaware and Hudson Canal. The surface of the town is mostly mountainous uplands, intersected by deep valleys. The Shawangunk Mountains extend along the east border, and spurs of the Catskills occupy the central and west parts, the highest peaks being from 2,000 to 3,000 feet above tide. The eastern and north-western parts are rocky and precipitous, and unfit for cultivation. There was a stone fort in the village on the site of B. C. Hornbeck's house. On Aug. 12, 1781, a large party of Tories and Indians under one Caldwell, appeared in the town with a design of falling upon Napanock, but being informed that the place was defended by cannon they came to Wawarsing before the inhabitants were up in the morning. Two men and a young woman discovered the enemy before they reached the fort, and the young woman succeeded in closing the door just in time to prevent it from being burst open by the savages. Finding further attack to be dangerous they dispersed and burned and plundered the out settlements, and next day withdrew laden with spoils. Several lives were lost on both sides and much property destroyed.—[The Indians—or Narratives of Massacres and Depredations on the frontiers of Wawarsink and Vicinity, p. 21.]

† FANTINE KILL, a settlement, on a stream of that name, about a mile from the present village of Ellenville, in the town of Wawarsing, Ulster County. The attack was made at day-break by a party of thirty or forty Indians under Brant, who came by the way of the Indian trail to Grahamsville, and from thence through the woods to the settlement. Widow Isaac Bevier and two sons were killed, also the entire family of Michael Socks, consisting of the father, mother, two sons who were young men, two children, and one or two others. They attacked the house of Jesse Bevier, but the inmates being good marksmen and having plenty of ammunition succeeded in defending themselves until Col. VanCortlandt came to their relief.

"As I was about marching from my encampment, having called in my guard, I discovered smokes rising from the village about six miles south, and a lad sent from its vicinity informed me that the Indians were there burning and destroying. It was occasioned by two of my men deserting in the mountains, when I received the order to return; for they went to Brant and informed him that I was ordered away, and he expected that I was gone. * * * On my approach Brant ran off. He had about one hundred and fifty Indians, and as I approached him, he being on a hill, and seeing me leaning against a pine tree waiting for the closing up of my men, ordered a rifle Indian to kill me, but he overshot me, the ball passing three inches over my head."—[Col. VanCortlandt's manuscript statement, 1825.]

"General, while you were standing by a large tree during that battle, how near to your head did a bullet come, which struck a little above you?"

The General paused for a moment, and replied—"About two inches above my hat."

Brant then related the circumstances. "I had remarked your activity in the battle," said he, "and calling one of my best marksmen, pointed you out and directed him to bring you down. He fired and I saw you dodge your head at the instant I supposed the ball would strike. But as you did not fall, I told my warrior that he had just missed you, and lodged the ball in the tree." Conversation between Brant and General Van Cortlandt—[Stone's life of Brant, II., 460,] incorrectly located at the battle of Newtown.

their assistance, but before we arrived at the place they were gone. At 4 in the afternoon returned to Wawasink and remained in houses.*

WEDNESDAY, 5th.—Remained in the Quarters of yesterday.

THURSDAY, 6th.†—At 7 in the morning loaded baggage, marched to Lurenkill‡ and halted at Broadhead's§ for refreshment about two hours, and marched for Mamacotting,|| where we arrived at 7 o'clock at night.

FRIDAY, 7th.—At 4 struck tents, marched at 5, halted at Bashesland¶ for refreshment for about two hours, proceeded on our march. Crossed Denanasink** Creek at Dewitt's†† and arrived at Major Decker's, crossed the creek with wagons and encamped in the field near Decker's house.

SATURDAY, MAY 8th.—Drew provisions; marched at about 11 o'clock and encamped at Haurnanack.‡‡

SUNDAY, 9th.—Discharged four wagons which we had taken from Wawasink; loaded our provisions on board the canoes, sent them down the Delaware. At 8 o'clock in the morning began our march; marched to Esquire Vancamp's;§§ the weather very hot. we rested ourselves and marched for Decker's Ferry||| on Delaware, where we arrived at sundown and encamped.

MONDAY, 10.—Laid still for refreshment and washing.

TUESDAY, 11th.—Struck tents and marched at 7 in the morning; got over the ferry, proceeded on our march; rested for refreshments, at Smithfield at or near Depew's,¶¶ at 5 P. M.; marched for Fort Penn where we arrived at dusk of the evening.

* "Col. Cantine commanding a regiment of militia arrived during the day. I then pursued but could not overtake him, as he ran through a large swamp beyond the hill; and Col. Cantine being also in pursuit, I returned, not having any prospect of overtaking him." [Col. Van Cortlandt's statement, 1825.]

† "The second day after, pursued my march to Fort Penn as ordered by the commander-in-chief and there received General Sullivan's orders to make a road through the wilderness." [Col. Van Cortlandt's statement, 1825.]

‡ The present name of a stream flowing south-easterly two miles south of Ellenville.

§ On the Lurenkil two miles south of Ellenville.

|| Present WURTZBORO in town of Mamacating on Sauthier's Map of 1779, said to have been named in honor of an Indian chief. is about fourteen miles south-west of Wawarsing. A block house was here occupied during the revolution.

¶ WEST BROOKVILLE, formerly called Bashusville, near the southern line of town of Mamakating in Sullivan County. So called from a Squaw named Bashe, who lived on the bank of the creek. The first house built was of stone and used as a fort.

** MAHACKAMACK or Neversink River, the crossing appears to have been near Cuddebackville in the town of Deer Park.

†† DEWITT A brother of Mrs. James Clinton, the mother of DeWitt Clinton; where he is said to have been born, March 2, 1769, while Mrs. Clinton was on a visit with her brother. General James Clinton in 1763 raised and commanded a corps of two hundred men, called the Guards of the Frontier. This position called Fort DeWitt was one of the posts occupied. Other accounts say he was born at the homestead of the Clinton family at Little Britain.

‡‡ Now PORT JERVIS, formerly called MOHOCKAMACK FORK, at the junction of the Neversink and Delaware Rivers. The route taken appears to have been over the "old mine road" as it was called, constructed by the early Dutch settlers of Esopus to reach a copper mine in Walpack Township, Warren Co., N. J. It follows the Mamakating Valley, the first north of the Shawangunk mountains, and continues in that of the Mahackamack branch of the Delaware river, and penetrates the Minnisisinks east of that river. The mine was about three miles north-west from Nicholas Depew's house.

§§ John Adams, while attending Congress during its session at Philadelphia, as late as 1800, passed over this same "Mine Road" as the most eligible route from Boston to that city. He was accustomed to lodge at Squire Van Campen's in the Jersey Minnisisinks.

|| DECKER'S FERRY at Flatbrookville, about thirteen miles from Fort Penn at Stroudsburg.

¶¶ SAMUEL DEPEW's, in the town of Smithfield, Monroe Co., Pa., on the west side of the Delaware, three miles above the Water Gap, where he settled prior to 1730. He was one of the Walloons who came to New York about 1697. Rev. H. M. Muhlenberg, who lodged at his house in 1750, states he had been Justice of the Peace, was a prominent man in Smithfield, and at that time advanced in life. The river is fordable at the head of Depew's Island, a little above the house. The old homestead is still in the Depew family; Nicholas, one of Samuel's sons, is well known in provincial history between 1750 and 1770. On the Pennsylvania side of the river on Depew's land, stood the *Smithfield* or old *Shawne* church, removed about 1854.

MAY 12th and 13th.—Laid still at Fort Penn* on account of rainy weather.

FRIDAY, MAY 14th, 1779.—The weather clear, we received orders to march at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. Struck tents, marched for Learn's;† marched about five miles and encamped in the wood.

SATURDAY, 15th.—About 7 in the morning struck tents and marched to Learn's; pitched camp, and proceeded with a party to mend a road to Wyoming.‡

SUNDAY, 16th.—Our camp remained, and were joined by Coll. Spencer's § regiment; we continued making the road. At night seven men deserted from our regiment.¶

MONDAY, 17th.—Decamped from Learn's about 7 in the morning, and encamped at about 7 o'clock in the afternoon, just on the west side of a small creek called White Oak Run.¶¶

TUESDAY, 18th.—Our camp remained; we continued working on the road; I was ordered to remain in camp with the guard.

WEDNESDAY, 19th.—Last night about 11 o'clock, an alarm happened by the firing of one of the sentinels, but soon found it to be false alarm.** The weather being wet, we remained in camp all day.

* Ft. Penn, at Stroudsburg, Monroe County, Pa., built in 1763, on the site previously occupied by Ft. Hamilton, built in 1755.

† Learn's log tavern, north-west of Stroudsburg, twenty-eight miles from Easton. The main army encamped here June 19th, at camp called Pocono Point. This was the last house on the road between Easton and Wyoming. On the 3d of July, 1781, Mr. Learn was shot and scalped near his house, as also was his son George. Another son, John, shot one of the Indians who was left on the spot where he fell. The Indians carried off George Learn's wife, and an infant four months old, but not wishing to be encumbered with the child, dashed out its brains.

‡ The 2d New York Regiment, Col. Van Courtlandt, and Col. Spencer's N. J. Regiment were ordered to precede the army and construct a road over the mountains to Wyoming. They followed the well known Indian trails mainly, one of which led from Easton by way of the Wind Gap, directly north, along the high lands between the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, to New York State line near Oghquaga; the other leaving Fort Penn at Stroudsburg, passed through the townships of Pocono, Tunkhanna, Tobyhanna, Buck, Bear Creek, to Wyoming. Much of this road is still in use and is known as the "old Sullivan road." At Easton Gen. Sullivan published the following order:

HEAD-QUARTERS, EASTON, May 31, 1779.

* * * The commander-in-chief returns his most sincere thanks to Colonels Cortlandt and Spencer, and to the officers and soldiers under their command for their unparalleled exertions in clearing and repairing the road to Wyoming. He cannot help promising himself success in an expedition, in which he is to be honored with the command of troops who give such pleasing evidence of their zeal for the service, and manifest so strong a desire to advance against the inhuman murderers of their friends and countrymen. * * * *

Order Book Lieu. Col. GEORGE C. BARBER, of 3d N. J. Regt.,

Adjut Gen'l of the Western Army.

§ COL. OLIVER SPENCER. Commanding the Independent regiment, 5th Continental of New Jersey.

¶ General Sullivan reached Wyoming with the main body of the army June 23d; the following appeared in orders on the 25th:

HEAD-QUARTERS, WYOMING, June 25, 1779.

* * * At a general court martial held on the eighth instant, whereof Major Fish was president. Oliver Arnold of the 2nd New York regiment, was tried for desertion, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot to death: the General approves the sentence and orders it to be executed at the head of the regiment to-morrow afternoon at six o'clock. Edward Tyler of the same regiment tried by the same court for desertion, found guilty and sentenced to run the gauntlet through Cortlandt's Spencer's and Cilley's regiment, with a sentinel at his breast to regulate his pace; the General approves the sentence and orders it executed to-morrow afternoon at five o'clock. John Stevens of the same regiment, tried for desertion, found guilty and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes; the General approves the sentence and orders it executed at the head of the regiment, to-morrow afternoon at six o'clock.

* * * * *

Order Book LIEUT. COL. GEORGE C. BARBER,

Adjutant Gen'l of the Western Army.

¶ Near the west line of Pocono Township, also called Run bridge.

** There were three paths leading eastward from Wyoming; the southern, called the "warriors path," by way of Fort Allen and along the Lehigh to the Delaware at Easton; the northern, by way of the Lackawanna at Capouse Meadows, through Cobb's Gap and the Lackawanna, to the Delaware and Hudson; the middle one, along which this military road was constructed, led through the Wind Gap to Easton. The massacre of Wyoming in 1778 had filled the forests along this central trail with hundreds of helpless fugitives; some estimate the number about two thousand, mostly women and children; many sunk under the tomahawk, others died of excitement, fatigue, hunger and exposure;

THURSDAY, 20th.—Rainy weather with some thunder ; we remained in camp.

FRIDAY, 21st.—Foggy, rainy weather with thunder and lightning ; remained in camp. This day Ensign Swartwout * arrived in camp from the State of New York, brought news that the Indians were lurking about Rochester and Wawasink ; and inhabitants chiefly moved off their families.

SATURDAY, 22nd.—The weather continued rainy. Remained in camp. At sunset the weather cleared off.

SUNDAY, 23d.—The morning fair and clear. Received orders to march. At 8 o'clock the General beat ; struck tents, proceeded on our march till over a creek in the Great Swamp † called Tackhanack, the road very bad, the baggage could not come up ; went back and mended the road and encamped where the baggage was. In the evening, Sergeant Jonas Brown ‡ with five men, was sent off to Wyoming with letters from General Sullivan to Gen. Hand.§

many were lost and perished in the woods, while hundreds were never seen or heard of after their precipitate flight. At this time small parties of Indians still hovered around Wyoming. They watched the passes, and occasionally exhibited extraordinary instances of courage and audacity. Major Powell, with two hundred men of a regiment that had suffered severely at the battle of Germantown, having been ordered to Wyoming, arrived at Bear Creek about ten miles from that point, on the 19th of April. Deeming themselves out of danger from a surprise by the Indians, officers and men arrayed themselves in their best apparel, burnished their arms and put everything in shape for a respectable appearance on entering the Valley. According to the fashion of the day the officers donned their ruffles, powdered their hair, and with enlivening strains of music, advanced toward their destination. The advance guard reported having seen some deer, and Captain Davis, Lieutenant Jones and others, started in pursuit ; near the summit of the second mountain by the Laurel Run, and about four miles from the fort, a fire was opened upon them by the Indians in ambush. Davis, Jones, Corporal Butler and three soldiers were killed and scalped. Chaplain Rogers says : "Scalped, tomahawked and speared by the savages, fifteen or twenty in number ; two boards are fixed at the spot where Davis and Jones fell, with their names on each. Jones's being besmeared with his own blood. In passing this melancholy vale, an unusual gloom appeared on the countenances of both officers and men without distinction, and from the eyes of many as by a sudden impulse, drops the sympathizing tear. Colonel Proctor, out of respect to the deceased, ordered the music to play the tune of Roslin Castle, the soft and moving notes of which, together with what so forcibly struck the eye, tended greatly to fill our breasts with pity, and to renew our grief for our worthy departed friends and brethren." The bodies of the two officers were exhumed a few weeks after this and re-interred at Wilkesbarre, with military and masonic honors by the officers of Sullivan's army.

* Barnardus Swartwout, an Ensign in first company of Col. Van Cortlandt's regiment.

† "MONDAY JUNE 21, 1779.—This day we marched through the Great Swamp, and Bear Swamp. The Great Swamp, which is eleven or twelve miles through, contains what is called on our maps 'shades of death,' by reason of its darkness ; both swamps contain trees of amazing height, viz., hemlock, birch, pine, sugar maple, ash, locust, etc. The roads in some places are tolerable, but in other places exceeding bad, by reason of which, and a long though necessary march, three of our wagons and the carriages of two field pieces were broken down. This day we proceeded twenty miles and encamped late in the evening at a spot which the commander named Camp Fatigue. The troops were tired and hungry. The road through the Swamps is entirely new, being fitted for the passage of our wagons by Colonels Cortlandt and Spencer at the instance of the commander-in-chief ; the way to Wyoming being before only a blind, narrow path. The new road does its projectors great credit and must in a future day be of essential service to the inhabitants of Wyoming and Easton. In the Great Swamp is Locust Hill, where we discovered evident marks of a destroyed Indian village. Tobyhanna and Middle creeks empty into the Tunkhanunk ; the Tunkhanunk empties into the head branch of the Lehigh, which at Easton, empties into the Delaware. The Moosick mountain, through a gap of which we passed in the Great Swamp, is the dividing ridge which separates the Delaware from the Susquehanna."—[*Rev. William Rogers's Journal.*]

‡ SERGEANT JONAS BROWN, of Captain Charles Graham's Co., Second New York returned as dead by Lieut. Conolly, in 1785, drew lot twenty-three, of the military tract in Homer, containing six hundred acres.

§ BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND, the youngest Brigadier of the expedition. Born in Ireland the last day of 1744, was an ensign in the British army, served two years with his regiment in America, then resigned and settled in Pennsylvania. At the beginning of the Revolution he entered the continental service as Lieutenant-Colonel, was made Colonel of a rifle corps in 1776, was in the battles of Long Island and Trenton, and in the summer of 1777 was in command at Pittsburg. Washington placed great confidence in his judgment and consulted him freely as to the feasibility of this campaign. In 1780 he succeeded Scammel as Adjutant General of the army and held the position until the close of the war. He was a lover of fine horses and an excellent horseman. He died in Lancaster, Pa., Sept. 3, 1802.

MONDAY, 24th.—About 9 o'clock in the morning struck camp, marched across the Tackhanack* and encamped on a high, about half a mile from the creek, but continued making the road which was very bad about that place.

TUESDAY, 25th.—Left our camp standing, and continued making the road; built a bridge and causeway at Tobehanna† of one hundred and fifteen paces in length. The creek is considerable large and abounds with trout.‡ Some good land along the creek; the road very difficult to make.

WEDNESDAY, 26th.—Laid still in camp on purpose to refresh the men, and washing. Sergeant Brown returned from Weyoming.

THURSDAY, 27th.—Went out to work.

FRIDAY, 28th.—Finished the bridge across the Tobehannah and returned to camp.

SATURDAY, 29th.—John Curry and Michael Sellers were tried at the drum-head, for stealing rum from the commissary.§ found guilty, and sentenced to receive, Curry seventy-five lashes, and Sellers fifty, which was directly put in execution. Our camp remained; we continued work on the road. After we returned from fatigue, Gen. Sullivan and Col. Hoopes|| arrived in our camp.

SUNDAY, 30th.—In the morning Gen. Sullivan and Col. Hoops returned to Easton. At 7 o'clock in the morning struck tents, the regiment marched to Locust Hill and encamped there;¶ myself was ordered to remain with the Commissary stores which could not move with the baggage for want of teams.

MONDAY, 31st.—The Coll. sent the wagons back to fetch the stores. We loaded them on the wagons and proceeded to Camp and arrived there at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The troops worked on the road.

TUESDAY, JUNE 1st.—Worked on the road. The Camp remained on Locust Hill.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2d.—Lt. Weissenfels** of our regiment was sent to Weyoming as an escort to guard a number of pack horses. The troops continued working the road. I was ordered on court martial, of which Captain Graham was President.

THURSDAY, JUNE 3d.—The troops did not work for want of provision.

FRIDAY, JUNE 4th.—The camp remained on Locust Hill. Captain Graham, myself, and two other officers were ordered to inspect pork which was chiefly condemned on

* TUNKHANNA, from *Tunkhanne*, i. e., the small stream, is a tributary of the Tobehanna, which it enters at the west corner of Tunkhanna township. The smallest of two confluent sources of a river is always called *Tankhanne* by the Delawares.

† TOBYHANNA, corrupted from *Topi-hanne*, signifying *alder stream*, i. e., a stream whose banks are fringed with alders, is a tributary of the Lehigh, which it enters from the south-east, at Stoddartville.

‡ The camp of the two regiments on White Oak Run, or Rum Bridge as called in some journals, was the same place where the main army encamped June 19th, and "called CHOWDER CAMP from the commander-in-chief dining this day on chowder made of trout."

§ "One quart of whiskey to be issued this evening to each officer and a half pint to each non-commissioned officer and soldier on the detachment command by General Poor. * * * *"

¶ The officers are to see respectively that water be immediately mixed with the soldier's whiskey." General orders, Aug 15, at Tioga.

|| MAJOR ADAM HOOPS, third A. D. C. to General Sullivan. He was in the army throughout the Revolution, and at one period belonged to the staff of Washington. He was connected with the earliest surveys of Western New York. In 1804, he in company with Ebenezer F. Norton, purchased most of the township Olean and laid out the village of Hamilton, the original name of the present village of Olean. He was a bachelor and died in Westchester, Pa.

¶ DR. JABEZ CAMPFIELD of Col. Spencer's Regiment, joined his regiment while they were in camp at Tunkhanna on the 26th of May, where he says they continued until the 30th, "when we marched to Locust Hill. All this way the land very indifferent and rough, the timber mostly pitch pine and hemlock, some white pine, also birch, mirtle, and some beach, elm and spruce. This hill is covered with small locust trees. While the detachment remained at Locust Hill, the First New Hampshire Regiment joined us, but at the same time a detachment under Colonel Smith were sent to Wyoming so that we gained very little by the Hampshire men coming up."

WILLIAM BARTON'S Journal under date of June 11th says: * * * "Locust Hill so called, on account of being entirely timbered with it for twenty-three miles. We all proceeded on our journey again until we fell in with a detachment composed of several regiments which had been cutting a road through from Learn's to Wyoming, as there never was any before only an old Indian path."

** LIEUTENANT CHARLES F. WEISSENFELS of 3d company, 2nd regiment, served during the war.

account of its being Spoiled.* On the 3d of June, John Ten Eyck, soldier in Captain French's company of light infantry was drowned in the Lehi by accident.

SATURDAY, 5th.—The regiment was ordered on fatigue with three days provisions, that night lay out in the woods.

SUNDAY 6th.—I was relieved by Lt. Fairlie† and went to Camp, this day we worked through the great Swamp.

MONDAY, 7th JUNE.—At about 8 in the morning decamped from Locust Hill, crossed the Lehi and encamped on the side of a Swamp called the Shades of Death,‡ about six miles from Locust Hill.

TUESDAY, 8th JUNE.—About 2 o'clock in the afternoon, struck our tents, marched through the Shades of Death, and encamped at night about one mile from the Shades.

WEDNESDAY, 9th.—The Camp remained.

THURSDAY 10th.—The Camp remained. The troops worked on the road.

FRIDAY, 11th.—The regiment decamped and marched within seven miles from Wyoming. Capt. Wright and I remained behind to guard the Commissary Stores.

SATURDAY, 12th.—The guard and Commissary Stores came up to Camp.

SUNDAY, 13th.—Laid still.

MONDAY, 14th.—At six o'clock the General beat, struck tents and marched to Wyoming§ and arrived there at about 12, and pitched Camp.

JUNE 15th and 16th.—Laid still.

* On the 21st of July, General Sullivan writes to Congress from Easton, after complaining of the delays of the quarter-master and commissary departments in forwarding supplies, he speaks as follows in regard to the quality: * * * "My duty to the public, and regard to my own reputation, compel me to state the reasons why this army has been so long delayed here, without advancing into the enemy's country. * * * The inspector is now on the ground, by order of the Board of War, inspecting the provisions; and his regard to the truth must oblige him on his return to report that, of the salted meat on hand, there is not a single pound fit to be eaten, even at this day, though every measure has been taken to preserve it that possibly could be devised." * * * About one hundred and fifty cattle sent to Sunbury were left there, being too poor to walk, and many of them unable to stand."

† LIEUT. JAMES FAIRLIE, of Capt. Fowler's company, 2nd regiment, after the consolidation of the five New York regiments in 1780. He drew military lots Nos. seventy-three Cato, and sixty-five Brutus.

‡ SHADES OF DEATH, supposed by many to have derived the name from the sufferings of those who escaped from the massacre of Wyoming, but this is evidently an error, as the name was attached to the locality and appeared on the maps, long previous to 1778.

§ WYOMING.

"On Susquehanna's side, fair Wyoming!
Delightful Wyoming!"—CAMPBELL.

The Delaware name given to a valley on the Susquehanna river, of three to four miles in width, by about sixteen in length, extending from the mountain range above the Lackawana where the river wends its way through a gorge a thousand feet deep, south-westerly to where the river again finds its way through a range equally lofty and precipitous. This was the Schahentoa or Schahen-dowane of the Iroquois, signifying *great plains*, as does also the Delaware name of Wyoming. From its earliest known history, this valley has been a favorite place of Indian residence, and was the probable seat of an Iroquois tribe, called Schahentoar-ronons by Brebeuf in 1635, whom he describes as allies of the Hurons, and speaking their language. In 1614, three Dutchmen in the employ of the Directors of New Netherland, accompanied a party of Mahican Indians from near Fort Orange, in a war expedition against the Carantanais, a powerful Iroquois tribe, whose main village containing more than eight hundred warriors, was located on the so-called "Spanish Hill" near Waverly, N. Y. These Dutchmen were captured by the Carantanais, and were the first white men these Indians had ever seen; believing them to be French, who were allies of their friends the Hurons, they treated them kindly, and conducted them down the Susquehanna to this point, and thence by way of the Lehigh river to the Delaware, where they were ransomed by Capt. Hendricken, "giving for them kittles, beads and merchandise." In the map made by the Captain from information furnished by these Dutchmen, he indicated four towns on the west side of the river, at this point, and designated the tribe as Minquas, this being the general name applied by the Dutch to all the Iroquois tribes south of the Five Nations, and west of New Netherland, several of which are known to have been in existence at that early date, but which appear to have been entirely overlooked by the scholars of the country.

THURSDAY, 17th.—Moved the camp about four miles up the River, to a place called Jacob's Plains.*

18th and 19th.—Laid still.

SUNDAY, JUNE 20th.—I was ordered to go down the River Susquehanna with a party in boats under the command of Captain Graham. Left Wyoming about 7 o'clock in the morning and arrived with the boats at Fort Jenkins † at sunset and stayed that night.

MONDAY, 21st.—Left Fort Jenkins in the morning, proceeded down the River and arrived at Northumberland town, ‡ dined there, and proceeded to Sunbury and arrived there at 7 o'clock at night.

TUESDAY, 22d.—Laid still at Sunbury and loaded the Boats with flour and beef.

WEDNESDAY, 23d.—At 9 o'clock in the morning left Sunbury, proceeded up the River about eight miles.

THURSDAY, 24th.—Proceeded up the River till night and lodged on board the boat. In the night lost my hat.

FRIDAY, 25th.—Proceeded up the River as far as Fort Jenkins and lodged there. §

SATURDAY, 26th.—Left Fort Jenkins and arrived at the falls. || Got half the boats up the falls, which were drawn up by ropes.

SUNDAY, 27th.—Got up the rest of the boats, and proceeded up the River and halted along shore over night. Coll. Ogden's regiment from Jersey was sent down as a guard to us from Wyoming.

MONDAY, 28th.—At Revelle beat proceeded up the River to the upper falls. Got all the boats up, (one of which overset in going up) and arrived at Shawny flats about 4 miles from Wyoming.

TUESDAY, 29th.—Left Shawny flats in the morning and arrived at Wyoming ¶ about 7 o'clock in the morning, unloaded the boats and went up to camp in the afternoon to Jacob's Plains.

WEDNESDAY, 30th JUNE.—The regiment was mustered in camp at Jacob's Plains.

* JACOB'S PLAINS—A plateau on the east side of the river, above present Wilkes-barre in the town of Plains. Abraham's Plains are on the west side of the river. June 17.—Decamped at 10 o'clock. The three regiments marched up to Jacob's Plains, encamped near the bank of the river on the east shore, about four miles above the garrison."—*Nathaniel Webb's Journal*.

† FORT JENKINS.—Near Centreville, Columbia County, half way between Wyoming and Sunbury, built in 1777. There was another Fort Jenkins on the west side of the river a mile above Fort Wintermoot, built in 1776 under the supervision of the Jenkins and Harding families. This was captured and destroyed in 1778 in the Wyoming massacre.

‡ NORTHUMBERLAND.—At the Junction of the west and main branches of the Susquehanna, above Sunbury, sixty-five miles from Wilkesbarre.

§ During the absence of Lieut. Hardenbergh down the river a party visited the battle-ground. "The place where the battle was fought may with propriety be called 'a place of skulls,' as the bodies of the slain were not buried, their bones were scattered in every direction all around; a great number of which for a few days past having been picked up, were decently interred by our people. We passed a grave where seventy-five skeletons were buried; also a spot where fourteen wretched creatures, who, having surrendered upon being promised mercy, were nevertheless made immediately to sit down in a ring, and after the savages had worked themselves up to the extreme of fury in their usual manner, by dancing, singing, hallooing, &c., they proceeded deliberately to tomahawk the poor fellows one after another. Fifteen surrendered and composed the ring; upon the Indians beginning their work of cruelty, one of them providentially escaped, who reported the matter to Col. Butler, who upon his return to Wyoming, went to the spot and found the bones of the fourteen lying as human bones in an exact circle."—*Rev. Wm. Rogers' Journal*.

¶ NESCOPEEC FALLS—at present Nescopeec in county of Luzerne.

"WYOMING is situated on the east side of the east branch of the Susquehanna, the town consisting of about seventy houses, chiefly log buildings; besides these buildings there are sundry larger ones which were erected by the army for the purpose of receiving stores, &c., a large bake and smoke houses. There is likewise a small fort erected in the town, with a strong abbatia around it, and a small redoubt to shelter the inhabitants in case of an alarm. This fort is garrisoned by 100 men, draughted from the western army, and put under the command of Col. Zebulon Butler. I cannot omit taking notice of the poor inhabitants of the town: two thirds of them are widows and orphans, who, by the vile hands of the savages, have not only deprived them of tender husbands, some indulgent parents, and others of affectionate friends and acquaintances, besides robbed and plundered of all their furniture and clothing. In short, they are left totally dependent on the public, and are become absolute objects of charity."—*Hubley's Journal*.

While I was out on my voyage down the river, Gen Sullivan arrived at Weyoming with troops to be employed on the expedition.*

THURSDAY, JULY 1.—Laid still.

FRIDAY, JULY 2d; SATURDAY, JULY 3d.—Remained at Jacob's Plains.

SUNDAY, JULY YE 4th.—Decamped from Jacob's Plains, crossed the river Sisquehannah and encamped on the west side the River, near forty fort † on a fine plain called Abraham's Plains.

MONDAY, 5th JULY.—Went out on a scouting party in order to hunt. Went up the River as far as Laghawanny Creek and returned at sunset. Met with no success.

During our stay at Weyoming we had nothing to do but to keep guard, and disciplining our troops; only a few that were employed in boating to carry provisions ‡ up the River from Sunbury to Weyoming.

(From July 5th to July 31st no entry was made in the Journal).

SATURDAY, THE 31ST OF JULY.—About 3 o'clock in the afternoon we left Weyoming on our expedition. Our baggage being carried on pack horses, the provisions and artillery in boats, we marched as far as Lackawannick, § ten miles from Weyoming, and encamped. ||

SUNDAY, AUG. FIRST.—At 1 o'clock in the afternoon struck our tents and marched 7 miles to a place called Quailutimack. ¶ The road was very difficult, the baggage did not arrive till towards day.

MONDAY, AUGUST YE 2d.—Laid still at Quailutimack.

TUESDAY, AUG. 3d.—At 7 o'clock in the morning struck our camp, loaded our baggage, proceeded on our march and encamped at night in the wood.

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 4th.—At 7 o'clock in the morning the General beat, struck our

* The army when concentrated at Wyoming was organized as follows :

New Jersey Brigade, Brig. Gen'l William Maxwell com'd.

1st N. J., Col. Matthias Ogden.

2d, " " Israel Shreve.

3d, " " Elias Dayton.

5th, " " Oliver Spencer's Independent Regiment, also fragments of Forsman's and Sheldon's regiments merged into Spencer's.

New Hampshire Brigade—Brig. Gen'l Enoch Poor, com'd.

1st N. H., Col. Joseph Cilley.

2d " " Lieut. Col. George Reid.

3d " " " Henry Dearborn.

2d N. Y., Col. Philip Van Cortlandt.

Brigade of Light Troops, Gen'l Edward Hand, com'd.

11th Pa., Lieut. Col. Adam Hubley.

German Regiment, Maj. Daniel Burkhardt.

Independent Wyoming Company. Capt. Simon Spalding

Wyoming Militia, Capt. John Franklin.

Schott's Rifle Corps, under Capt. Selin.

† FORTY FORT—On the right bank of the Susquehanna between Pittston and Wilkesbarre, built in 1770 by the company of emigrants from Connecticut, forty in number.

‡ GEN. HAND, and other officers were engaged for six weeks in collecting supplies, which General Sullivan expected would be in Wyoming on his arrival. Four hundred and fifty boatmen were enlisted and large parties of soldiers were detailed for this service.

§ LACKAWANNA RIVER, flowing into the Susquehanna from the north-east, called by the Delawares, *Lechau-Hanneck*, signifying the forks of a river or stream, and by the Iroquois *Hazivok*; an Indian town called Adjouquay existed at an early date on the east side, on present site of Pittston.

|| FALLING SPRINGS.—A short distance above Campbell's ledge, a beautiful cascade comes rushing down from the mountain called Falling Springs. It proceeds from several never-falling springs on the summit. Hubley says, "to attempt a description of it would be almost presumption. Let this short account thereof suffice. The first or upper fall thereof is nearly ninety feet perpendicular pouring from a solid rock, ushering forth a most beautiful echo, and is received by a cleft of rocks, considerably more projected than the former, from whence it rolls gradually and falls into the Susquehanna."

¶ QUAILUTIMACK seven miles from Lackawanna signifying "*we came unawares upon them*." A place between the steep mountain and the river, said to have been the place of an Indian battle. The camp was on a "spot of ground situated on the river open and clear, containing about twelve hundred acres, soil very rich, timber fine, grass in abundance, and contains several springs."—Hubley's *Journal*.

tents, proceeded on our march and encamped at night at Venderlips * Plantation. This day's march was very fatiguing. Our regiment was on the Rear Guard, the road very mountainous and difficult. We had the care of all the pack horses and cattle, which was very troublesome.

THURSDAY, AUG. 5th.—About 10 o'clock decamped, proceeded on our march and arrived at Wyalusing† and encamped there.

FRIDAY, AUG. 6th.—Laid still at Wyalusing for refreshment.

SATURDAY, AUG. 7th.—Laid still on account of rainy weather.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 8th.‡—At 6 o'clock in the morning struck camp, moved from Wyalusing and encamped at evening at a place called Standing Stone.§

MONDAY, AUG. 9th.—At six o'clock in the morning struck our tents, proceeded on our march and arrived at Sheshehung flats|| and encamped there.

TUESDAY, AUG. 10th.—Laid still at the Flats.

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 11th.—At 6 o'clock in the morning struck tent, marched at 7 o'clock for Tyuga.¶ Our regiment and the 2d New Jersey regiment was ordered to cross the

* VAN DER LIFFE'S.—Now Black Walnut in the town of Meshoppen, Wyoming County. So called from a Tory of that name, who was the first settler, above the Lackawanna, who previous to this time had abandoned the valley, and afterward died in Canada. During this day's march the army passed over Indian Hill, where Col. Hartley had a battle with the Indians the previous year.

† WYALUSING. At present Wyalusing in Bradford County.—“Passing up the river we came to a place called by the Indians, Gohontoto. Here they tell us was in early times an Indian town, traces of which are still noticeable, e. g., corn pits, &c., inhabited by a distinct nation (neither Aquinoschioni, i. e., Iroquois, nor Delawares) who spoke a peculiar language and were called ТЕНОТИТАЧСАЕ; against these the Five Nations warred, and rooted them out. The Cayugas for a time held a number of them, but the nation and their language are now exterminated and extinct. This war, said the Indian, fell in the time when the Indians fought in battle with bows and arrows before they had guns and rifles.”—*Cammerhoff's Journal*, 1750. This was also the seat of the Moravian mission of Friedensbitten, established in 1765, abandoned in 1772. This was about a mile below Wyalusing Creek, on the farms now occupied by G. H. Wells and J. B. Stafford. Rogers devotes several pages to a description of this town.—The Indian town site was above Wyalusing.

‡ NEWTYCHANNING.—This day Col. Proctor destroyed the first Indian town, named Newtychanning, containing about twenty houses, located on the west side of the Susquehanna, on the north side of Sugar Creek near North Towanda. Sullivan says it contained twenty-two houses; Canfield, that it was built the preceding year and contained from fifteen to twenty houses. This was near the site of Oscalui, of a previous date, and the same site called Ogehage, on Captain Hendrickeen's map of 1616, and was then one of the towns of the Carantouannais, an Iroquois tribe destroyed or driven out by the Five Nations previous to 1650.

§ STANDING STONE.—A large and long rock, on the west side of the river, said to have been detached from its bed on the mountain and taking a downward course displacing all obstacles, took a final leap from the top of the precipice, and landed in a vertical position in the water near the shore, and remains a standing stone. The main army encamped directly opposite this, on Standing Stone flats; Hand's Brigade on Wysox creek three miles above.

|| SHESHEQUIN FLATS.—On site of present Sheshequin in Bradford County, on the opposite side of the river on site of present Ulster, was the Indian village of Sheshequin, six miles below Tioga. Cash's creek divided the town into two parts, the north side being heathen, those on the south Moravian Christians. About 1772 the latter removed six miles north and founded a new town, afterward known as Queen Esther's Town. Sheshequin was destroyed by Col. Hartley in 1778.

¶ TIOGA, the name given by the Iroquois to the wedge of land lying between the Chemung river and north branch of the Susquehanna; from *Teyagoen*, an interval, or anything between two other things. [Bruyas, Agniers Racines]. *Teiohogen*, the forks of a river (Gallatin's vocabulary 287). This has from time immemorial been one of the most important strategical points of the country of the Five Nations. Zeisberger passed through here in 1750 and says that “at Tioga or the gate, Six Nations Indians were stationed for the purpose of ascertaining the character of all persons who crossed over into their country, and that whoever entered their territory by any other way than through the gate, or by way of the Mohawk, was suspected by them of evil purpose and treated as a spy or enemy.” An Indian town of TIOGA near the point, destroyed by Col. Hartley in 1778.

The earliest known account of the place is found in Champlain, who sent out one of his interpreters, named Stephen Brulé, in 1615, to arrange with the Carantouannais for a force of five hundred warriors, to co-operate with him in an attack on the Onondaga stronghold, then located in the town of Fenner, Madison Co., N. Y. Brulé with a small party of Hurons passed through the country of the Five Nations, to the great town of Carantouan, containing more than eight hundred warriors, then located on the so-called Spanish Hill near Waverly. Brulé returned to Carantouan after the expedition, and the next year, 1616, went down the Susquehanna to the sea “where he found many nations that are powerful and warlike.”

River at our encampment and proceed up the River on the opposite side, to take possession of the ground at Tyuga to cover the fording place for the army and horses to cross the River, arrived at Tyuga about 11 o'clock in the morning.* At night Gen. Sullivan sent off a small scout † to discover Shemung ‡ (of one Captain and seven men,) which lay about twelve miles up the Tiyuga branch.

AUG. 12.—The scout returned with news that the enemy seemed to be in great confusion and seemed to be moving off. The Gen'l left a guard at Tiyuga sufficient to guard the camp and marched with the rest of the army under cover of the night for Shemung, marched all night, the weather very dark, and nothing but an Indian path through the wood made it difficult.§

FRIDAY, AUG. 13th.—About six o'clock in the morning we arrived at Shemung and found the enemy had left the town. On our approach we burnt the town, destroyed the corn, &c., and returned to Tiyuga. A small party of the Indians who had concealed themselves in the wood, fired on a small party of Gen'l Hand's Brigade, killed six men and wounded two without loss on their side.|| A party of Gen'l Poor's Brigade was destroying corn, were fired upon by the enemy, killed one and wounded one.

SATURDAY, Aug. 14th.—Laid at Tiyuga waiting for the arrival of Gen'l Clinton's Brigade, who came down the Susquehanna from the Mohawk River. A large detachment from the army was ordered up to join him.¶ The remainder of the army were employed

* **BREAK-NECK HILL.**—The army passed this day Break-Neck Hill, nearly opposite North Towanda. "This mountain derives its name from the great height of the difficult and narrow passage not more than a foot wide, and remarkable precipice which is immediately perpendicular, and not less than one hundred and eighty feet deep. One mis-step must inevitably carry you from top to bottom without the least hope or chance of recovery."—*Hubley's Journal*.

"This day marched on the side of a mountain about three hundred feet from the bottom in a narrow path where if we were to step one foot to our left we would be gone, and on our right the mountain was about four hundred feet high. N. B.—Three cows fell down and broke every bone in their bodies."—*Shute's Journal*.

† CAPT. CUMMINGS of the 3d N. J., Lieut. Jenkins, Capt. Franklin and five others.

‡ **CHEMUNG.**—An Indian town of fifty or sixty houses, occupied in 1779, located on the left bank of the Chemung river, three miles above the present village of Chemung, in Chemung County, destroyed by Gen. Sullivan Aug. 13th, 1779.

OLD **CHEMUNG.**—An Indian town partially abandoned in 1779, located on the left bank of the Chemung river, half a mile above the present village of Chemung, in Chemung County. A few houses burned Aug. 13th, 1779.

§ This night's march was very tedious. The path followed the north bank of the Chemung passing the first narrows, near present Waverly, and the second along the steep hill-sides and precipices west of present Chemung. At these points there was scarcely room for two to walk abreast, and a single mis-step would insure a landing on the rocks a hundred feet below. It was daylight when the troops reached second narrows, but a dense fog prevailed, under the cover of which they advanced, and found the town abandoned.

|| **CHEMUNG AMBUSCADE.**—On the failure to surprise the Indians in their village, General Hand pursued them up the river. About a mile above New Chemung, the trail passed obliquely over a hill known locally as the Hog Back, near the present residence of Doctor Everett, about two and a half miles below the monument on Sullivan Hill. Col. Hubley's regiment was in front, with Capt. Bush's company of forty men on the right acting as flankers, with the two Independent Companies in the rear. The head of the column appears to have been somewhat in advance of the flankers and when near the summit of the hill, received a fire from the enemy in ambush, at short range. Six were killed and nine wounded, among the latter Capt. Franklin, Capt. Carbury and Adjutant Houston, all of Col. Hubley's regiment. The enemy at once retreated to the thicket north of the hill.

¶ The following extract from the Journal of Major Norris, describes the march of this detachment up the north side of the Susquehanna from Tioga to Union, in the town of Union, Broome County, where they met General Clinton's brigade. For the march of Clinton down the Susquehanna see Beatty's Journal :

"Aug. 15th.—Nine Hundred chosen men under the Command of Brig. Gen'l Poor are ordered to march Tomorrow morning up the Susquehanna, to meet Gen'l Clinton, who is on his march to join Sullivan's Army with his Brigade and is in some Danger of being Attack'd by the Enemy before he can form a Junction with our Main Army ; This afternoon a Small Party of Indian's fired on some of our Men who were without the Guards after some Horse's, and Cattle, Killed and Sculped one man and Wounded another, a party was sent out in pursuit of them but could not come up with them—

16th General Poor March'd with his Detachment at 10 o'Clock A. M. proceeded in two Collam's up the Susquehanna River, Over very rough Ground we Incamp Near the Ruins of an old town Call'd Macktownuck the Land near the River is very Good—

17th We marched Early this Morning Proceed 12 Miles to Owagea an Indian Town which was De-

in building a garrison at Tiyuḡa.* On the 22nd day of Aug't we were joined by Gen'l Clinton's Brigade.

MONDAY, AUG'T 23.—Laid still. Capt. Kimble of Col. Cilley's Regiment, Gen'l Poor's Brigade, was killed in his tent by accident with a gun being snapped by a soldier.

TUESDAY, 24th AUG'T.—The disposition was made and everything got in readiness for marching. The army encamped that evening agreeable to the order of march,† myself being drafted on the right flank, which was commanded by Col. Dubois.

WEDNESDAY, 25th.—Laid still not being able to get ready to march on account of our pack horses.

THURSDAY, 26th.—Struck tents at 1 o'clock and marched about 3 miles up the Tiyuḡa Branch and encamped.

FRIDAY, AUG'T 27.—At 8 o'clock in the morning the Gen'l beat, struck tents at 9 o'clock marched off and encamped that night about 3 miles below Shemung by a large cornfield.‡

SATURDAY, AUG'T 28th.—At 3 o'clock in the afternoon marched as far as Shemung and encamped.§

SUNDAY, 29th AUG'T.—At 8 o'clock in the morning the signal for march was given. We marched about 4 miles when our Light corps fell in with the enemy on the opposite side of a defile with some slight works thrown up in their front. The light troops exchanged some shots with them and amused them whilst Gen's Clinton's and Poor's Brigades with the right flank were ordered to file off by the right and gain the enemy's rear, which to effect, we had to ascend a very steep hill which the enemy had possessed themselves of. Whilst we were gaining the rear, Col. Proctor with the artillery kept up a brisk fire on their works. On our ascending the hill they began to attack us. Our men undauntedly pushed on and gained the hill. The enemy went off in confusion, left their

serted last Spring, after Planting. About the town is many Fruit Trees and many Plants, and Herbs, that are Common in our part of the Country; Hear is a Large body of clear Intivale Covered with Grass. Our March to day Very Survear and Fatigueing Esspecially for the Left Collm (to which I belong) as we had to pass Several Steap Hills and Morasses—

18th We March'd Early this Morning proceeded 14 miles to Chocanant the Remains of a Learge Indian Town which has been likewise Abandoned this Summer, here we found Plenty of Cucumbar's, Squashes, Turnips &c. We found About twenty Houses, Which we burnt our Days March has been More Survear than Yesterday, as we had bad Hills and Swamps, one swamp of about two miles so Covered with Large Pines, Standing and lying which appeared as tho' Several Haricanes had been busy among since which a Tremendius Groath of Bushes About twenty feet high has sprung up so very thick as to Render the passing through them impractible by any troops but such as Nothing but Death can stop—at sunset we were Very agreeably alarm'd by the Report of a Cannon up the River Which was supposed to be General Clintons Evening Gun—

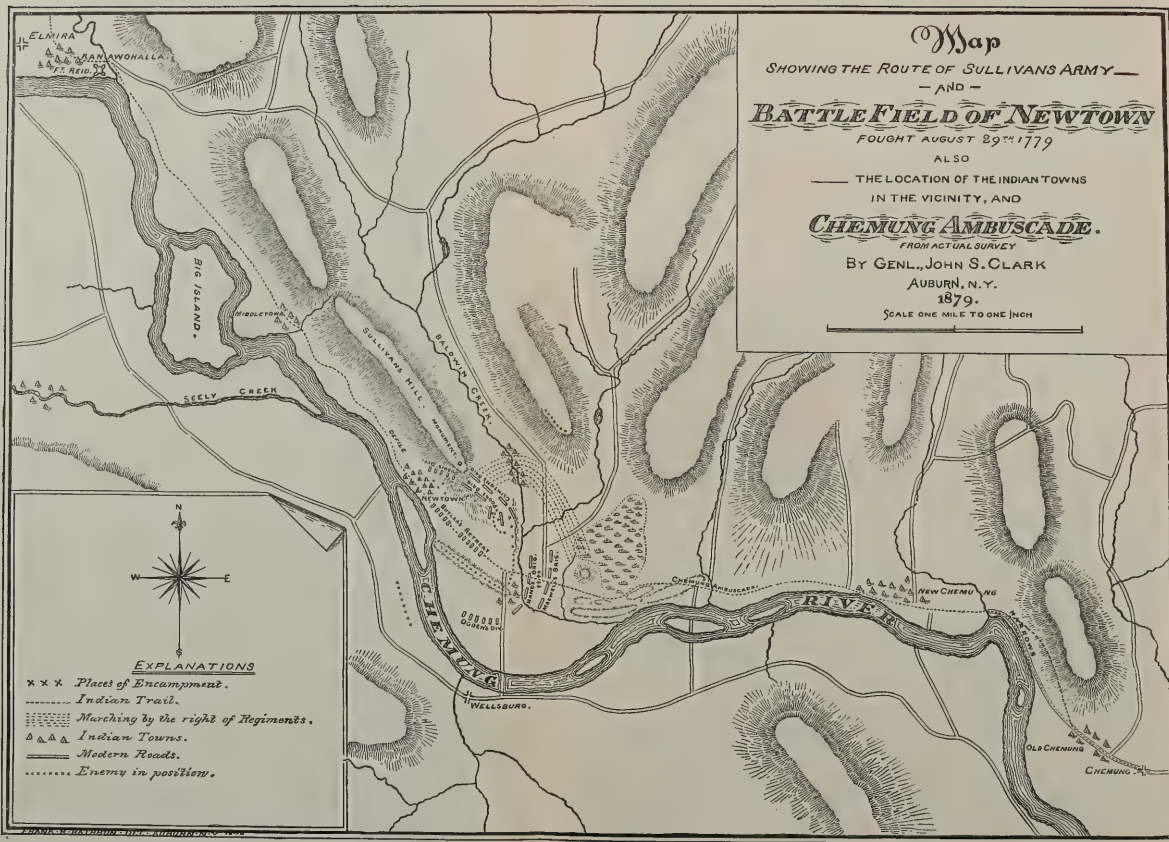
19th Our Troops were put in Motion very early this Morning after Marching about one Mile Gen'l Poor Received an Ex-press from General Clinton Informing him that the Latter expected to be hear by 10 o'Clock A. M. this day in Consequence of which we Return'd to our Old Encampment where General Clinton, Joined us at 10 o'Clock with two Thousand Men—including Officers, Boatsman &c. he has two Hundred and Eight Beatoes with Provisions Ammunition &c after Mutual Congratulations and Complements the whole Proceeded down the River to Owagea and Incamp't this Evening. the town of Owagea was made a burnfire of to Grace our Meeting * * * * *

* FORT SULLIVAN—near the center of the present village of Athens, where the two rivers approach near each other. It was about one hundred yards square, with a strong block house at each angle, two opposite ones resting on the banks of the rivers, and the two others about midway between. The curtains were made by setting logs endwise in the ground, the whole being surrounded by a ditch, making a work of ample strength. Col. Shreve was left in command with a garison of two hundred and fifty men besides the invalids, with two pieces of artillery.

† The order of march was arranged to form a hollow square, General Hand's Brigade in front; General Poor's on the right; General Maxwell's on the left; and General Clinton's in the rear. Within the square was Col. Proctor's artillery, and eight lines of led pack horses, and the beef cattle. On the right of General Poor was a flanking division, and flank guard of two hundred and fifty men under Col. Dubois; and a like flanking division and guard, on the left of Maxwell, under command of Col. Ogden. A strong advance guard of light infantry covered the front.

‡ Encamped on the site of Old Chemung, burned August 13th.

§ Encamped on the flats, near New Chemung. The army passed a very difficult defile, known as the "Narrows" west of present Chemung; the artillery forded the river twice.



dead on the ground.*—About sunset we encamped on the enemy's ground.† We had one major, one Capt. and one Lt. wounded. The Capt. and Lieut. died of their wounds, also a few men wounded.

* Four towns were destroyed in the vicinity of the battlefield, viz.:

1st. **NEWTOWN**, an Indian village of about twenty houses, occupied in 1779, located on the left bank of the Chemung river about five miles below Elmira, and a mile above the fortified position between Baldwin's creek and the river. It gave the name to the battle fought near it Aug. 29, 1779.

2d. A small village northeast of the battlefield of Newtown on both sides of Baldwin's creek, of twenty or thirty houses which had never been occupied, and were supposed to have been built for storing the crops grown in the vicinity. This was located at the point where Gen. Poor commenced the ascent of the hill; and was destroyed by Clinton's brigade.

3d. A small village near the angle in the works of the enemy on Baldwin's creek, the timbers of which were used by them in the construction of the fortifications. One house in front of their works was occupied by the enemy as a block house during the engagement.

4th. "**MONDAY, AUG. 30.** * * * Went up the river about two miles, then took up a long branch of the river (which runs near S. W.) one mile, burnt five houses and destroyed all the corn in our way."—*Beatty's Journal*.

† **THE BATTLE OF NEWTOWN** was fought on Sunday, Aug. 29, 1779, near the Indian village of the same name, on the left bank of the Chemung river six miles southeast of Elmira. The enemy's force of British regulars, two battalions of Royal Greens, and Tories, were led by Colonel John Butler with Captains Walter N. Butler and Macdonald as subordinates; the Indians by the great Mohawk Captain Hayendangea, alias Joseph Brant, Butler being chief in command. The design of the enemy appears to have been primarily, an ambuscade. They had artfully concealed their works, and posted their forces in positions to attack simultaneously, both flanks, front and rear; the position naturally strong was admirably adapted to their purposes. From Elmira, extending southeasterly for several miles is a mountainous ridge running parallel with the river, something over six hundred feet in height near the Indian village, but gradually melting away to the level of the plain where it terminates about a mile below; on this southeastern slope was the battle of Newtown. To the north and east of this ridge is a similar one, which also terminates near the battlefield, and between them is a considerable stream, which, running nearly parallel with the river in its general course, enters the Chemung a mile and a quarter below. The river here sweeps around in a graceful curve, making a full semi-circle, enclosing several hundred acres of rich bottom lands, on which were the Indian cornfields; the Wellsburg north and south road dividing it into two nearly equal parts. Rising abruptly from this plain is a sharp, narrow ridge, known locally as the Hog Back. This extends from the river across the plain nearly to the creek, a distance of about a third of a mile. The crest of this ridge was occupied by the enemy in force, protected by rude log breast works and rifle pits, which extended to the eastern extremity, and from thence turning north, connected with the steep banks of the creek above. The lines to be defended were these two sides of a triangle, their right resting on the river, their left on the mountain, the path of the army passing between the two lines, along which was also the enemy's line of retreat. From the angle in the works a thin line extended to the mountain, on which was a body of the enemy and also another small body on the mountain to the east. The results at Chemung a few days previous led the enemy to hope that a like blunder might be repeated, and that Wyoming and Minni-sinks were to be re-enacted. Presuming that the army, after crossing the creek, would follow the Indian trail without discovering their works, they flattered themselves that an unexpected fire on the exposed flanks would create great confusion, which if augmented by simultaneous attacks in front and rear by the forces in that quarter, might result in a panic, and a possible stampede of the pack horses and cattle, which would be quite as disastrous as the defeat of the army. But three companies of Morgan's riflemen, the pride of Washington, were in the advance; these veterans of a hundred battles were in no way inferior to the enemy in Indian craft; the works and position of the enemy were discovered when afar off, and this ingenious device of drawing our forces into an ambuscade was frustrated. The ambuscade failing, the alternative was presented of forcing a direct attack in front, under great disadvantage or of a flanking movement, over very difficult ground, where nearly the entire force of the enemy could be brought to bear on the attacking force at any point on interior lines possibly in time to repulse one division of the army before the other could come to its relief. The attack in front was invited by repeated sorties of a body of about four hundred of the enemy, who would deliver their fire, and immediately retreat to their works. After three hours of skirmishing, deliberation and reconnoitering, General Sullivan determined to divide his force, turn the enemy's left, and attack simultaneously in front and flank.

The artillery was posted on a rising ground, three hundred yards from the enemy, in position to enfilade the main line of their works, and sweep the ground in the rear. Gen. Hand was to support the artillery, the left flanking division to threaten the enemy's right, and Gen. Maxwell's brigade to be held in reserve. Gen. Poor's brigade of four regiments, the right flanking division, and the three companies of riflemen, were to make a circuit of about two miles and turn the enemy's left and attack in flank and rear, to be supported by General Clinton's brigade of four regiments following as a second line. One hour was allowed for this movement, at the expiration of which, the artillery was to open, to be followed by a general assault of the two divisions. Poor almost immediately after commencing his march, found himself involved in a thicket of underbrush, almost impenetrable, but after great

AUG'T 30.—Remained on the ground of yesterday. The greatest part of the army were employed in destroying corn which was in great abundance.

TUESDAY, 31ST AUG'T.*—At 9 o'clock in the morning marched off; marched ten miles above Newtown and encamped on a large pine plain, forming a square with our camp to secure our pack horses and cattle.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 1ST.—The signal gun fired at 8 o'clock in the morning. We marched at half past nine, marched about 6 miles through a flat level road at the end of which we entered a dark pine swamp, which continued four miles with almost impassable hills and valleys and arrived at 11 o'clock at night at Catharine's town.

difficulty reached the foot of the hill on which the enemy was posted, just at the moment the artillery fire commenced. Forming his line of battle with Lieut. Col. Reid's 2d N. H. on the extreme left, next to him Lieut. Col. Dearborn's 2d N. H., then Alden's 6th Mass., and Col. Cilley's 1st N. H. on the extreme right. To the right of the brigade was the right flanking division of two hundred and fifty men under Col. Dubois, the whole preceded by three companies of riflemen under Maj. Parr. General Clinton's brigade formed line of battle with Col. Gausevoort's 3d N. Y. on the left, next Dubois 5th N. Y., then Livingston's 4th N. Y., with Van Courtlandt's 2d N. Y. on the extreme right, following in the rear of the first line. Poor when about half way up the hill encountered the enemy, but not in sufficient force to materially check the advance of the flanking division, or the regiments on his right; on reaching the summit of the hill, these rapidly pushed forward to seize the defile near the river, a short distance above Newtown, which was the only avenue of escape for the enemy. Almost at the commencement of the cannonade, the main force of the enemy adroitly abandoned their works with out being discovered, and precipitated themselves on Col. Reid's regiment in greatly superior numbers. They swarmed about him in a semi-circle, and for a few moments made the forest ring with their exultant shouts, but for a few minutes only; for Col. Dearborn having reached the summit of the hill, and missing Col. Reid on his left, on his own responsibility, faced his regiment to the rear and moved to his assistance. At the same moment the two regiments on the left of Clinton's brigade by a left oblique movement, came up from the rear to Reid's support, and the enemy soon found themselves dangerously threatened. The conflict was short, sharp and decisive, and the war whoop soon gave place to the retreat halloo. Poor with the remainder of his brigade, followed by the two regiments on the right of Clinton, had pushed rapidly for the defile. In the meantime Hand had advanced in front, and the left flanking division under Col. Ogden had worked its way along the river on the enemy's flank, when, the enemy admirably commanded, and wisely discreet, sounded the signal for retreat just in time to escape. A British account says: "In this action Col. Butler and all his people was surrounded, and very near being taken prisoners. On the same day a few miles from this he attempted again to stop them, but in vain. The Colonel lost four rangers killed, two taken prisoners and seven wounded." Twelve Indians were found dead on the field, the number of wounded unknown. The enemy were pursued for two or three miles above Newtown by the light troops, where Salmon says they made another stand, which appears to be confirmed by the account above quoted, but no details are given, and the matter is not alluded to in Gen. Sullivan's official report. The loss in killed according to the Indian official account, found four days after, near Catharine's town is as follows: "Sept. 3d.—This day found a tree marked 1779, Thandagana, the English of which is Brant, 12 men marked on it with arrows pierced through them, signifying the number they had lost in the action of the 29th ltimo. A small tree was twisted round like a rope and bent down which signified that if we drove and distressed them, yet we would not conquer them."

The loss of our army is variously given in different accounts of the action. Major Livermore (Journal Aug. 29) says that "but four or five" were killed and three officers and about "thirty others" were wounded. Lieut. Barton (Journal) "that two or three of ours were killed and thirty-four or five wounded." Gen. Sullivan, in a despatch written the next day after the fight, makes the entire loss three killed and thirty-nine wounded.

* During the march this day two towns were burned, viz :

MIDDLETOWN.—A small Indian town mentioned in several Journals as lying between Newtown and Kanawlohalla, on the north side of the river, consisting of eight houses, destroyed Aug. 31 by the army while on the march.

KANAWLOHALLA.—Signifying a *head on a pole*, located on the present site of Elmira, destroyed by Sullivan's army Aug. 31. In some Journals this town is called Newtown, and the one near the battle field Lower Newtown, but the majority designate it by its Indian name, which, according to Mr. Maxwell should be spelled Canaweola, as pronounced by Red Jacket, and who also gave the signification, and the legend connected with it.

Col. Dayton with the 3d N. J. regiment and a detachment of riflemen were detached here and sent up the river in pursuit of the enemy, whom the advanced guard saw escaping in their canoes. He failed to overtake them, but found an Indian village at or near present Big Flats, which he destroyed. He encamped here for the night and rejoined the main army the next morning, by a march north-east through the valley, where the main body were encamped near present Horse Heads.

THURSDAY, 2d.—Laid still.* Our line of march being confused by the badness of the road the day before.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 3d.—The signal gun fired at 7 o'clock, the army marched off at 8 o'clock, marched about twelve miles and encamped in the wood on the east side of the Seneca Lake.† The land good and well timbered.

SATURDAY, YE 4th SEPT.—The Gen'l beat at 9 o'clock in the morning. The army marched at 10 o'clock, marched 4 miles and halted.‡

SUNDAY YE 5th.—The Gen'l beat at half past 9 o'clock, the army marched at 10 o'clock and encamped in a town called Candaya,§ or Appletown.

MONDAY, SEPT 6th.—At two o'clock in the afternoon left Appletown and marched about three miles and encamped in the wood.||

* CATHARINE'S TOWN—*She-o-quu-ga*.—An Indian village located on the high ground a little south of the present village of Havana. The town was on both sides of the inlet and about three miles from the head of the lake. This was the residence of the famous Catharine Montour, by many writers incorrectly confounded with Madame Montour, and by others with Queen Esther, of Wyoming notoriety.

MADAME MONTOUR a noted personage in the Colonial history of Pennsylvania, resided at one time at the present site of Montoursville, in Pennsylvania, on the west branch of the Susquehanna, afterwards on an island near Shamokin; and about 1749, when very aged and blind, removed to the vicinity of Lake Erie, where she probably died previous to 1752. She had several sons and one daughter, all distinguished characters in Pennsylvania annals.

QUEEN ESTHER, notorious as the "fiend of Wyoming." She was living at Sheshequin, six miles below Tioga point in 1772 and removed about that date six miles north, and founded a new town, afterward known as Queen Esther's town; this was afterward destroyed by Col. Hartley in 1778, when she probably removed to Chemung. She had a son, who lost his life a short time previous to the massacre of Wyoming, which was probably the exciting cause of her fury at that place. She was a daughter of French Margaret, grand daughter of Madame Montour and a sister of Catharine Montour. She had another sister Mary who was the wife of John Cook, alias KANAGHRAGAIT, a famous Seneca chief sometimes called White Mingo. He died at Fort Wayne in 1790. Her own husband was EGHOWIN, king of the Minsi Delawares.

CATHARINE MONTOUR, from whom Catharine's Town took its name, was a daughter of French Margaret and grand-daughter of Madame Montour. Her husband was Thomas Hudson, alias TELENEMUT, one of the most noted of the Seneca chiefs. She had a son named AMOCHOL who was living at New Salem in 1788, and two daughters mentioned in 1779. Queen Esther was her sister, as also was Mary the wife of John Cook, who lived on the Allegany and Ohio. Roland and John Montour were related but were not sons of Catharine. Roland married the daughter of SIANGOROCHTI, the chief Sachem of the Senecas, and both were well known as leaders on the many Indian raids against the border settlements. Catharine was living in 1791 "over the lake not far from Niagara."

† PEACH ORCHARD, a small Indian town, was destroyed here, August 3d, on the point called Appletree town in Nukerck's Journal. Jenkins says "the army encamped about 4 in the afternoon near a small Indian settlement," &c.

‡ CONDAWHAW—An Indian town occupied in 1779, located on the east side of Seneca Lake on the present site of North Hector, was so called in 1778 by Luke Swetland, who passed through it while on his way to Kendaia. It was burned by the army Sept. 4, 1779. It is called Apple Town in William Barton's Journal.

§ KENDAIA, a town containing about twenty houses, located on lot 79 Romulus, on the east side of Seneca lake, on land now owned by Edward Van Vliet. It was about half a mile from the lake, on both sides of a small stream. Luke Swetland resided here for a year as a prisoner, until rescued by the army. Several journals give interesting accounts of this town, and especially of the Indian tombs, which appear to have been arranged with more than ordinary care. It was the custom on the death of distinguished personages to paint on their monumental posts a record of important events relating to the history of the deceased person. The fact that these tombs were different in construction and style of ornamentation from others, suggests the idea that they were a remnant of some subjugated tribe, differing in mode of burial from the Iroquois. A noted Seneca warrior named Kendaia was conspicuous at the siege of Ft. Niagara in 1759.

|| LIEUT. HARDENBERGH mentions the fact of being "drafted on the right flank, which was commanded by Col. Dubois." He was probably one of the one hundred men drafted from the line, as part of the right flanking division, and consequently would be on the extreme right of the army while *en route*. The center line of the army was the regular Indian trail, which was opened to a sufficient width for the passage of the artillery. Along Seneca Lake, the present lake road follows substantially on the line of the trail.

At this point, Beatty says "we encamped close along the edge of the lake, and opposite to us on the west side of the lake, we could perceive a small Indian town." See note Gotheesungquean.

TUESDAY YE 7th.—At 8 o'clock in the morning struck tents, marched off and crossed the outlet of the Ceneca Lake, where we expected to meet some opposition, but the enemy had left the town. We entered it, found a white child* in the town, supposed to be about 4 years old, it was supposed they had taken away from the frontiers, where they had destroyed and burnt. The Ceneca Lake is supposed to be thirty-six miles in length from south to north. The land along the east side appears to be a rich soil and well timbered. At the north end is the outlet which is a continual stream and considerable large. About three miles and a half from the outlet is the town Cannadasago or Ceneca Castle.†

WEDNESDAY, YE 8th SEPT.—Laid still at Cannadasago.

THURSDAY YE 9th.—Marched from Cannadasago about 8 miles and encamped in the wood.‡

FRIDAY 10th.—At 7 o'clock marched off about 7 miles and crossed the outlet of a small lake, a few miles from which stood a Town called Canandaigui,§ about 15½ miles from Ceneca Castle, which we entered, and encamped at 3 o'clock, about a mile north of the town in a large cornfield.

SATURDAY YE 11th SEPT.—Struck our tents at 9 o'clock and marched about 9 miles through an open country, halted at 11 o'clock for refreshment, moved at one o'clock, and arrived at a small town called Honyuga. At this town we left a small garrison of one Capt. one Lieut. and fifty men, exclusive of invalids, with some flour, horses and cattle.

SUNDAY 12th.—Left Honyuga at 12 o'clock, marched about 11 miles and encamped in the wood. ¶

MONDAY, 13th.—At five o'clock in the morning marched about two miles to a small

* This child was tenderly cured for, adopted by Capt. Machin, an officer in the artillery, and christened Thomas Machin. After the return of the army it was placed in a family near Kingston, N. Y., where it died some two years after of small pox. No clue was ever obtained as to its parentage.

† KANADASEAGA, the *grand village*, so called from being the residence of the chief sachem of the Senecas, located one and a half miles northwest of the present village of Geneva on both sides of Kanadaseaga Creek. This was the capital of the Seneca nation and contained about sixty well built houses. A stockade fort was built here in 1756 by Sir William Johnson, the remains of which were in existence in 1779. Rev. Samuel Kirkland was a missionary here in 1764-6. Was destroyed Sept. 9.

BUTLER'S BUILDINGS.—A small village called Butler's Buildings was found on the shore of the lake, near present canal bridge, in the village of Geneva.

GOOSEHUNGUEAN also called *Shenawaga*, and many other dialectical variations, an important town was also destroyed Sept. 8, by a detachment of riflemen under Major Parr. The name is perpetuated in Kershong creek, on which it was situated, on Seneca lake, seven miles south of Geneva. It contained twenty houses.

‡ From Kanadaseaga the route was first southwest for about two miles to the line of the present turnpike, and thence nearly due west along the line of the turnpike to Canandaigua lake. Beatty mentions an ancient stockade fort between Kanadaseaga and Canandaigua. This was on Flint creek on lot 92 in N. W. corner of the town of Seneca. The encampment was on Flint creek.

§ KANANDAIGUA, an Indian town of twenty-three large houses mostly framed, located about a mile from the lake shore, in west part of present village of Canandaigua. The corn fields, which were very extensive, were located on the ridge north of the town. The usual variety and quantity of fruit trees were found here, all of which were destroyed. From Canandaigua the route of the army was nearly southwest, substantially on the line of the present road through Bristol to the foot of Honeoye Lake, a distance of sixteen miles, to the next village of Hanneayee.

¶ HANNEYAYE, an Indian town occupied in 1779, located at the foot of Honeoye lake, about half a mile east of the outlet, and south of Mill creek. It contained about twenty houses, one of which was occupied as a fort under command of Capt. Cummings of the 2nd N. J. regiment. Beatty gives the following description of the work which he says was occupied by three hundred men in all: "They was encamped round the house where we had left our stores and the camp was abated in, and round the house they had made a small Fort of kegs, and bags of flour, and had three pieces of artillery in it, and the house they had made full of loop holes, so as to fight out of it in case of necessity, and upon the whole I think they was very safe."

¶ On leaving Hanneayee the army forded the outlet near the lake, and taking a west course, nearly on the line of the present east and west road leading west from the present village of Honeoye, to the summit of the dividing ridge and thence in a south west course, crossing the outlet of Hemlock lake at its foot, and continuing over the hill on the same course to present Foot's corners, in the town of Conesus, where the army encamped on level ground two miles north of the Indian town Adjutoa or Kanaghsaws.

1879.

SCALE: ONE MILE TO ONE INCH.

EXPLANATIONS

xxxxx *Places of Encampment.*

Indian Trail.

The Army marching in Columns.

Indian Towns.

Modern Towns:

Modern Roads

† Point where fourteen bodies were buried.

XXXXXXXX Enemy in Ambuscade.



town called Adjutoa,* from this place the Gen'l sent out a scout of one Sub. and 19 men to reconnoitre a town that was in front. On his return he was attacked by about 100 Indians and were all killed but 2 men who had the good fortune to make their escape.†

* KANAGHSAWS, or Adjutoa, according to some Journals, an Indian town of 18 houses, located about a mile north-west of Conesus Centre, on the north and south road that passes through the McMillen farm. Between the town and the lake on Henderson's flats were the cornfields. The village appears to have occupied the grounds in the vicinity of the McMillen residence, and extended north across the creek, and southward to the plateau now covered by an orchard which was probably an ancient palisaded site of the town. The main body of the army encamped on the night of the 12th nearly two miles north on the flats, south-west of Foot's corners. A local tradition exists that Hand with the light troops followed the road through Union Corners and encamped on the L. B. Richardson farm, southwest of Conesus Centre at the False Faces, but nothing of the kind is found in any of the journals. On a manuscript map in the Congressional Library, made to represent the route of the army, it appears that a portion of the army did take the route described. George Grant says a fine stream of water ran through the town, and that "Captain Sunfish, a negro, resided here, a very bold, enterprising fellow, who commanded the town." Several Journals mention the fact that Big Tree, a noted Indian warrior, also made this his home. President Dwight describes him as a man of lofty character and dignified deportment, and that he had strenuously urged his countrymen to observe strict neutrality, but without success. The chieftain stood on an elevated spot and saw his own possessions destroyed. "You see how the Americans treat their friends," said some of those around him, favorable to Great Britain. "What I see," calmly replied the chief, "is only the common fortune of war. It cannot be supposed that the Americans can distinguish my property from yours, who are their enemies." The army was engaged until near noon in destroying the crops and re-building the bridge which had been destroyed by the enemy.

† GROVELAND AMBUSCADE.—This, one of the most important matters connected with Sullivan's campaign, has, for a hundred years, remained a stumbling block and mystery to historians. This has arisen in part from erroneous views as to the location of Gathsegwarohare and the trails, but mainly from the mistaken idea that Boyd's party was the force against which the efforts of the enemy were originally directed, rather than that it was a formidable attempt to ambuscade the main army.

From Kanaghsaws the trail led southwesterly across the low grounds following the line of the present road near the inlet, and crossing it at, or very near the site of the present bridge, about three-fourths of a mile from the head of the lake. North of the bridge, the banks of the inlet are low and marshy, in many places impassable for infantry, and at all points impassable for artillery and pack horses; while south of the bridge is a wet swamp almost impenetrable from the thick growth of underbrush. West of the lake and inlet is a steep hill-side, the face of which, cut up by numerous ravines, is so steep that with considerable difficulty an army could march directly up it. The trail after leaving the bridge probably continued southwesterly up the hill obliquely, nearly on the line of the present highway to the summit of the bluff, and thence turning northwest followed along the heads of the ravines for a mile and thence directly west to Gathsegwarohare. Directly west of the bridge, between two very deep ravines, is a space nearly half a mile in width which continues up the hill on very favorable ground for the advance of the army. It appears to be the only point where it could advance in the order of march laid down, which would require a space of nearly a half a mile in width for the several columns.

After the battle of Newtown, Butler and Brant with their demoralized forces, sullenly retired, powerless to prevent the advance of the devastating army. Butler had reached the last Indian village of Canawaugas, located on the west side of the Genesee, twelve miles north of the Great Genesee Castle. Here he received reinforcements of regulars from Niagara, and determined to make one more effort against the invaders. Gathering all his available forces of regulars, Tories and Indians, he left Canawaugas on the morning of the 12th of September, and probably reached the position on the hill west of Kanaghsaws, on the evening of the same day. Here they posted themselves north of the trail, at the heads of the ravines about three-fourths of a mile west of the bridge, and a mile and a half from Kanaghsaws. This was a most admirable position for an ambuscade, and in many essential particulars of topography and fact, bears a striking resemblance to the fatal ground where Braddock so ingloriously sacrificed his army; and had Sullivan advanced in the same blundering manner, he, too, might have met with an equally disastrous defeat. The plan appears to have been to attack a portion of the army after it had crossed the bridge, or to ambuscade the head of the column while ascending the hill; but whatever may have been the original design, it was completely frustrated by the fortunate movements of the unfortunate Boyd. It will be remembered that the army went into camp on the flats near Foot's Corners, two miles north of the village of Kanaghsaws. Boyd and his party left camp at 11 o'clock at night, passed through the abandoned Kanaghsaws, and from thence pursued the direct trail which led southwesterly up the hill to Gathsegwarohare. In the darkness of the night, he passed Butler's right flank, neither party being conscious of the presence of the other, and reached Gathsegwarohare, which the inhabitants had abandoned early in the morning, without encountering any difficulty. On the morning of the 13th Sullivan advanced to Kanaghsaws, and finding that the enemy had destroyed the bridge over the inlet, he detailed a portion of the army to aid the pioneers in its re-construction and to repair the roadway over the low grounds leading to it. All of this was directly under the eye of Butler, who, according to a British account, "lay undiscovered though only a musket shot from the

The army remained in town till about 12 o'clock. Some were employed in destroying corn and some in building a bridge (across a mirey swamp and creek) for the artillery to pass. While we were so employed the surveyor* had advanced a little in front of the advanced guard, was fired upon by the Indians and had one of his party wounded.† At 12 o'clock we left the town, and arrived at a town called Cassawauloughly‡ 7 miles from Adjutoa, which we entered at sunset.§

rebels, and even within sight." On reaching the town Boyd halted his forces at the suburbs, himself and one of his men reconnoitered the place, then rejoined the party and concealed themselves in the woods near the town. He sent back two of his men to report to General Sullivan, and awaited the light of the day whose morning was just breaking. These two men got through safely and reported. About daybreak four Indians were seen to enter the town by Boyd, one of whom was killed, another wounded, the rest escaped. Boyd then immediately set out to return, expecting to meet the army on the march, and when about half way, despatched two more men to inform the general of his intention to remain "on the path" and await the coming of the army. These men soon encountered five Indians, and returned; the entire party then resumed the march, following and firing on the retreating Indians, who lured them directly into the lines of the enemy. Colonel Butler hearing the firing on his right and rear imagined he was discovered, and that instead of ambuscading the rebels, he was himself to be surprised by this unexpected attack in the rear. No evidence whatever has appeared to confirm the conjecture, that Boyd's presence was either known or suspected in that quarter, by Butler, or any portion of his force, until discovered by the five retreating Indians, and to them, only by accident; but when discovered, with true aboriginal cunning, they allured their unsuspecting victims to the fatal embrace of the enemy, who came there to surprise an army, but were prevented by the blundering of a scout.

A few of Boyd's party who were acting as flankers escaped, five or six fell near the trail and were found when the army advanced, the remainder retreated a short distance north to a clump of trees, where their bodies were found all near together, and where all the bodies were buried on the return march of the army on the 16th. During the construction of the bridge a guard had been established west of the inlet, and Captain Lodge with his party engaged in making their surveys, had advanced some distance up the hill; the bridge was about completed when the fugitive flankers came rushing down the hill pursued by small parties of the enemy. Hand's brigade immediately advanced up the hill to the position occupied by the enemy in the morning, where he found the packs of the enemy in the position they had left a few minutes previous. He remained here in line of battle until the army had crossed, and formed for the advance up the hill.

* Capt. Benjamin Lodge, with a party of assistants accompanied the army and with chain and compass surveyed the entire route of the army from Easton to the great Genesee town. On the return march he accompanied Col. Butler's expedition through the Cayuga country.

† CORPORAL CALHAWN, a volunteer, died the next day.

‡ GATHSEGWAROHARE, so called by Nukerck; *Gaghegwalahale* by Dearborn; *Cassawauloughly* by Hardenbergh, was seven miles directly west of Kanaghsaws, on the east side of Canaseraga creek about two miles above its confluence with the Genesee river. Here is a beautiful plateau of about six acres, admirably adapted for an Indian town, at present occupied by the house and surrounding grounds of the widely known "Hermitage," the ancestral home of the Carrolls. The town contained twenty-five houses, mostly new, and appears to have been located on both sides of the stream north of the Carroll mansion. The tribe residing here were called Squa-tche-gas by Sullivan, were the same that settled at Squakie-Hill, to whom was reserved the two square miles in the Big Tree Treaty of 1797. They were probably a remnant of one of the tribes of the historic Eries who occupied the territory to the south and east of Lake Erie whose blood, language, and league did not differ materially from the Iroquois Five Nations. After a terrible conflict, and many bloody battles, the Eries were finally overthrown about the year 1655, and a remnant incorporated with the League. They were permitted to live by themselves, to have a separate council fire and keep up a show of tribal rites. Boyd and his party reached this town at about the break of day, on the morning of the 13th, and found it abandoned. He sent two of his men to report to Gen. Sullivan and concealed his force in the adjacent woods. Soon after four Indians on horseback entered the town, one of whom, Sah-nah-dah-yah, was killed and scalped by Murphy, when Boyd set out for camp. As Sullivan approached the town about dark on the 13th, he found the enemy, both Indians and rangers drawn up in battle array, apparently intending to dispute the further advance of the army; but as the advancing columns assumed their positions in line of battle, and the flanking divisions moved to the right and left, threatening their lines of retreat, a few shots from the howitzers caused them to abandon their position, and retreat across the Canaseraga. The army were engaged until noon of the 14th, in destroying the cornfields which were very extensive in the vicinity of the town.

§ CHENUSSIO.—This town, though not in existence at the time of Sullivan's campaign, is intimately connected with its history. It was located near the site of ancient Williamsburg, at the confluence of the Canaseraga and the Genesee, on the east side of the latter river. It appears on the Guy Johnson map of 1761 as Chenussio, on the Pouchot map of 1758 as Connechio, in both cases at the point described and where Mary Jennison's narrative says it was in her day. In 1750 it was visited by Cammerhoff and Zeisberger, two Moravian missionaries, who called it Zonnesschio and describe it as then containing forty houses. All of these names are dialectical and orthographical variations of the

TUESDAY, 14th SEPT.—At one o'clock left the town crossed the Chenesee flats and forded the River which was about four feet deep, and about thirty yards wide and arrived at the capital town of the Chinisees, called the Chinisee Castle. * We entered the town about 6 o'clock, found Lieut. Boyd and one soldier† whom they had murdered in an inhuman manner. Said Boyd was one of the party that was sent to reconnoitre a town as is mentioned before. The Chinisee Castle consisted of about one hundred commodious dwelling houses compactly built and pleasantly situated.

WEDNESDAY, 15th SEPT.—The whole army‡ (except the guards to which I belonged) were employed in destroying corn from 6 o'clock in the morning till two in the afternoon. In the mean time a white woman§ with a small child came to us who had been taken prisoner at Weyoming. At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, we set the town on fire, marched off, re-crossed the River and encamped after sunset on the Chinisee flats.

THURSDAY, 16th. SEPT.—Decamped at 11 o'clock, marched six miles and encamped at the town of Adjutoa at half past five P. M.

FRIDAY 17th.—Decamped at 6 o'clock, marched off and arrived at the town of Hauny-uga at one o'clock P. M.

SATURDAY, 18th SEPT.—At 5 o'clock in the morning marched, at 7 o'clock crossed the outlet of a Lake at Cannandagui,|| and encamped at sunset on the east side of the outlet.

SUNDAY 19.—At seven o'clock in the morning struck tents, marched at 8 o'clock and arrived at sunset at Canadasago.

modern word Genesee, signifying *the beautiful valley*. Gaustarax, a celebrated Seneca Chief, was for many years a leading spirit of this town, and during the French and Indian war, being thoroughly in the interests of the French, it required all the diplomatic ability of Sir William Johnson, and the influence of the other nations of the league, to neutralize his efforts. It was in existence as early as 1750, and as late as 1770, but in 1768 it had ceased to be the western door, which honor was then held by the great town of Chenandoanes, on the west side of the river. At the time of Sullivan's campaign, it had ceased to exist, or had dwindled into an insignificance unworthy of mention.

† This was the town that Boyd was sent to reconnoitre, and which Major Norris says the General expected to find on the east side of the river and two miles north of Gathsegwarohare. This is the town also, that writers confound with the great town west of the river, and which so perplexed General Sullivan in his examination of the maps.

* *GENESEE CASTLE*.—This was the great village of the Senecas, the western door of the Long House, located between Cuylerville and the west bank of the Genesee river, in the town of Leicesters, Livingston County. It appears on Evans' map as Chenandoanes in 1776, is mentioned as early as 1754 as Chenandanah, and is often called Little Beard's town. Sullivan's official report says: "The Castle consisted of 128 houses mostly large and elegant. The place was beautifully situated, almost encircled with a cleared flat, which extended for a number of miles, where the most extensive fields of corn were waving, and every kind of vegetable that can be conceived."

† This soldier was named Parker, who with Lieut. Boyd were made prisoners. They were carried to Little Beard's Town, where Boyd after being tortured in a most cruel manner was beheaded. Parker was beheaded without being tortured. The remains of Boyd and Parker were removed to Mount Hope Cemetery, Rochester, N. Y., in August, 1842.

‡ Several writers claim that Canawaugas, on the west side, and Ohadi and Big Tree on the east side of Genesee river were destroyed in this campaign. No reliable authority has been furnished in support of the theory. Sullivan says distinctly that he went no farther than the great town, beyond which, as he was informed, there was no settlement, and no villages are mentioned in any account as existing on the east side of the river, nor is mention made of any portion of the army being on that side,—on the contrary, several mention the fact, that *all the army* were engaged in the destruction of the town, and cornfields, which, when completed at 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 15th, *the whole army* came to an about face, and returned on the same route and in same order in which they advanced. Butler left Canawaugas on the morning of the 15th for Niagara.

§ Nathan Davis in his account, before referred to, mentions the incident with additional particulars. Her story was that at the time she and her little boy were taken prisoners, her husband was killed by the savages; that she had lived with the Indians some two years, and when the army entered the town, the day before, the Indians were in such haste to get out of it that she could not follow them, and finally lost herself in the woods, and thinking it might be Butler's camp, she had ventured to show herself. She was taken to the General's Quarters and well provided for. During the march, the woman and her boy were furnished with a horse. On the third day of the march the child was taken sick and shortly after died. The boy was wrapped in an old blanket and hastily buried. The scene is described as exceedingly touching. She afterward married Roswell Franklin, the first settler of Cayuga County.

| Present Canandaigua Lake in Ontario county.

MONDAY, 20th SEPT.—At two P. M. struck tents, marched off at 3 o'clock from Canadasago, crossed the outlet of Ceneca Lake and encamped at sunset near the lake.* Previous to our march from Canadasago Col. Butler of the 4th Pennsylvania Regiment was sent with a detachment to the Kiyuga† Lake to destroy some Indian settlements that were there. Col. Gansevort sent with one hundred men to fort Stanwix‡ in order to send down some baggage which was left on the Mohawk River by troops that had been stationed there the preceding year.

TUESDAY, 28th.—Struck tents at 8 o'clock, marched at 9, left Candaya§ or Appletown about two miles in the rear and encamped in the wood, along the east side of the Ceneca Lake, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

WEDNESDAY 22d.—At 6 o'clock the Gen'l beat, marched at 8, halted and at one o'clock, about one hour for refreshments, and encamped at sunset along the east side Ceneca Lake.

THURSDAY, 23d SEPT.—Marched at 8 o'clock, left French Catharine, about 3 miles in the rear, and encamped at sunset.

FRIDAY, 24th.—About six o'clock in the morning the Gen'l beat, marched at 8 o'clock and arrived at the forks of the Tiyyuga or Newton. At this place there was a post established by order of General Sullivan, and provision for the army at their return.¶

SATURDAY, 25th SEPT.—Laid still. An ox and 5 gallons of rum was given to the officers of each Brigade.** A fu-de-joy was held in consequence of the arrival of the news of Spain declaring us Independent †† with 13 rounds of Cannon was discharged, followed by two round of musketry interspersed with cannon. The evening was celebrated in our camp with much joy and gladness. ‡‡

SUNDAY 26.—Laid still.

MONDAY, 27th SEPT.—A detachment under the command * * * was sent out and returned at night. §§

TUESDAY 28th.—A detachment under the command of Col. Cortlandt was sent up the Tiyyuga || branch on purpose to destroy some corn. Col. Butler with his detachment joined us. The invalids were sent to Tiyyuga in boats.

WEDNESDAY, 29th SEPT.—The Gen'l beat at 8 o'clock in the morning, marched at 9 o'clock and encamped in the afternoon three miles below Shemung.

THURSDAY 30th.—At nine o'clock in the morning marched off and arrived at Tiyyuga at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. At our arrival we were saluted with a discharge of 13 cannon from the Garrison, and an elegant dinner was prepared for the officers.

* This encampment was on Rose Hill in the town of Fayette.

† Lieut. Col. William Butler. See Thomas Grant's account of the march of this detachment.

‡ No account has been found of the exact route taken by this detachment. It is supposed they followed the regular Indian trail, the line of which was afterwards substantially adopted for the Seneca Turnpike, which passed through Auburn and Onondaga Hill to Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk, on the site of present Rome in Oneida County. On the way the party passed through the Oneida and Tuscarora towns, where every mark of hospitality and friendship was shown the party. They reached Fort Stanwix on the 25th.

§ KENDALA.

¶ "We lost in this place more than a hundred horses, and it has been called, I suppose, the valley of Horse Heads to this day."—*Nathan Davis' Statement*.

¶ During the absence of the army Col. Reid had constructed a palisaded work at the junction of Newtown creek and the Chemung just below Sullivan's Mills in Elmira, called in some accounts Fort Reid.

** There were five brigades.

†† At the same time news was received of "the generous proceedings of Congress in augmenting the subsistence of the officers and men."

‡‡ Thirteen appropriate toasts were drunk. The last was as follows: "May the enemies of America be metamorphosed into pack horses and sent on a western expedition against the Indians."—*Lossing's Field Book Rev.*, I, 278, note.

§§ "Sept. 27.—A large fatigue party was sent up the river nine miles, where they loaded nine boats with corn and other vegetables and brought them down. This evening, Mr. Lodge and five men from Col. Butler, came in and informed us that the Col. was about 10 miles from camp."—*Jenkins' Journal*.

|| Col. Van Cortlandt says he went above Painted Post.

FRIDAY, OCT. 1, 1779.—Laid still at Tiyuga.*

SATURDAY 2d.—Laid still. Orders were given to load the boat with stores, artillery, &c., and to demolish the fort † the next day.

SUNDAY, YE 3d OCT.—Agreeable to the orders of the preceding day the boats were loaded, the fort demolished and everything got in readiness to march the next morning.

MONDAY, 4th OCT.—At 7 o'clock in the morning the Gen'l beat, struck our tents, the army marched at nine from Tiyuga. The boats with the stores, artillery and sick set off at the same time, and encamped at evening at Wysaukin creek.

TUESDAY, THE 5th OCT.—The main part of the army embarked on board the boats, the best were mounted on horses, left Wysaukin about 7 o'clock in the morning and arrived at Vanderlips' farm, and stayed at night.

WEDNESDAY YE 6th OCT.—At 6 o'clock in the morning set off and arrived at sunset at Lechawauny ‡ about 10 miles from Weyoming.

THURSDAY, 7th OCT.—At 9 o'clock in the morning left Lechawauny and arrived at Weyoming § about 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

FRIDAY, OCT. YE 8th.—Laid still.

SATURDAY, YE 9th.—Remained at Weyoming, but received orders to march at 6 o'clock the next morning.

SUNDAY, OCT. 10th.—At 6 o'clock the next morning were ordered to march, but on account of our pack horses being strayed we did not march till 2 o'clock in the morning, when we left Weyoming and arrived at Bullock's ¶ at dark.

MONDAY, 11th OCT.—At 9 o'clock in the morning decamped from Bullock's and encamped about two miles through the Shades of Death. ¶

TUESDAY, 12th OCT.—At 6 in the morning proceeded on our march. The after part of the day rainy and windy weather, we arrived at White Oak Run ** at evening and encamped.

WEDNESDAY 13th.—Decamped from White Oak Run at 8 o'clock in the morning and arrived at Brinker's Mills †† and encamped.

THURSDAY 14th.—Decamped from Brinker's Mills, marched from thence, and arrived within 11 miles from Easton and encamped ‡‡ on the side of the road in a wood.

FRIDAY, 15th OCT.—Decamped at 7 o'clock, marched for Easton §§ and arrived there about 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

SATURDAY 16th.—Laid still.

SUNDAY 17th.—Laid still.

MONDAY, 18th OCT.—Capt. Bevier and myself set out from Easton at 11 o'clock for Marbletown, ||| traveled about twenty miles and put up at the Widow Sweezer's.

* TIUGA POINT, below present Athens, Penn.

† FORT SULLIVAN, built on the narrow isthmus between the two rivers in present village of Athens.

‡ LACKAWANNA. The site of Coxton, ten miles from Wyoming at the upper end of the valley.

§ WYOMING, fort and village on the east side of the Susquehanna below present Wilkesbarre.

¶ BULLOCK'S, deserted house, seven miles from Wyoming at the Great Meadows, and fifty eight miles from Easton.—called also Sullivan's camp, from his encamping there June 22. Nathan Bullock resided here at the time of the Wyoming massacre. He had two sons, Amos and Asa, one of whom was a lawyer, both killed in the battle. The father was captured and carried to Canada in 1780.

¶ SHADES OF DEATH, so called from being a dense forest. Several places in Pennsylvania bore the same name.

** WHITE OAK RUN, or RUM BRIDGE, 33 miles from Easton.

†† BRINKER'S MILLS, or SULLIVAN'S STORES, so called "on account of a large house built here, and a quantity of provisions being stored therein for the use of the forces under Major General Sullivan's command."—*Rogers' Journal*. Captain Patterson was in command; 19 miles from Easton in present town of Hamilton, Monroe county.

‡‡ Encamped near Heller's Tavern at the foot of Blue Mountain, at present Hellerville in town of Plainfield, Northampton county, 12 miles from Easton.

§§ "EASTON consists of about 120 houses. There are but three elegant buildings in it, and about as many inhabitants that are any ways agreeable. Take them in general they are a very inhospitable set—all High Dutch and Jews."—*Shute's Journal*.

||| MARBLETOWN, a town in Ulster Co., N. Y., west of the Hudson. They appear to have taken the road through Warren and Sussex counties, N. J.

TUESDAY, 19th OCT.—At half past 7 o'clock in the morning, traveled about 27 miles and put up at Cary's Tavern.

WEDNESDAY 20th.—At 7 o'clock A. M., left Cary's, dined at Bard's in Warick,* set out from thence and put up at Bruster's Tavern about 11 miles from New Windsor. †

THURSDAY, 21st.—Left Bruster's at 8 o'clock in the morning and arrived at Newburg, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

FRIDAY 22nd.—Set out from Newburg at 8 o'clock in the morning and arrived at the Poltz ‡ and staid that night.

SATURDAY, 23d OCT.—At three o'clock in the afternoon set out and arrived home the same night.

From the 23d Oct., 1779, I remained home till the 9th of Dec., when I set out to join the Reg't, which I did on the 15th, and found them employed in building huts for winter quarters, about 3 miles from Morristown.

(The Hardenbergh Journal here closes. The Nukerck Journal continues the history of the regiment for the year 1781 and until the five regiments were consolidated near the close of that year.)

* WARWICK on Wawayanda creek in southwest part of Orange county, N. Y.

† NEW WINDSOR on the Hudson, in Orange county, N. Y.

‡ NEW PALTZ, a post village, on the Wallkill in Ulster county, N. Y.

JOURNAL OF THOMAS GRANT.

THOMAS GRANT, appears from the Journal, to have been one of the surveying party under Lieut. Benjamin Lodge, who accompanied the army from Easton, Pa., and with chain and compass, surveyed the entire route to the Genesee river. Published in the Historical Magazine for August and September, 1862, Vol. VI, p. 233 and p. 273.

JOURNAL.

GEN. SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION TO THE GENESEE COUNTRY,

1779.—A JOURNAL OF JANARAL SULLIVAN'S ARMY,

AFTER THEY LEFT WYOMING.

BY THOMAS GRANT.

JULY 31ST, 1779. The whole Army under the command of Major Janaral Sullivan marched from Wyoming about one o'clock P. M. The fleet under the command of Col. Thos. Proctor saluted the fort, which was Returned to the mutual satisfaction of all present. We marched this afternoon to Lackawana, neer 10 mils from Wyoming, where the army Encamped in Regular order. Gen. Hand's Light Troops in front, Gen. Maxwell's Brigade on the Right, Gen Poor's on the left, Col. Ogden's Regt the Rear guard. A chain of Centinels a Round the camp; the Boats som mils in our Rear, owing to their Loading being Eregular.

AUGUST 1ST. Rainy weather this morning & Great part of last night. This day we marched from Lackawana at 3 o'clock P. M. and arrived at Qualutimunk 7 miles from Lackawana about dark. Encamped as before in a fertile plain, the road we came this day exceeding rough, and Great quantity of Baggage lost from the pack horses, which occasioned the army to lay by.

AUGUST 2d. Nothing Material this day, but preparing for marching to-morrow.

AUGUST 3d. This morning the Gen'. Beat at 5. The infntry marched at 6, the main Body at 7. Marched this day 12 miles to tunkhannunk, and Encamped as before mentioned in a very fine Bottom a Bounding with Fine English Grass, Wild Frute, &c in our march crossed Several Pleasant Streams of water, viz Butter milk Crick noted for a Great Fall where it emtys itself in the Susquehanna Called the Buttermilk Falls and the Tunkhaununk, a large Crick about Eight Pole wide. The Gen, Cource this day N. N. W. Saw no enemy But plenty of Beef, Deer, Turkis but it was against orders to fire.

AUGUST 4th. The Gen' Beat this morning at day lite. The infntry Marched at 5, the Main boady at six. Marched this day 13 miles to a fine bottom, by the name of Vandrelip's Plantation, abounding with Excellent English Grass. On our march we Crossed

several fine streams of water, viz. Meshapon Crick & Eight Miles from our last Encampment oather small streams, Not knowing by any pirticular Name ; Likewise crossed som very high hils the first three Mils from our Encampment, at the foot which Run a pleasant stream of water. The ascent of this hill amazing Steep and danjerous for Pack horses. Crossed som Bade Swamps and Defils. The Genl Course this day N. W. The fleet 3 mils in the rere this evening. Saw no Enemy this day.

AUGUST 5th. This Morning the Genl Beat at 5. We did not March till Eight o'clock owing to the boats being in the rere. Marched this day 9½ miles to Wialusing, a Noated Indian Town formaly sitled by Moravian Indians who professed Christianity. This town consisted of between 80 or 90 Neat Log Houses Regularly built, likewise a Large Church. This Town and the land aجات formerly Belonged to an Indian Chief by the name of Joab Chillanay, which in this present Contest & before has Behaved frendly. This place is at present Laid waste partly by our own people and the Indiens ; not the aperence of a horse To be seen, but the Soyl exceeding fine, abounding with the finest Grass I Ever saw in a Wild Contry, Chiefly blue Grass & Clover. on our March we Crossed two pleasant Streams of water. The first two Miles From our last Encampment by the Name of Tuscarogue, the oather not noing by any Pirticular name ; Likewise passd. the place where Col. Hartly defeted the Indiens in 78. We then asended a hill knowing by the Name of Wealusing Hill, the ascent Very Gradual, the descent Very steep ; this Hill from the acent to the Bottom near two mils. From the Top of Sd Hill we had a very fine Prospect of the River, which apered Very Beautiful winding round the Point of a hill. On ye South West side, in the form of a horse shew, fresh Tracks of Indiens ware Discovered, but saw none, tho very Contrary to our Expectasion. The Infinty Troops I continue with, under the Command of Ganl Hand. Encamped at Wealusing Creek 1¼ miles from the place Where Wealusing old Town stood. We lost three men this day, two by fatigue & one drowned, the Last a Fifer Belonging to Coln Prockter's Train of Artillary. The Genl Corse this Day W be N.

AUGUST 6th. Lay By this Day for the men to refresh them Selves and draw provisions, and expects to March to Morrow Morning.

AUGUST 7th Rainy Weather Great Part of Last Night & this Morning, which prevented our marching this Day.

AUGUST 8. This morning the Genl Beat at day brake, the Infinty marched at 5, the main boady March'd at 6. March'd this day to Wissahin creek, oatherwise Rush Meadow Creek, distant 13½ Miles from our last Encampment. Encamped this Eavening in a bottom abounding with High Grass and Grate Quantitis of heasil Bushes very Full of Nuts, Though two Green for use. The main Boady Encamped three Miles in our Rear, at a place calld. the standing stone flatts. On our March this day we crossed Repeated hills and some small Runs. Not any pirticular name. The Genl Course this day N. W. Saw no Enemy.

AUGUST 9th. Lay by this day till 10 o'clock A. M. waiting for the Main body to Com up. Marchd half past 10. Encamped this Eavening at 5 o'clock P. M. in the upper Shenunk Flatts, a Delightful even Bottom Containing about one Hundred Acres of very fine meadow land, abounding with fine Grass. The Road we passed this day much the same as Yesterday, except crossing one very High Mountain known by the name of Break-neck Hill. The descent very Steep & Dangerous. Crossing this hill we had three Bullocks Kild. at the foot of which we crossd. a small run. Shortly after passed a large Indian Camp. The Distence the Infinty This day 11 Miles, the Genl Course this day N. N. W. Saw no Enemy, but Fresh Tracks.

AUGUST 10th, 1779. Reany Weather ys morning and Great part of last night. The Army Lay by this day in order to draw provisions. A fire was seen last Night on a Mountain on the opposid side of the River by our weators supposed to be maid by Indiens. This day a party-of 500 Men, with a sufficiency of Offasirs Reconitered the country as far as oppasite the Mouth of Tioga. Major Hoops with fore Men swam over the River and found a Milks Cow on the flats, supposed to be lost by Indiens who had fled at our approach.

AUGUST 11th. This Morning the Genl Beat at 6 o'clock. The hole army marched Near Sevin. Marched this day to Tioga, an Indien Town, or Rather the place where an Indien Town formerly stood, In the forks of the River Susquehanna and Cayuga, where the main army Encamped in a Deliteful Extensive Bottom, abounding with Excellent Grass. The Infantry Encamped $1\frac{1}{4}$ Miles in frunt in a narrow Neck of Land in winth (width) about 20 pole, a place where the Savages used to Carry their Canews From one River to the oather, known by the name of the Carrying place about two miles blow The forks. The whole Army forded the River Susquahanna', the manner in which it was performed was by forming Platoons, and Each Man Grasping his fellow supported Each Oather. Genl Hand who commanded the Infantry quit his horse and waded with cheerfulness. The Watter was Rappid and Took them to the middle, not with standing The whole army Crossed in the space of half an hour without the Loss of Either Man or horse, or any Baggage. The Sight was Beautiful and pleasing, but must have been very Tarifying to the Enemy who, its very probible saw us from the Neighburing hills which overlook the water. We likewise crosssed Tioga or Cayuga much in the same manner as before, but much Shallower and not more than half as wide. On the south side Cayuga River, near the mouth, in the place where Queen Esther's Castle stood. Rany Weather Great part of this afternoon. Saw no Enemy; the Genl Course this day due North; the Distant from Wyoming to Tioga old Town 80 mils, actual measure.

AUGUST 12th. Fair weather but very warm. Last Eavening a small scout was sent to Chimung to reconiter The Enimy. They Returned this afternoon with Infirmation that the Enemy wase in Possession of that place. In Consequence of which Genl Sullivan ordered the trupes surved with a gill of Liquor pr man, at about eight o'clock this Evening The Trupers Mooved of in a very Silent manner. Genl Hand's Light Infantry In front as usual, all except the Gard That was left for the safety of the Camp. We Marched all this Night past through very Difficult Narrow Defiles.

AUGUST 13th. This Morning about 6 o'clock A. M. we Entered Chemung Town, which the Enemy has Just left with Precipitation leaving behind them a Quantity of striped Linning deer Skins, Bear Skins, Kettles, plates, Knives, Ladles, and a number of articles of Varyous kinds, which the Soldiours soon maid themselves masters of, and Fire sit to the town, which Consisted of neer 100 Houses, Great and small. Genl Hand was ordered with the light Infantry to pursue the Enemy and ware one miles above the town, his Advanced Guard was fired on by the indians Who in Ambush, and at the first fire Kild 3 privets and wonded two ofasers, viz Captn Carbury & Adjutant Huston, one Guide and 3 privets; the Fire was Returned by our people which obliged them to Quit the Ground. The Kild and wounded ware braught of the field. we pursued the Indians neer a mile, then orders came to Genl Hand to return to the Town, which by that time was consumed; then orders was Given to Genl Maxwell and Genl Poor to send Partis from their Reispjective Brigades to cut down the Corn on the opposite side of the river, which they did to the amount of 15 or 20 acres, amongst which was Cucumbers, Water Millions, pumpkins, Squashes and Beans, during the time they ware destroying the corn, they ware fired on by two Indians, who kild one & wounded two. Our people Returned the fire & soon Repulsed the Enemy, though uncertin whather they kild any or no. About two o'clock P. M. the trups Marched for Tioga where they arived at 6 o'clock in the Evening without any molestation on our Return.

AUGUST 14th. Noathing Material this day. Fair weather and warm.

AUGUST 15th. Fair weather and warm. This day about 4 o'clock P. M. a fue men who ware looking Horses on the opposid side of the Cayuga River, was fired on by the Indiens who kild one, a pack horse driver From Wyoming, and wounded one oather who maid his askape; the slain they sculped and Gave the war whoop; they likewise shott a Bullock which our people applyd to there own use, as the Beef was Good.

AUGUST 16th. This day a Detachment of 900 men with a sufficiency of offasirs under the command of Genl Poor and Hand were sent up the River Susquehanna in order to form a Junction with Genl Clinton who is on his march Towards this place—fair weather this day.

AUGUST 17th. Fair weather this day and Great preparations for Securing our stores and Gitting in Readiness for marching as soon as Possible. Genl Clintons Army arrives. This afternoon about five o'clock a fue men who ware Hunting their offasirs Horses about one mile in frunt of the advanced picquet, was fird on by Indians who shott one man through the Boady with three Balls, afterwards speered, tommyhowkd and sculpd him, Likewise shot an oather through the Arm, the Man Returned the fire and maid his escape.

AUGUST 18th. Noathing material this Day. But the usual preparations for marching, fair weather and warm. N. B. The mornings is Genl foggy till between seven and eight o'clock in the morning.

AUGUST 19. Very foggy this Morning. The Remaining part of this day cloudy and cool.

AUGUST 20th. *Rainy weather this day and Great part of Last Night, This morning an Express boat arived informing the Junction of Genl Clinton and the troops Sent from this post; they are Expected here to morrow if the weather pirmits.

AUGUST 21st. Fine Agreeable Weather this Day.

AUGUST 26th. This Day at twelve o'clock P. M. the Army marched from Tioga, Encamped three miles up the Cayuga Branch.

AUGUST 27. March'd this day 7 miles, on our march passed one very bade defile which much damaged our Ammunition wagons.

APRIL (AUGUST) 28th. March'd this day two miles to Chemung, a noted Indian Town which we Destroyed the 13th Instant. In this days march we passed one very bade. Defile which occasioned the Army to forde the Cayuga branch two different Times.

AUGUST 29th 1779. Marched this day $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles to lower Newton. On our march passed the Hill where Genl Hand was fired on by the Indians the 13th Instant. Three miles from Chemung, our Advanced party discovered the Enemy, who had Erected a Brest work on a steep Bank on the West side of a Large Run or Defile which we were obliged to pass. The Genl officers ware Emedately informed of the Disposition. Genl Sullivan Gave Genl Poor orders to march Round a very High hill in order to gain the Enemys Rear, at which time Major Pave to keep up a slow fire on there front, in order to amuse them with his Core of Rifl men, who did Considerable Execution. Genl Hand was ordered to be in Readiness with his Brigade of Light Troopers to force there Lines as soon as Janaral poor should begin The fire, seconded by Genl Maxwell & Clinton; the way Genl Poor had to pass in order to Gain there Road being very Difficult, occasioned the time to elaps Before he coud Compleat his Entention; Genl Sullivan at the Experation Time Limited for Gen Poor to Gain there Rear, ordered the cannon to be brought up and open upon The Enemys Works which occasioned them to leave Those Works and Retire towards the hill where Genl Poor began the attack which for som minuts was very hot, But soon maid the Enemy Retire, leaving A number of there Dead on the field, twelve of which was sculped. Genl Hand at the Junction the fire began on the Right. Advanced in front, but could not overtake There Rear. Encamp'd this Evening on these ground, two prisners were taken this day, one a white man, the other a Neagro, who Informed that Butler there commander in Chie^f, Brant, McDonald & Butler's Son, with thire hole force, to the amount of Eight Hundred, ware this day Engagd. our Loss this Day was very Inconsiderable; We had but two men killed, 3 offasirs and about 15 men slitley wounded, som of which are since Dead.

AUGUST 30th. Lay by this Day in order to unload our boats and send the wounded to our Garason at Tioga.

AUGUST 31st. Marched this Day 10 miles; Encamped this Evaning on the side of a large Crick not known by any pirticular Name; passd. this day Newtown, after Passing it we Steered Due North.

SEPTEMBER 1st 1779. Marched this day $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles to French Catheronies Towns, 3 miles from our Last Encampment, We came on the Head waters of the Sinica Creek which Emties itself into the River St Laurance $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, entered a Great Swamp, The Timber chiefly white Pine and Hemlock, which was 4 miles in Length; We then Entred a fine Bottom. the Timber chiefly Sugar Tree & Walnut; We entred this town about Eight o'clock at Night, which from apperence was Lately Evacuated.

In this Town we found considerable plunder, amongst oather commodates one old Indian Squaw Supposed to be above one Hundred years of age.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1779. Lay by this day in order to colect the Baggag Lost Last Night from The pack horses, and git in Readyness For marching To Morrow Morning early.

SEPT. 3d 1779. Marched this day $11\frac{1}{2}$ miles and Encamped about 4 o'clock, P. M. about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the side of a large Lake known By the Name of The Senica Lake ; The Land we passd This day Exceeding fine, The Timber Chiefly White oke, hickory, and walnut.

SEPTEMBER 4th. 1779. Marched This day 13 miles Through a Contry which Exceeds any Land I ever saw, abonding with Locust, Walnut, hickry, and oather Timber. The Good Land appears to be Extinctive. Encamped this Eavingin about sun set near the Sinika Lake as aforementioned.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1779. Marched this day 3 Miles to Conday alic Appletown, a large Indian Town abounding with a quantity of Frute Trees where we Ray took a prisoner which the Indians had Captured at Wyoming in August '78, who informed that The indians war making all Speed for niagara.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1779. Marched this day and Encamped on the Banks of the Senica Lake ; the Good Land Continues.

SEPT 7th. Marched this day $11\frac{1}{2}$ Miles To A Very Large Indian Town by the Name of Cannadisago, or the Sinica Castle, which appeared to be Evacuated but a fue Hours ; in said Town was found a Child of about 3 years of age partly Indian and partly white, likewise a Great Quantity of plunder which was Collected by the Soldiers from the different Houses, such as Deer Skins, Bear Skins &c. Crossed in this days march the outlet of Sinica Lake, the lenth of the Lake 36 miles Actual Measure. The Course in Genl. from Newtown to the outlet nearly North, but now Westwardly.

SEPTEMBER 8. 1779. This Day the Army Lay by at Connadesago, partes ware Detached to burn the Neighbouring Townes and Destroy the Corn, and Expect to march tomorrow Morning for the Genesees River. orders ware Issued this Evening by The Commander in Chief, for a Captain, Subaltern, & 50 to Return to Tioga in order to convoy the sick, Likewise to take with them the Diseabled horses.

SEPTEMBER 9th. Rainy Weather Last night and this Morning, which prevented our marching so Early this morning as we intended. Marched this day $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles chiefly thro Swampy Ground, but Very little watter.

SEPTEMBER 10th. This morning the Genl bate $\frac{1}{2}$ Past Six. The Army marched at seven. Marched This Day $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles thro a very fine level Contry ; at seven miles came to a fine Lake about $3\frac{1}{2}$ Miles in Lenth and one mile Broad. The outlet of said Lake Eequal as large as the Sinica Lake ; the direction of this Lake much the same As the Sinica Lake, but cannot larn the name : Eight miles and 53 chane came to Anandague, a large Indian Town, the Buildings superior to any We have yet seen. This town was soon laid In ashes. We Encamped this Eavingin $1\frac{1}{2}$ Miles North of Sd Town, neer several Large cleer Cornfields which sarved for forrage for our Horses And Cattle ; the corn was likewise of Grate Sarvis To the Soldiers who are on half allowance.

SEPTEMBER 11th. This morning the Genl bate at Day lite. The Army Marched at Sun Rise. Marched This Day $13\frac{1}{2}$ Miles to Haunyaaya an Indian Town situated in a fine Bottom Near a lake of the same name which to apperence had been left But a fue Hours. The Town Consisted of Eight Houses, The Land we passed this days march Inferior to any we have seen since we came to the Sinica Lake ; But the Bottoms some miles Round The town Eequal to any in the Senaca Contry. This lake Runs neer a due North Corce ; the three Lakes, viz the Sinaca, Kanandague and Haunyaaye Run Parallel to Each Oathre, in Lenth about Six miles and in Wenth 1 mile, abonding with Great plenty of fish of Different Kinds.

SEPTEMBER 12th. Reany Weathey last nite and this morning. Marched this day 11 Miles and Encamped About Sun Set $\frac{1}{2}$ miles From Ajulsa Town : the Land we passed This Day Eequal to any we have yet seen : the Timber Walnut, Hickry, Locust, White-oak, &c. Six miles from Haunyaaya Town we Passed a long lake which Runs paralell

To the Oather by the name of Aionyedice, otherwise Longnarrow Lake : the genl Corse this Day S. W.

SEPTEMBER 13., 1779. This Morning the Genl Beat at day lite ; the army marched 1½ miles to Augusta Town, where the army lay by To kill provisions, viz Cattle, and Issue to the Troops. Last Evening a party of men Commanded by Lieut Boyd, in number 25, were sent To Reconitter the Jenessee Town, who did not Return till the next day ; on there Return were met by 150 or two Hundred Indians ; After a Considerable Action the offasir and ¾ of his Party ware Either Killed or maid prisoners ; the men who Escaped informs that the party ware sarounded, But fought and Retretd & Killed several, they think as many as ware Lost on our side. About half an hour afterwards Myself and fore Chane Caryers who ware about one and a half Miles Advanced of the troops ware fired on by Several Indians who Lay in Ambush : a Corporal of the name of Calhoun, who came Vollenteerly with me, was mortally wounded and Died the next day ; the Indians pirsued us ¼ of a Mile, but without success ; we being Unarmed ware obleeged to Run ; marched this Day 8 Miles To an Indian Town by the Name Gessauraloughin, half a mile from the chief indian Town ; an Indian was scalped by a Rifleman ; the Genl Corse this day West.

SEPTEMBER 14. This day the troops Did not March till 12 o'clock, on account of there Being employed in destroying Corn ; Marched this day 5½ Miles to the Chief Chenassee Town Calld. the Chenassee Castle 2¼ Miles ; Crossed the chenassee River Likewise, the most Delitefull Bottom I ever saw, supposed to contain 10.000 acres, chiefly cleared fit for excellent Meadow., these flats and the land Adjacent is allowed to exceed any thing in America.

The Chenassee Castle, or the town of that name, contained about 125 Note Indians Housis which ware burnd. the next Day ; Likewise about 150 or 200 acres of fine Corn was pulled of the stalks and Burnt ; at this Town we found the dead Boadis of two of our men who ware takin the day Before and Inhumanly Murdred by the Savages ; one supposed to be the Boady of Lt. Boyd, and the oather a sajt. there heads ware Cut off and skinned, there Toe Nails pulled off, in short it was the most shocking site my Eys Ever saw.

SEPTEMBER 15th 1779. This day, after destroying the Town and Corn, we Returned a Bout 5 miles and Encamped in the Chenessee flatts.

SEPT 16th. This Morning the troops ware employed till 10 o'clock Destroying Corn we then Marched 7 Miles to Ajutsa where the Army Encamped for the Night. Parties ware sent in sarch of the Dead Boadis who ware with Lt. Boyd : 16 of them ware found, being all that ware missing except two ; from Circumstance it appeared they had Defended Them selves very Bravelly till they ware all Kild. and it is thought Kild a number of the Enemy, as many fresh Indians Graves ware found at Chenassee, which I omitted Entring in my Remarks of the 14 ; some ware opanid by the soldiers Contrary to orders, and the Boadies of Indians found that ware shot ; we Destroyed the Remainder of the Corn at this town this evening.

SEPT 17th. This morning the Army marched at sunrise ; marched this day 12½ miles to Haunyauya were we had left a Garason which I omitted mentioning in my Remarks of the 12th, where we found all safe.

SEPTEMBER 18th. 1779. Marched this day from Haunyauya to Kanandague, Being 13½ Miles, the Ground not being Convenient for Incamping, the Army marched across the outlet of Kenindugui Lake, about one mile further, and Incamped for the Night.

SEPT 20. This day a Detachment of six Hundred men, with a sufficiency of offasirs Under the Command of Col Wm. Butler, ware sent into the Cayuga Country, with which Detachment I was ordred ; they marchd from Connadesago 3 o'clock, P. M. Marched this day Eight Miles to an Indian Town by the name of Sauyou, * where about Eight Acres of Corn was Destroyed.

The following notes by General John S. Clark are taken from No. 1 of the Publications of the Cayuga County Historical Society, Auburn, N. Y., 1879 :

* SCAWYACE or Long Falls, an important Indian town of eighteen houses, located on the north bank of Seneca river at present site of Waterloo, in Seneca County. It was partially destroyed on Septem-

SEPTEMBER 20th 1779. The Detachment marchd this Morning at 7 o'clock A. M. 16½ Miles to a smawl Indian Settlement * 1½ Miles short of Cayuga Castle, where we Incamped for the Night, at 8½ miles Crossed the outlet of the Cayuga Lake, which in Brenth was a Bout 70 Perches, and more than middle Deep to the Men. Neer the outlet we Destroyed two Indian Housis. The Name of The Place Choharot†, and Destroyed on the Lak in Different plasis Houses and Acres of Corn, but saw no Enemy. The Genl Corse since we crosssed the out let neerly South, the Road not more than ½ A mile from the Lake at furthest: The Land midling.

SEPTEMBER 22d, 1779. Marched this Day at 6 o'Clock, A. M. 2 Miles to the Cayuga Castle,‡ an Indian Town of that name Containing in Number About 15 very Large Square Logg Housis. I think the Building Superior to any yet hive seen. Cattle were Killed and three Days Beef Issued to the troops; then Fetague partes were sent to destroy the Corn, to the amount of about 110 Acres, tho not all Distroyed this Day; two oather Towns were Discovered, one 23½ miles from the Senica Lake, which we called upper Cayuga,§ containing 14 Large Housis; the oather About two Miles East of the Castle, which we called Cayuga || Containing 13 Houses; the trupes wer all imployed this day in Destroying Corn till after darke. We found at this Town apples, peaches, Potatos. Turnops, Onions, Pumpkins, Squashes, and Vegatabils of Various kinds in Great Plenty.

SEPTEMBER 23d 1779. This Day the trups were imployed till 3 o'clock P. M. in Finishing the Destruction of the Corn, and Burning the aforementioned. Towns within. Marched 5 Miles to an Indian town By the name of Chandot ¶ or Peach Town, Remarkable for a Large Peach—orchard Containing Hundred fine Thriving Peach Trees, likewise Acres of Corn. This town contained about 12 or 14 Houses, chiefly old Buildings; part of the Corn was Destroyed This Eevening.

SEPTEMBER 24th 1779. This morning the trups were imployed in finishing the Destruction of the Corn and peach Trees; at 10 o'clock A. M. fire was set to the Town, And the Detachment went of the Ground. Marchd this Day 16½ Miles and Incamped on a Pleasant Hill ** neer a fine Creek, About one hour after Dark: the Land we passed This Day well Timbered, and the Söyl very good, But very scarce of water; 9 miles from Chorndete we Crossed a streem of water which Fell over Rocks 80 feet Parpendicular; 3 miles from we crosssed a second streem †† which fell About 50 feet parpendicular, which

ber 8, during the advance of the army by a party of volunteers under Col. Harper. George Grant mentions the fact of "several fish ponds abounding opposite the town." These were circular enclosures of stone from thirty to forty feet in diameter, built up on the rocky bed of the stream, where the water was neither very deep or rapid, so constructed as to permit the water to pass through, but to retain the fish.

* GEWAUGA, a small hamlet on the present site of Union Springs in the town of Springport, on the east side of Cayuga lake.

† CHOHAROT.—This was the Tichero or St. Stephen of the Jesuit Relations, said to signify *the place of rushes* located at the foot of Cayuga lake on the east side. at the exact point where the bridge of the Middle Turnpike left the east shore. The trail across the marsh followed the north bank of an ancient channel of the Seneca river, which at an early day took that course. The turnpike afterwards followed substantially the line of the trail and crossed the present line of the Cayuga and Seneca canal three times between Mud Lock and the old Dumont tavern on the opposite side of the marsh. The salt springs mentioned by Father Raffeix in 1672, were on the west side of the marsh about half a mile north of the N. Y. C. Rail Road bridge, and on the bank of the ancient river channel.

‡ CAYUGA CASTLE, an Indian town containing fifteen very large houses of squared logs, located on the south line of the town of Springport in Cayuga County, on the north bank of Great Gully brook, and from one to two miles from the lake.

§ UPPER CAYUGA, an Indian town of fourteen very large houses located near the north line of the town of Ledyard in Cayuga County, on the south bank of Great Gully brook, and as appears on the map, between one and two miles from the lake.

|| EAST CAYUGA, or *Old Town*, contained thirteen houses located in the south-east corner of the town of Springport, as indicated on the map, from three to four miles from the lake. A site in the south-west corner of Fleming was a site of this town at about this date.

¶ CHONODOTE, so named on Capt. Lodge's map, an Indian town of fourteen houses, on the site of present Aurora in Cayuga County; according to George Grant's journal it contained fifteen hundred peach trees.

** On the hill north of Ludlowville.

†† The first of these falls was probably on Mill Creek, two and a half miles south-west of Northville; the second near Lake Ridge in the town of Lausing.

partly after Emptyed Them Selves into the Cayuga Lake. Saw no Enemy this day ; the Genl Course S. 30. E.

SEPTEMBER 25th 1779. Marched this morning at 6 o'clock, and Incamped at an Indian Town $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles above the Cyuga Lake ; the Town appeared to be Just Consumed, supposed to be Burnt by a Detachment from Genl Sullavin's Army.* The Town was situated on a Rising Ground, in a large beutifull Vally ; The Soyl Eaqual to or Rather Superior To any in the Contary. Through which Runs Sevaral fine Streams of water : the first a Creek about 4 poles wide, which falls from the Mountain the East side of the Valley about 120 feet parpendicular, into which Crick three oather fine streams Empis. The second Crick is the prinsable Supply of the Cayuga Lake, navigable for Large Canews or Boats To the Town.

(The journal here ends abruptly)

* COREORGONE^S. was burned by the detachment under Colonel Dearborn. See his account September 24.

JOURNAL OF LIEUT.-COL. ADAM HUBLEY.

ADAM HUBLEY, Lieutenant Colonel commanding the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment. Published in the appendix of Miner's History of Wyoming. The original contained several illustrations, and maps, not in the published copy. The following is a reprint. This journal has also been republished in Pennsylvania Archives, New Series, Vol. XI. or Vol. II of the Revolution.

Adam Hubley was commissioned as First Lieutenant in the 1st Pa. Battalion, Oct. 27, 1775; promoted Major of one of the additional regiments in 1776; Lieutenant Colonel, 10th Pa. Reg't, March 12, 1777, ranking from Oct. 4, 1776; Lieut. Colonel Commandant 11th Pa. Reg't June 5, 1779 to rank from Feb'y 13, 1779; retired Jan'y 1, 1781; appointed one of the auctioneers of Philadelphia, and died there of yellow fever in 1793.

JOURNAL.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head Quarters, Easton, May 24, A. D., 1779.

WHEN the army shall be fully assembled the following arrangements are to take place :—

Light corps, commanded by Gen. Hand, to consist of—	Armandt's, Hubley's, Shott's, 6 companies of Rangers, Wm. Butler's battalion, Morgan's corps, and all volunteers who may join the army.
Maxwell's brigade consists of—	Dayton, Shreeve, Ogden, Spencer, forming right of first line.
Poor's brigade consists of—	Cilley, Reed, Scammel, Courtland, and form left of first line.
	Livingston, Dubois, Gainsworth, Olden, and form second line or reserve.

The right of the first line to be covered by 100 men, draughted from Maxwell's brigade, the left to be covered by 100 men detached from Poor's brigade, each flank of the second line to be covered by 50 men detached from Clinton's brigade, the flanking division on the right to consist of Hubley's regiment, and a draught from the line of 100 men, the flanking division on left to consist of the German battalion, and 100 draughted men from the line.

ORDER OF MARCH.

The light corps will advance by the right of companies in files, and keep at least one mile in front. Maxwell's brigade will advance by its right in files, sections, or platoons, as the country will admit. Poor's brigade will advance by its left in the same manner. Clinton's brigade will advance by the right of regiment, in platoons, files, or sections, as the country will admit. All the covering parties and flanking divisions on the right will advance by their left; those on the left of the army will advance by their right. The artillery and pack horses are to march in the centre,

Should the army be attacked in front while on its march, the light corps will immediately form to repulse the enemy, the flanking divisions will endeavor to gain the flanks and rear of the enemy. While the line is forming the pack horses will, in all cases, fall into the position represented on the annexed plan. Should the enemy attack on either flank, the flanking division attacked will form a front, and sustain the attack till reinforced—in which case a part of the light corps is to be immediately detached to gain the enemy's flank and rear, the covering parties of the 2d line to move to gain the other flank. Should the enemy attack our rear, the 2d line will face and form a front to the enemy, the covering parties of the first line will move to sustain it, while the flanking division face about and endeavor to gain their flank and rear. Should the light troops be driven back, they will pass through the intervals of the main army, and form in the rear. Should the enemy in an engagement with the army, when formed, endeavor either flank, the covering party will move up to lengthen the line, and so much as may be found necessary from the flanking division will display outwards to prevent the attempt from succeeding. The light corps will have their advance and flank guards at a good distance from their main body. The flanking division will furnish flank guards, and the 2d line a rear guard for the main army.

When we find that the light corps are engaged in front, the front of the pack horses halt, and the rear close up, while the columns move in a proper distance, close and display, which will bring the horses in the position they are on the plan for the order of battle. Should the attack be made on either, in flank or in rear, the horses must be kept in the position they are at the commencement of the attack, unless other orders are then given.

SKETCH NO. 1.

[The trees painted by the Indians, between Owego and Chokunut, on the head waters of the Susquehanna, with their characters.]

Wyoming, July 30th, 1779.—Wyoming is situated on the east side of the east branch of the Susquehanna, the town consisting of about seventy houses, chiefly log buildings; besides these buildings there are sundry larger ones which were erected by the army for the purpose of receiving stores, &c., a large bake and smoke houses.

There is likewise a small fort erected in the town, with a strong abatta around it, and a small redoubt to shelter the inhabitants in cases of an alarm. This fort is garrisoned by 100 men, draughted from the western army, and put under the command of Col. Zeb'n Butler. I cannot omit taking notice of the poor inhabitants of the town; two-thirds of them are widows and orphans, who, by the vile hands of the savages, have not only deprived some of tender husbands, some of indulgent parents, and others of affectionate friends and acquaintances, besides robbed and plundered of all their furniture and clothing. In short, they are left totally dependent on the public, and are become absolute objects of charity.

The situation of this place is elegant and delightful. It composes an extensive valley, bounded both on the east and west side of the river by large chains of mountains. The valley, a mere garden, of an excellent rich soil, abounding with large timber of all kinds, and through the center the east branch of the Susquehanna.

NO. 2. A SKETCH OF THE ENCAMPMENT AT WYOMING.

Wyoming, July 31st, 1779.—Agreeable to orders, marched the western army under the command of Major General Sullivan, in the following order, from this place to Tioga.

NO. 3. ORDER OF MARCH.

The army being composed of the following regiments and brigades in following manner, viz.:—

Gen. Hand's Brigade,	{ Hubley, German, Shott, Spalding,	{ Regiments, Ind. Corps,	{ Compose Light Corps.	
Gen. Maxwell's brigade,	{ Dayton, Shreeve, Ogden, Spencer,	From main body.		
Gen. Poor's brigade,	{ Cilley, Reed, Scammel, Courtland.			

Took up the line of march about one o'clock, P. M., viz.: light corps advanced in front of main body about a mile; vanguard, consisting of twenty-four men, under command of a subaltern, and Poor's brigade, (main body,) followed by pack horses and cattle, after which one complete regiment, taken alternately from Maxwell's and Poor's brigade, (composed the rear guard.)

Observed the country to be much broken and mountainous, wood chiefly low, and composed of pine only. I was struck on this day's march with the ruins of many houses, chiefly built of logs, and uninhabited; though poor, yet happy in their situation, until that horrid engagement, when the British tyrant let loose upon them his emissaries, the savages of the wood, who not only destroyed and laid waste those cottages, but in cool blood massacred and cut off the inhabitants, not even sparing gray locks or helpless infancy.

About 4 o'clock, P. M., arrived at a most beautiful plain, covered with an abundance of grass, soil excessively rich, through which run a delightful stream of water, known by the name of Lackawanna; crossed the same, and encamped about one mile on the northern side of it, advanced about one half mile in front of main body: after night fell in with rain—continued until morning.

Distance of march this day, 10 miles.

NO. 4. SKETCH OF THE ENCAMPMENT AT LACKAWANNA.

Sunday, August 1st.—Continued at Lackawanna waiting for the fleet, which, by reason of considerable rapids, was detained until nearly 12 o'clock this day before the van could possibly cross there. In getting through, lost two boats, chief of their cargoes were saved. About 2 o'clock, P. M., the whole arrived opposite our encampment, in consequence of which received orders for a march, struck tents accordingly, and moved about 2 o'clock, P. M. About one mile from the encampment, entered the narrows on the river, first detachment and left column under command of Capt. Burk, to join the right column of light corps, and cross the mountain, which was almost inaccessible, in order to cover the army from falling in an ambuscade. Whilst passing through the defile found passage through exceeding difficult and troublesome, owing to the badness of the path; we passed by a most beautiful cataract called the Spring Falls. To attempt a description of it would be almost presumption. Let this short account thereof suffice. The first or upper fall thereof is nearly ninety feet perpendicular, pouring from a solid rock, uttering forth a most beautiful echo, and is received by a cleft of rocks considerably more projected than the former, from whence it rolls gradually and empties into the Susquehanna. Light corps passed and got through the defile about 6 o'clock, P. M.; arrived about dusk at a place called Quilutimunk, and encamped one mile in front of the place, occupied that night by the main army.

The main army, on account of the difficult passage, marched nearly all night before they reached their encamping ground. Great quantities of baggage being dropped and left lying that night obliged us to continue on this ground. All the preceding day num-

bers of our pack horses were sent back and employed in bringing on the scattered stores, &c.; distance of march this day about 7 miles: fine clear evening. Quilutimunk is a spot of ground situate on the river; fine, open and clear; quantity, about 1200 acres; soil very rich, timber fine, grass in abundance, and contains several exceedingly fine springs.

SKETCH OF THE ENCAMPMENT AT QUILUTIMUNK.

Monday, August 2d.—In consequence of the difficult and tedious march the preceding day, the army received orders to continue on the ground this day, in the meantime to provide themselves with five days provision, and getting every other matter in perfect readiness for a march next morning at 6 o'clock. Nothing material happened during our stay on this ground.

Wednesday, 3d.—Agreeable to orders took up the line of march at 6 o'clock, A. M. Took the mountains after we assembled—found them exceedingly level for at least six miles. Land tolerable, the timber, viz., pine and white oak, chiefly large. About three miles from Quilutimunk we crossed near another cataract, which descended the mountain in three successive falls, the least of which is equal if not superior to the one already described. Although it is not quite so high, it is much wider, and likewise empties into the Susquehanna, seemingly white as milk. They are commonly known by the name of Buttermilk Falls.

SKETCH OF BUTTERMILK FALLS.

About 12 o'clock we descended the mountains near the river; marched about one mile on flat piece of ground, and arrived at Tunkhannunk, a beautiful stream of water so called, which empties into the Susquehanna; crossed the same, and encamped on the river about 1 o'clock, P. M. Nothing material happened this day excepting a discovery of two Indians by the party on the west side of the river. Indians finding themselves rather near the party were obliged to leave their canoe, and make through the mountains. Party took possession of the canoe, and brought it to their encamping place, for that evening immediately opposite the main army. Distance of march this day, 12 miles.

SKETCH OF TUNKHANNUNK ENCAMPMENT.

Wednesday 4th.—The army was in motion 5 o'clock, A. M., and moved up the river for three miles, chiefly on the beach, close under an almost inaccessible mountain. We then ascended the same with the greatest difficulty, and continued on it for near seven miles. A considerable distance from the river the path along the mountain was exceedingly rough, and carried through several very considerable swamps, in which were large morasses. The land in general thin and broken, abounds in wild deer and other game. We then descended the mountain, and at the foot of it crossed a small creek called Massaspi, immediately where it empties into the river. We then continued up the same until we made Vanderlip's farm, discovered several old Indian encampments; one of them appeared to have been very large.

The land, after crossing Massaspi, was exceedingly fine and rich, the soil very black and well timbered, chiefly with black walnut, which are remarkably large, some not less than six feet over, and excessively high. It is likewise well calculated for making fine and extensive meadows. The main army took post for this night on Vanderlip's farm, and the infantry advanced about one mile higher up, and encamped about 1 o'clock, P. M., on a place known by the name of Williamson's farm. Distance of march this day, 14 miles; fine clear day, very hot.

SKETCH OF THE ENCAMPMENT, VANDERLIP'S AND WILLIAMSON'S FARM.

Thursday 5th.—In consequence of orders issued last evening to march this morning at 5 o'clock, we struck tents and loaded baggage. But the boats being considerably impeded by the rapidness of the water some miles below our encampment, could not reach us, and we were obliged to halt all night. Did not join us until 9 o'clock, A. M., all which time we were obliged to halt. On their arrival the whole army was put in motion, and as more danger on this day's march was apprehended than any before, the

following distribution of the army took place, viz. : The right and left columns of the light corps, conducted by Gen. Hand, moved along the top of a very high mountain ; main body of light corps, under Col. Hubley's command, with an advance of twenty-four men, moved on the beach several miles on the edge of the water. The main army, followed by the baggage, &c., flanked on their right by four hundred men, who had likewise to take this mountain. Thus we moved for several miles, then arrived in a small valley called Depue's farm ; the land very good. Observed and reconnoitered this ground for some distance, it being the place on which Col. Hartley was attacked by the savages last year, on his return from Tioga to Wyoming. The country being fine and open, some loss was sustained on both sides ; the savages at last gave way, and Col. Hartley pursued his route to Wyoming without further molestation. Continued our march for about one mile, and formed a junction with the parties on the right flank, ascended a high mountain, and marched for some miles on the same. Land poor, timber but small, chiefly pine, after which descended the mountain nearly one mile in length, and arrived in a fine and large valley, known by the name of Wyalusing. The main army took post at this place, and the infantry advanced about one mile in front of them, and encamped about 2 o'clock, P. M. Clear but very warm day ; distance of march this day, 10½ miles.

This valley was formerly called Oldman's farm, occupied by the Indians and white people ; together, they had about sixty houses, a considerable Moravian meeting house, and sundry other public buildings ; but since the commencement of the present war the whole has been consumed and laid waste, partly by the savages and partly by our own people. The land is extraordinarily calculated chiefly for meadows. The grass at this time is almost beyond description, high and thick, chiefly blue grass, and the soil of the land very rich. The valley contains about 1200 acres of land, bounded on one side by an almost inaccessible mountain, and on the other by the river Susquehanna.

SKETCH OF THE ENCAMPMENT AT WYALUSING.

Friday, Aug. 6th.—The boats not arriving before late this day, the army received orders to continue on the ground. In the meantime to be provided with three days provision, get their arms and accoutrements in perfect order, and be in readiness for a march early to-morrow morning. A sub. and twenty-four men from my regiment reconnoitered vicinity of camp ; returned in the evening ; made no discoveries. Rain all night.

Saturday 7th.—The heavy rain last night and this morning rendered it utterly impossible to march this day ; continued on the ground for further orders.

A captain and thirty men from my regiment reconnoitered vicinity of camp ; made no discoveries.

This day received a letter (by express) from his Excellency Gen. Washington, dated Head Quarters, at New Windsor.

Sunday, 8th.—The army moved (in same order as on 5th) this morning at 5 o'clock ; crossed Wyalusing creek, and ascended an extensive mountain, the top remarkably level ; land poor, and timber small. Arrived about 10 o'clock, A. M., at the north end, and descended the same close on the river side, and continued along the beach for some distance, after which we entered an extensive valley or plain, known by the name of Standing Stone ; made a halt here for about half an hour for refreshments. This place derives its name from a large stone standing erect in the river immediately opposite this plain. It is near twenty feet in height, fourteen feet in width, and three feet in depth. This valley abounds in grass, the land exceedingly fine, and produces chiefly white oak, black walnut, and pine timber. After refreshment continued our march along the same valley ; land not quite so fine. Arrived about 3 o'clock, P. M., at a small creek called Wesauking ; crossed the same, and encamped about one mile beyond it, and immediately on the river.

Four o'clock, P. M.—Since our arrival at this place some of my officers discovered a small Indian encampment, seemingly occupied but a few days since ; found near the same a neat canoe, which they brought off. This morning the scout, (of three men,) sent up to Sheshequin some days since, returned without making any discoveries.

General Sullivan, on account of his indisposition, came on in the boat.

SKETCH OF STANDING STONE.

SKETCH OF ENCAMPMENT AT WESAUKING.

Monday, August 9th.—The boats not being able to reach Wesauking, the ground on which light corps encamped preceding evening. The main body in consequence thereof took post and encamped at Standing Stone, about three miles below light corps encampment, for protection of the boats.

The light corps, on account of their detached situation from main body the preceding evening, and apprehending some danger, being considerably advanced in the enemy's country, for their greater security, stood under arms from 3 o'clock, A. M., until daylight, where they dismissed, with orders to hold themselves in readiness at a moment's warning. Previous to their dismissal my light infantry was sent out to reconnoitre the vicinity of encampment; returned about 7 o'clock, A. M.—made no discovery.

This morning, 9 o'clock, boats hove in sight, in consequence thereof received orders to strike tents, and be in readiness for a march; main army in the meantime arrived about 10 o'clock; the whole was in motion, marched through a difficult swamp; at north of same crossed a small stream, and ascended a hill; lands poor, and wood but indifferent. About 12 o'clock, P. M., descended the same, and entered a small valley; continued about half mile, when we ascended a very remarkable high mountain, generally known by the name of Break Neck Hill.

This mountain derives its name from the great height, of the difficult and narrow passage, not more than one foot wide, and remarkable precipice which is immediately perpendicular, and not less than 180 feet deep. One mis-step must inevitably carry you from top to bottom without the least hope or chance of recovery. At north end of same entered a mountainous and beautiful valley called Sheshecununk. General Sullivan, with a number of officers, made a halt here at a most beautiful run of water, took a bite of dinner, and proceeded on along the valley, which very particularly struck my attention. Any quantity of meadow may be made here; abounds with all kinds of wood, particularly white oak, hickory, and black walnut; the ground covered with grass and pea vines; the soil in general very rich. About 4 o'clock, P. M., arrived on the bank of the river; the whole encamped in a line on a most beautiful plain; consists chiefly in meadows, the grass remarkably thick and high. On our arrival here made discoveries of some new Indian tracks, places on which fire had just been, and fresh boughs cut, and appeared as if the place had just been occupied a few hours before our arrival. Distance of march this day, 9½ miles.

SKETCH OF ENCAMPMENT SHESHECUNUNK.

Tuesday, August 10th.—Set in with rain, and boats not reaching this place before 9 o'clock this morning; army received orders to continue on the ground until further orders. Men drew and cooked two days provisions.

One regiment from each of the brigades attended General Sullivan. The general and field officers of the army whilst they were reconnoitering the river and ground near Tioga branch, about three miles above this place, returned without any discoveries worthy of remark about 4 o'clock, P. M.

Wednesday, August 11th.—Agreeable to orders the army moved this morning at 8 o'clock, A. M., in the usual order. Light corps moved half an hour before the main army, and took post on the banks of the river near the fording place. On the arrival of the main army and boats, Col. Forest drew up his boat at the fording place, and fixed several six pounders on the opposite shore in order to scour the woods and thickets, and prevent any ambuscade from taking place. In the meantime the light corps marched by platoons, linked together, on account of the rapidity of the water, and forded the same, and effected a landing about 9 o'clock; they immediately advanced about one hundred yards from the river, and formed in line of battle, in order to cover the landing of the main army, which was safely effected about 10 o'clock, A. M., after which came on pack horses, cattle, &c., covered by a regiment which composed the rear guard. About half past ten o'clock the whole moved in following order.

ORDER OF MARCH UP TIOGA FLATS.

Previous to our arrival on the flats we had to pass about one and a half mile through a dark, difficult swamp, which was covered with weeds and considerable underwood, interspersed with large timber, chiefly buttonwood. We then entered the flats near the place on which Queen Esther's palace stood, and was destroyed by Col. Hartley's detachment last fall. The grass is remarkably thick and high. We continued along the same for about one mile, and arrived at the entrance of Tioga branch into Susquehanna about 1 o'clock; we crossed the same, and landed on a peninsula of land which extends towards Chemung, and is bounded on the east by Susquehanna, and on the west by Tioga branch, and continued up the same for about two miles and a half and encamped. This peninsula is composed of excellent meadow and upland: grass is plenty, and timber of all kinds, and soil in general good; distance of march this day, three miles. Since our arrival a scout of eight men was ordered up to reconnoitre Chemung, and endeavor to make discoveries of the number of savages, and their situation, if possible.

Thursday, August 12th.—Tioga Plain. This being a plain calculated to cover the western army during the expedition to the northern part of it, a garrison for that purpose is to remain until our return. Sundry works for the security of the same are now erecting about two and a half miles distant from where Tioga branch empties into the Susquehanna, and where the two rivers are about 190 yards distance from each other; those works to extend from river to river.

Captain Cummings with his scout (sent out last evening) returned this day 11 o'clock, A. M.; made several discoveries at Chemung; an Indian village twelve miles distance from this place; in consequence of which a council of war sat, and determined an expedition should immediately take place for the reduction of the same. The army (two regiments excepted) received orders to be in readiness for an immediate march. Eight o'clock, P. M., the whole were in motion, and proceeded for Chemung.

SKETCH ON ENCAMPMENT AND WORKS ON TIOGA PLAINS.

August 13th, 1779.—Eight o'clock, P. M., the army having marched last evening in the following order, viz.: Light corps, under command of Gen. Hand, led the van, then followed Gens. Poor and Maxwell's brigades, which formed main body, and corps de reserve, the whole under the immediate command of Maj. Gen. Sullivan. The night being excessively dark, and the want of proper guides, impeded our march, besides which we had several considerable defiles to march through, that we could not possibly reach Chemung till after daylight. The morning being foggy favoured our enterprise. Our pilot, on our arrival, from some disagreeable emotions he felt, could not find the town. We discovered a few huts, which we surrounded, but found them vacated; after about one hour's march we came upon the main town. The following disposition for surprising the same was ordered to take place, viz.: Two regiments, one from the light corps, and one from main body, were ordered to cross the river and prevent the enemy from making their escape that way, should they still hold the town. The remainder of the light corps, viz., two independent companies, and my regiment, under command of Hand, were to make the attack on the town. Gen. Poor was immediately to move up and support the light corps. We moved in this order accordingly, but the savages having probably discovered our scouting party the preceding day, defeated our enterprise by evacuating the village previous to our coming, carrying off with them nearly all their furniture and stock, and leaving an empty village only, which fell an easy conquest about 5 o'clock, A. M. The situation of this village was beautiful; it contained fifty or sixty houses, built of logs and frames, and situate on the banks of Tioga branch, and on a most fertile, beautiful, and extensive plain, the lands chiefly calculated for meadows, and the soil rich.

The army continued for some small space in the town. Gen. Hand, in the meantime, advanced my light infantry company, under Capt. Bush, about one mile beyond the village, on a path which leads to a small Indian habitation, called Newtown. On Capt. Bush's arrival there he discovered fires burning, an Indian dog, which lay asleep, a number of deer skins, some blankets, &c.; he immediately gave information of his discoveries, in consequence of which the remainder part of the light corps, viz.: the two independent

companies, and my regiment, under Gen. Hand's command, were ordered to move some miles up the path, and endeavor, if possible, to make some discoveries. We accordingly proceeded on in the following order, viz.: Captain Walker, with twenty-four men, composed the van, the eleventh regiment, under my command, after which the two independent companies, the whole covered on the left by Tioga branch, and on the right by Capt. Bush's infantry company of forty men. In this order we moved somewhat better than a mile beyond this place. The first fires were discovered, when our van was fired upon by a party of savages, who lay concealed on a high hill immediately upon our right, and which Capt. Bush had not yet made. We immediately formed a front with my regiment, pushed up the hill with a degree of intrepidity seldom to be met with, and, under a very severe fire from the savages. Capt. Bush, in the meantime, endeavored to gain the enemy's rear. They, seeing the determined resolution of our troops, retreated; and, according to custom, previous to our dislodging them, carried off their wounded and dead, by which means they deprived us from coming to the knowledge of their wounded and dead. The ground on the opposite side of the mountain or ridge, on which the action commenced, being composed of swamp or low ground, covered with underwood, &c., favored their retreat, and prevented our pursuing them, by which means they got off.

Our loss on this occasion, which totally (excepting two) fell on my regiment, was as follows, viz.: two captains, one adjutant, one guide, and eight privates wounded, and one sergeant, one drummer, and four privates killed. Officers' names: Captain Walker, (slight wound,) Captain Carberry, and Adj. Huston, (I fear mortal.)

After gaining the summit of the hill, and dislodging the enemy, we marched by the right of companies in eight columns, and continued along the same line until the arrival of General Sullivan. We then halted for some little time, and then returned to the village, which was instantly laid in ashes, and a party detached to cross the river to destroy the corn, beans, &c., of which there were several very extensive fields, and those articles in the greatest perfection. Whilst the troops were engaged in this business, Gens. Poor and Maxwell's brigades were fired upon, lost one man, killed, and several wounded. The whole business being completed, we returned to the ruins of the village, halted some little time, and received orders to return to Tioga Plain, at which place we arrived at 8 o'clock, considerably fatigued. Lest the savages should discover our loss, after leaving the place, I had the dead bodies of my regiment carried along, fixed on horses, and brought to this place for interment. The expedition from the first to last continued twenty-four hours, of which time my regiment was employed, without the least intermission, twenty-three hours; the whole of our march not less than forty miles.

Saturday, August 14th.—This morning 10 o'clock, A. M., had the bodies of those brave veterans, who so nobly distinguished themselves, and bravely fell in the action of yesterday, interred with military honours, (firing excepted.) Parson Rogers delivered a small discourse on the occasion.

Was employed greater part of the day in writing to my friends at Lancaster and Philadelphia, which were forwarded the same evening.

Sunday 15th.—Agreeable to orders of yesterday, seven hundred men were ordered to march on the grand parade for inspection, and to be furnished with ammunition and eight days provision, for the purpose of marching up the Susquehanna and meeting General Clinton, who is now on his march to form a junction with this army.

Two o'clock, P. M., a firing was heard on the west side of Tioga branch, immediately opposite our encampment. A number of Indians under cover of a high mountain, advanced on a large meadow or flat of ground, on which our cattle and horses were grazing. Unfortunately, two men were there to fetch some horses, one of which was killed and scalped, the other slightly wounded, but got clear. One bullock was likewise killed, and several public horses taken off. My regiment was ordered in pursuit of them: we accordingly crossed the branch and ascended the mountain, marched along the summit of the same for upwards of two miles in order to gain their rear; but the enemy having too much start, got clear. After scouring the mountains and valleys near the same, we returned, much fatigued, about 5 o'clock, P. M.

Monday, 16th.—The detachment under General Poor's command, agreeable to orders, moved this day, 1 o'clock, P. M., up the Susquehanna for the purpose of forming a junction with Gen. Clinton.

Several of our out continentals alarmed the camp by firing off several guns about 1 o'clock in the morning, in consequence of which light corps stood under arms. Several patrols were sent out to reconnoitre the front of encampment, returned near day-break, but made no discoveries—alarm proved premature. Gen. Hand, being ordered with the detachment under Gen. Poor, the command of light corps devolved on me during his absence.

Tuesday, 17th.—Seven o'clock, P. M., a firing was heard about five hundred yards immediately in front of light corps' encampment. A party of fifty men was immediately detached to endeavour to find out the cause of it; returned at 8 o'clock, P. M.; reported that a party of Indians, eleven in number, had way-laid a few pack horsemen, who were just returning with their horses from pasture; that they had killed and scalped one man, and wounded another; the wounded man got safe to camp, and the corpse of the other was likewise brought in.

An alarm was fired by a continental about 11 o'clock, P. M., but proved false.

Wednesday, 18th.—In order to entrap some of those savages who keep sneaking about the encampment, the following parties ordered out for that purpose, and to be relieved daily by an equal number until we leave this ground, viz.: one subaltern and twenty men on the mountain opposite the encampment; one subaltern and twenty men on the island, about a mile and half above the encampment, on Tioga branch, and one subaltern and twenty men in the woods, about a mile and a half immediately in front of light corps' encampment, with orders to waylay and take every other means to take them.

This day, by particular request of several gentlemen, a discourse was delivered in the Masonic form, by Dr. Rogers, on the death of Captain Davis of the 11th Penn., and Lieutenant Jones of the Delaware regiments, who were, on the 23d of April last, most cruelly and inhumanly massacred and scalped by the savages, emissaries employed by the British king, as they were marching with a detachment for the relief of the garrison at Wyoming.

Those gentlemen were both members of that honourable and ancient Society of Free-men. A number of brethren attended on this occasion in proper form, and the whole was conducted with propriety and harmony. Text preached on this solemn occasion was the first clause in the 7th verse of the 7th chapter of Job, "Remember my life is but wind."

Thursday, 19th.—Nothing remarkable this day.

Friday, 20th.—This day arrived Lieut. Boyd, of Col. Butler's regiment, with accounts of Gen. Clinton's movements on the Susquehanna, and that a junction was formed by him with Gen. Poor's detachment, *Chokoanut*, about thirty-five miles from this place. Rain very heavy chief part of the day.

Saturday, 21st.—The detachments under Gens. Clinton and Poor, on account of the very heavy rain yesterday, did not reach this encampment as was expected.

Sunday, 22d.—This day, 10 o'clock, A. M., Gens. Clinton and Poor's detachments, with about two hundred and twenty boats, passed light corps' encampment for the main army, about one and a half miles in their rear. On their passing, they were saluted with thirteen rounds from the park; the light corps being likewise drawn up, and received them in proper form, with Col. Proctor's music, and drums and fifes beating and playing.

Monday, 23d.—This day a most shocking affair happened, by an accident of a gun, which went off, the ball of which entered a tent in which was Capt. Kimball, of Gen. Poor's brigade, and a lieutenant; the captain was unfortunately killed, and the lieutenant wounded.

Gen. Clinton, having formed a junction with the army at this place yesterday, the following alterations in the several brigades were ordered to take place, viz.: Col. Courtland's regiment to be annexed to General Clinton's, Colonel Older to General Poor's, and Colonel Butler's regiment, with Major Parr's corps, to General Hand's brigade.

Tuesday, 24th.—This day employed hands to make bags for the purpose of carrying flour; hands employed all day and night in this business.

Agreeable to orders a signal gun was fired for the whole army to strike tents, 5 o'clock, P. M., and marched some distance in order to form the line of march. Seven o'clock, P. M., another signal gun was fired for the army to encamp in proper order, and to be in readiness for an immediate march. Col. Butler's regiment, with Major Parr's riflemen, joined light corps, and encamped with them this day, 7 o'clock, P. M.

Colonel Shrieve took command of Fort Sullivan this day agreeable to orders. Flying hospital and stores were moved this day to the garrison.

Wednesday, 25th.—This morning was entirely devoted to packing up and getting every thing in readiness for an immediate march. A heavy rain fell in at 11 o'clock, continued greater part of the day, which prevented our movements.

Thursday, 26th.—The army not being perfectly ready to march at 8 o'clock, A. M., agreeable to yesterday's orders, the signal gun for a march was not fired until 11 o'clock, when the whole took up the line of march in the following order, namely: Light corps, commanded by General Hand, marched in six columns, the right commanded by Colonel Butler, and the left by myself. Major Parr, with the riflemen, dispersed considerably in front of the whole, with orders to reconnoitre all mountains, defiles, and other suspicious places, previous to the arrival of the army, to prevent any surprise or ambuscade from taking place. The pioneers, under command of a captain, subaltern, then followed after, which preceded the park of artillery; then came on the main army, in two columns, in the centre of which moved the pack horses and cattle, the whole flanked on right and left by the flanking divisions, commanded by Colonel Dubois and Colonel Ogden, and rear brought up by General Clinton's brigade; in this position the whole moved to the upper end of Tioga flats, about three miles above Fort Sullivan, where we encamped for this night.

This day disposed of one of my horses to Mr. Bond, captain, on account of his indisposition, obtained leave to continue either at Fort Sullivan, or go to Wyoming, until the return of the regiment from the expedition.

Friday, August 27th.—On account of some delays this morning army did not move until half past eight o'clock, A. M. Previous to the march the pioneers, under cover of the rifle corps, were advanced to the first and second defile, or narrows, some miles in front of our encampment, where they were employed in mending and cutting a road for the pack to pass. The army marched in same order of yesterday, the country through which they had to pass being exceedingly mountainous and rough, and the slow movements of the pack considerably impeded the march. About 7 o'clock, P. M., we arrived near the last narrows, at the lower end of Chemung, where we encamped in the following order: Light corps near the entrance of the defile or narrows, and in front of some very extensive corn-fields, some refugee Tories, now acting with the favour of the main army, about one mile in our rear, and immediately fronting the corn-fields. After encamping had an agreeable repast of corn, potatoes, beans, cucumbers, watermelons, squashes, and other vegetables, which were in great plenty, (produced) from the corn-fields already mentioned, and in the greatest perfection; distance of march this day, six miles.

Saturday, August 28th.—Fore part of this day being employed by the general and principal officers of the army in reconnoitering the river and finding out some fording place for the artillery, pack horses, and cattle to cross, to gain Chemung, the defile or narrows mentioned in my yesterday's journal being so excessively narrow, and, indeed, almost impracticable for them to pass.

The following disposition for the marching of the army took place accordingly, namely: The rifle corps, with General Maxwell's brigade, and left flanking division of the army, covering the park, pack horses, and cattle, crossed to the west side of the river, and about one and a half mile above recrossed the same, and formed a junction on the lower end of Chemung flats with the light corps, Generals Poor and Clinton's brigades, and right flanking division of the army, who took their route across an almost inaccessible mountain, on the east side of the river, the bottom of which forms the narrows already mentioned.

The summit was gained with the greatest difficulty ; on the top of the mountain the lands, which are level and extensive, are exceedingly rich with large timber, chiefly oak, interspersed with underwood and excellent grass. The prospect from this mountain is most beautiful ; we had a view of the country of at least twenty miles round ; the fine, extensive plains, interspersed with streams of water, made the prospect pleasing and elegant from this mountain. We observed, at some considerable distance, a number of clouds of smoke arising, where we concluded the enemy to be encamped.

Previous to the movement of the army this day, a small party of men were sent across the river in order to destroy some few Indian huts, which were immediately opposite our encampment. Before the business was quite effected they were fired upon by a party of Indians, who, after giving the fire, immediately retreated ; the party executed their orders, and all returned unhurt to the army.

The scout sent out last evening to reconnoitre the enemy near Newtown, (an Indian village so called,) returned this day, and reported they discovered a great number of fires, and that they supposed, from the extensive piece of ground covered by the fires, the enemy must be very formidable, and mean to give us battle. They likewise discovered four or five small scouting parties on their way towards this place, it is supposed to reconnoitre our army. Since our arrival here a great quantity of furniture was found by our soldiers which was concealed in the adjacent woods. After forming the junction above mentioned we took up the line of march, and moved to the upper Chemung town, and encamped about 6 o'clock, P. M., for this night. Distance of march on a straight course, about two miles.

From the great quantities of corn and other vegetables here and in the neighbourhood, it is supposed they intended to establish their principal magazine at this place, which seems to be their chief rendezvous, whenever they intend to go to war ; it is the key to the Pennsylvania and New York frontier. The corn already destroyed by our army is not less than 5,000 bushels upon a moderate calculation, and the quantity yet in the ground in this neighborhood, is at least the same, besides which there are vast quantities of beans, potatoes, squashes, pumpkins, &c., which shared the fate of the corn.

Sunday, August 29th.—This morning at 9 o'clock the army moved in the same order of the 26 ; the riflemen were well scattered in front of the light corps, who moved with the greatest precision and caution. On our arrival near the ridge on which the action of the 13th commenced with light corps, our van discovered several Indians in front, one of whom gave them a fire, and then fled. We continued our march for about one mile ; the rifle corps entered a low marshy ground which seemed well calculated for forming ambuscades ; they advanced with great precaution, when several more Indians were discovered who fired and retreated. Major Parr, from those circumstances, judged it rather dangerous to proceed any further without taking every caution to reconnoitre almost every foot of ground, and ordered one of his men to mount a tree and see if he could make any discoveries ; after being some time on the tree he discovered the movements of several Indians, (which were rendered conspicuous by the quantity of paint they had on them,) as they were laying behind an extensive breastwork, which extended at least half a mile, and most artfully covered with green boughs and trees, having their right flank secured by the river, and their left by a mountain. It was situated on a rising ground—about one hundred yards in front of a difficult stream of water, bounded by the marshy ground already mentioned on our side, and on the other, between it and the breastworks, by an open and clear field. Major Parr immediately gave intelligence to General Hand of his discoveries, who immediately advanced the light corps within about three hundred yards of the enemy's works, and formed in-line-of battle ; the rifle corps, under cover, advanced, and lay under the bank of the creek within one hundred yards of the lines. Gen. Sullivan, having previous notice, arrived with the main army, and ordered the following disposition to take place : The rifle and light corps to continue their position ; the left flanking division, under command of Colonel Ogden, to take post on the left flank of the light corps, and General Maxwell's brigade, some distance in the rear, as a corps de reserve, and Colonel Proctor's artillery in front of the centre of the light

corps, and immediately opposite the breast-work. A heavy fire ensued between the rifle corps and the enemy, but little damage was done on either side. In the meantime, Generals Poor and Clinton's brigades, with the right flanking division, were ordered to march and gain, if possible, the enemy's flank and rear, whilst the rifle and light corps amused them in front. Col. Proctor had orders to be in readiness with his artillery and attack the lines, first allowing a sufficient space of time to Generals Poor, &c., to gain their intended stations. About 3 o'clock, P. M., the artillery began their attack on the enemy's works; the rifle and light corps in the meantime prepared to advance and charge; but the enemy, finding their situation rather precarious, and our troops determined, left and retreated from their works with the greatest precipitation, leaving behind them a number of blankets, gun covers, and kettles, with corn boiling over the fire. Generals Poor, &c., on account of several difficulties which they had to surmount, could not effect their designs, and the enemy probably having intelligence of their approach, posted a number of troops on the top of a mountain, over which they had to advance. On their arrival near the summit of the same, the enemy gave them a fire, and wounded several officers and soldiers. General Poor pushed on and gave them a fire, as they retreated, and killed five of the savages. In course of the day we took nine scalps, (all savages,) and two prisoners, who were separately examined, and gave the following corresponding account: that the enemy were seven hundred men strong, viz., five hundred savages, and two hundred Tories, with about twenty British troops, commanded by a Seneca chief, the two Butlers, Brandt, and M'Donald.

The infantry pushed on towards Newtown; the main army halted and encamped near the place of action, near which were several extensive fields of corn and other vegetables. About six o'clock, P. M., the infantry returned and encamped near the main army.

The prisoners further informed us that the whole of their party had subsisted on corn only for this fortnight past, and that they had no other provisions with them; and that their next place of rendezvous would be at Catharines town, an Indian village about twenty-five miles from this place.

Distance of march (exclusive of counter-marches) this day, about eight miles.

Monday, August 30th.—On account of the great quantities of corn, beans, potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables, in destroying of which the troops were employed, and the rain which set in the after part of the day obliged us to continue on the ground for this day and night. The troops were likewise employed in drawing eight days provisions, (commencing 1st day of September.) The reason of drawing this great quantity at one time was, (however inconsistent with that economy which is absolutely necessary in our present situation, considering the extensive campaign before us, and the time of consequence it will require to complete it,) the want of pack horses for transporting the same, and in order to expedite this great point in view, are obliged to substitute our soldiery for carrying the same.

From the great and unparalleled neglect of those persons employed for the purpose of supplying the western army with everything necessary to enable them to carry through the important expedition required of them, General Sullivan was at this early period under the disagreeable necessity of issuing the following address to the army, which was communicated by the commanding officers to their corps separately, viz.:

GENERAL SULLIVAN'S ADDRESS.

"The commander-in-chief informs the troops that he used every effort to procure proper supplies for the army, and to obtain a sufficient number of horses to transport them, but owing to the inattention of those whose business it was to make the necessary provision, he failed of obtaining such an ample supply as he wished, and greatly fears that the supplies on hand will not, without the greatest prudence, enable him to complete the business of the expedition.

"He therefore requests the several brigadiers and officers commanding corps to take the mind of the troops under their respective commands, whether they will, whilst in this country, which abounds with corn and vegetables of every kind, be content to draw one

half of flour, one half of meat and salt a day. And he desires the troops to give their opinions with freedom and as soon as possible.

"Should they generally fall in with the proposal, he promises they shall be paid that part of the rations which is held back at the full value in money.

"He flatters himself that the troops who have discovered so much bravery and firmness will readily consent to fall in with a measure so essentially necessary to accomplish the important purpose of the expedition, to enable them to add to the laurels they have already gained.

"The enemy have subsisted for a number of days on corn only, without either salt, meat, or flour, and the general cannot persuade himself that troops, who so far surpass them in bravery and true valour, will suffer themselves to be outdone in that fortitude and perseverance, which not only distinguishes but dignifies the soldier. He does not mean to continue this through the campaign, but only wishes it to be adopted in those places where vegetables may supply the place of a part of the common ration of meat and flour, which will be much better than without any.

"The troops will please to consider the matter, and give their opinion as soon as possible."

Agreeable to the above address, the army was drawn up, (this evening,) in corps separately, and the same, through their commanding officers, made known to them, and their opinions requested thereupon, when the whole, without a dissenting voice cheerfully agreed to the request of the general, which they signified by unanimously holding up their hands and giving three cheers.

This remarkable instance of fortitude and virtue cannot but endear those brave troops to all ranks of people, more particularly as it was so generally and cheerfully entered into without a single dissenting voice.

Tuesday, August 31st.—Took up our line of march in usual order at 9 o'clock, A. M. ; marched about four miles and a half through a broken and mountainous country, and an almost continuous defile on the east side of Cayuga branch, the west of the same for that distance was an excellent plain, on which large quantities of corn, beans, potatoes, and other vegetables stood, and were destroyed by us the preceding day. We then crossed Cayuga branch, where it forks with a stream of water running east and west, and landed on a most beautiful piece of country remarkably level. On the banks of the same stood a small Indian village, which was immediately destroyed. The soldiers found great quantities of furniture, &c., which was buried, some of which they carried off, and some was destroyed. About 2 o'clock, P. M., we proceeded along the path which leads to Catharines town, (an Indian village,) and leaves the Cayuga branch on its left. About 5 o'clock, P. M., we encamped on a most beautiful plain, interspersed with marshes, well calculated for meadows. Wood chiefly pine, interspersed with hazel brushes, and great quantities of grass ; distance of march this day, 10 miles.

Wednesday, September 1st.—About 9 o'clock, P. M., whole army moved in good order, on a level piece of ground. About 11 o'clock, A. M., we entered an extensive hemlock swamp, not less than six miles through ; the path through almost impassible, owing to the number of defiles, long ranges of mountains, ravine after ravine, interspersed with thick underwood, &c. The infantry, with the greatest difficulty, got through about half past nine o'clock, P. M. The remainder of the army, with the pack horses, cattle, &c., were chiefly the whole night employed in getting through.

As the infantry were approaching Catharines town we were alarmed by the howling of dogs and other great noise. A few of the riflemen were dispatched in order to reconnoitre the place. In the meantime we formed in two solid columns, at fixed bayonets, with positive orders not a man to fire his gun, but to rush on in case the enemy should make a stand ; but the riflemen, who had been sent to reconnoitre the town, returned with the intelligence the enemy had left it. We then immediately altered our position on account of the narrowness of the road, and marched in files through the first part of the town, after which we crossed the creek : in a field immediately opposite, where there stood a number of houses also, where we encamped, and substituted the timber of the houses in

room of fire-wood. On our arrival, we found a number of fires burning, which appeared as if they had gone off precipitately. This day's march completed 12 miles.

Thursday, Sept. 2d.—The dismal situation of our pack horses and cattle, of which several were killed by falling into ditches, and several otherwise disabled in getting through this horrid swamp last evening, prevented our march this morning. The fore part of this day was entirely employed in collecting them, which, from their scattered and dispersed situation, was attended with the greatest difficulty.

We this morning found an old squaw who, we suppose, by reason of her advanced age, could not be carried off, and therefore was left to our mercy. On examining her, she informed us that the Indians, on our approach last evening, went off very precipitately; that the women and children had gone off in the morning to take shelter in some mountains, until the army had passed them; that Colonel Butler promised he would send back some warriors, who should conduct them by bye-ways to some place of safety. She further adds, that, previous to the squaws going off, there was great contention with them and the warriors about their going off; the former had determined on staying and submitting to our generosity; the latter opposed it, and informed them that, by such a step, the Americans would be able to bring them to any terms they pleased; whereas, did they go off, they would have it in their power to come to more favourable terms, should a treaty of any kind be offered.

Catharices town is pleasantly situated on a creek, about three miles from Seneca lake; it contained nearly fifty houses, in general, very good—the country near is very excellent. We found several very fine corn-fields, which afforded the greatest plenty of corn, beans, &c., of which, after our fatiguing march, we had an agreeable repast. After getting everything in perfect readiness, we took up our line of march at 7 o'clock this morning. The roads from this place for about one mile were rather difficult and swampy. We then ascended a rising country, which was, in general, level, excepting a few defiles which we had to pass, but were by no reason dangerous or difficult. The lands are rich, abounding with fine, large, and clear timber, chiefly white oak, hickory, walnut, and ash; bounded on the left for about three miles with excellent marsh or meadow ground, after which proceeds the beautiful Seneca lake, which abounds with all kinds of fish, particularly salmon, trout, rock, that which resembles perch, as also sheep-head.

Previous to our leaving this place, the squaw which was taken here, was left, and a hut erected, of which she took possession. A quantity of wood was also gathered and carried to the hut for her use; she was also provided with a quantity of provisions. All these favours had such an effect on her that it drew tears from her savage eyes.

It is about three miles in breadth, and about forty miles in length. Upon the right, though considerably up the country, is another delightful lake, called Kayuga lake; abounds with all kinds of fish also, and is about forty-six miles in length.

We proceeded along this beautiful country about twelve miles, and encamped near a corn-field, on which stood several Indian cabins; bearing between the light corps and main army an advantageous ravine, and bounded on our left by Seneca lake.

Previous to our arrival here the Indians who occupied the cabins already mentioned, probably discovered our approach, pushed off precipitately, leaving their kettles with corn boiling over the fire. During our march this day we discovered several trees with the following characters newly cut on them by those savages commanded by Brandt and the Butlers, and with whom we had the action on the 29th ultimo.

Saturday, Sept. 4th.—On account of the rain this morning the army did not move until 10 o'clock, A. M. We passed through a delightful level country, the soil of which very rich, the timber fine and large, interspersed with hazel bushes, fine grass and pea vines. On our march we discovered several fires burning, which fully intimated some of the savages were not far off in front of us. We destroyed several fields of corn, and, after a march of thirteen miles, we encamped in the woods, in the front of a very large ravine, and about half a mile from Seneca lake. On account of some difficulties with the pack-horses, &c., the main army did not reach so far as the infantry, and encamped about two miles in their rear.

Sunday, Sept. 5th.—About 9 o'clock this morning the army moved through a country much the same as yesterday. About 12 o'clock we arrived at Canadia, about three miles from the last encampment, where we encamped for this night. Previous to our arrival we entered several corn-fields, and furnished the men with two days allowance of the same. The riflemen, who were advanced, retook a prisoner who was taken last year by the savages on the east branch of the Susquehanna. An Indian, who lay concealed, fired, but without effect on our riflemen, and immediately fled.

On examining this prisoner, he informed us that Brandt, with near a thousand savages, including Butler's Rangers, left this town last Friday, seemingly much frightened and fatigued—that they were pushing for Kanadawaga, and Indian village, where they mean to make a stand and give us battle. He further informs us that, exclusive of a considerable number of savages killed and wounded in the action of the 29th, seven Tories were killed; that all their wounded, with some dead, were carried in Canoes up the *Cayuga branch*—that they allow they sustained a very heavy loss in that action.

Canadia is much the finest village we have yet come to. It is situated on a rising ground, in the midst of an extensive apple and peach orchard, within half a mile of Seneca lake; it contains about forty well-finished houses, and every thing about it seems neat and well improved.

Monday, Sept. 6th.—The fore part of the day was entirely employed in hunting up our horses and cattle, a number of which were lost. About 2 o'clock we took up our line of march, and moved about three miles, where we encamped on a beautiful piece of woodland, (interspersed with vast quantities of pea vines, which served for food for our horses,) our rear covered by the lake, our flank by considerable ravines.

On the fourth, whilst on our march, several officers' waiters, who had delayed in the rear, lost the path along which the army moved, and, towards night, found themselves near an Indian village, which had been previously evacuated. They found a quantity of plunder, which they brought off, first putting the town in flames. A captain and a party, on missing, being sent in pursuit, and fell in with them as they were returning to the encamping place occupied by the army the preceding day, and conducted them safe to the army at Canadia.

An express from Tioga, with packets, &c., for the army, arrived this day at head quarters—received several letters from my friends.

Tuesday, Sept. 7th.—At half-past seven o'clock the army moved and arrived at the head of the lake about 2 o'clock, P. M. The country we passed through was exceedingly fine, and chiefly along the water for eight miles and a half.

About 3 o'clock, P. M., the rifle and infantry corps crossed at the mouth of the lake, about knee deep, and not above thirty yards wide. On our arrival on the opposite shore, we immediately entered a dangerous and narrow defile, bounded on the left by the head of Seneca lake, and on our right by a large morass and flooded at intervals, well calculated to form an ambuscade. From every circumstance, both as to intelligence and the great advantage the enemy might have had from its situation, we fairly expected an attack. However, we moved through in files, supported by the two flanking divisions, and gained the other side. The main army then crossed, and took our place. We then moved through a second defile, as difficult as the first, and formed again until the main army possessed themselves of the same ground we had just left. We then marched and passed a third defile, and formed in a corn-field, near a large house, which was beautifully situated on the head of the lake, and generally occupied by Butler, one of the savage leaders.

The light corps, flanked by two flanking divisions, received orders to move and gain the rear of the town. The main army took the path, and marched immediately in front of the same; but the enemy no doubt having previous notice of our movements, had abandoned the town, which we entered about dusk, leaving behind them a number of bear and deer skins, and also a fine white child of about three years old.

This town is called *Kanadasaga*, and appears to be one of their capital settlements; about it is a fine apple orchard and a council-house. There was in the neighbourhood a great quantity of corn, beans, &c., which, after taking great quantities for the use of the

army, we totally destroyed ; burned the houses, which were in number about fifty, and girdled the apple trees. Distance of march this day, about 12 miles.

Wednesday, Sept. 8th.—This day we lay on our ground ; the rifle corps, with several other parties, were detached down the lake to destroy a small village, called *Gaghsiungua*, and a quantity of corn, &c., in this neighbourhood, and the army prepared for a march early to-morrow morning.

Various opinions prevailed between many officers about our proceeding any further on account of our provisions ; but General Sullivan, with a number of officers, nobly resolved to encounter every difficulty to execute the important expedition, and determined, notwithstanding the horrid neglect in not furnishing us with provision, horses, &c., sufficient to enable us to carry through the expedition, even to proceed on with the scanty pittance, and accomplish the arduous task of destroying the whole Seneca country.

Thursday, Sept. 9th.—On account of a number of pack horses which had gone astray and could not be found, the army did not march at 6 o'clock agreeable to yesterday's orders. A command of fifty men, under a captain, returned from this place to Tioga to escort the sick and those who were not able to proceed without retarding the march of the army, which is now under the necessity on account of our wants to be as expeditious as possible to complete the expedition ; all those pack horses which were lame, or otherwise reduced, likewise returned.

About twelve o'clock the army marched ; their first route was over bushy land, interspersed with remarkably wild high grass, and appeared to have been formerly cleared. We then descended into an extensive maple swamp, which was very rich, and well calculated for meadow. After marching seven miles, we came to a creek, known by the name of Flint Creek, which the whole, excepting Clinton's brigade, crossed, and encamped on a plain which had been occupied by the enemy but a few days before for the same purpose. Distance of march, seven miles.

The rifle corps who yesterday went to destroy *Gaghsiungua* this evening returned. They report it was a fine town, well improved, with a great quantity of corn near the same ; likewise, an abundance of beans, water-melons, peaches, and all kinds of vegetables, the whole of which they totally destroyed.

Friday, Sept. 10th.—At 8 o'clock this morning the army took up their line of march in the usual order. Their route, about four miles, continued through the swamp, which, in some places, was miry, and difficult for pack horses, otherwise the foot would not have been much retarded. We then arrived on very fine ground for marching, which, to all appearance, was old cleared fields, as they contained a great quantity of wild grass as high as the horses in many places. The land continued in this manner (alternately having a strip of wood between) for about four miles, when we arrived at a lake, (the name I could not learn,) which appeared to be a mile wide, and six or seven miles in length. We marched half a mile along this lake, and came to the mouth, which we crossed ; the water was not knee deep, and about thirty yards over ; but it narrowed so fast that, about twenty yards from the mouth, it was not in width more than five, but much deeper. We then moved up a fine country from the lake, and in half a mile came to *Kanadalaugua*, a beautifully situated town, containing between twenty and thirty houses, well finished, chiefly of hewn plank, which we immediately burned, and proceeded about half a mile on our right, where we found a large field of corn, squashes, beans, &c. At this place we encamped, but were very badly off for water, having none but what we sent half a mile for, and that very bad. The Seneca country, from its extreme flatness, having no good springs, which is extremely disagreeable for a marching army. Distance of march this day, 9 miles.

In this town a dog was hung up, with a string of wampum round his neck, on a tree, curiously decorated and trimmed. On inquiry, I was informed that it was a custom among the savages before they went to war to offer this as a sacrifice to Mars, the God of War, and praying that he might strengthen them. In return for those favours, they promise to present him with the skin for a tobacco pouch.

Saturday, Sept. 11th.—Agreeable to orders we took up our line of march this morning

precisely at 6 o'clock. We moved through a thicket and swamp near one mile before we gained the main path. The infantry, on account of this difficult swamp, could not possibly march in the usual order, without being considerably dispersed. We moved along this path for about three miles, after which we ascended a rising ground; the country remarkably fine and rich, covered chiefly with pine, oak, and hickory timber. At intervals we crossed considerable clear fields, with remarkably high, wild grass. About 1 o'clock we descended into a most beautiful valley, within one mile of an Indian village, known by the name of Anyayea, situate on a fine plain, within about half a mile of Anyayea lake, which is but small and very beautiful, and abounds with all kinds of fish. This town contains about twelve houses, chiefly hewn logs. About it are several large corn-fields, and a number of apple and other fruit trees. We encamped about two o'clock for this day, after completing a march of thirteen miles.

Sunday, Sept. 12th.—In order to expedite our march, and prevent the enemy from making off with their effects from Jenese, their capital, and last town in the Seneca country, it was determined a garrison of fifty men, with those soldiers who were not very able to march, should continue at this post, in order to guard our stores, viz., ammunition and flour, until our return.

The rain having set in very heavy this morning, we could not move until about twelve o'clock. We then began our march, but, on account of a defile which we had to cross, could not march in the usual order. After passing the same, we took up our line of march as usual, and ascended a rising piece of ground. After marching about five miles, we came to a lake, which we crossed at the mouth, being about knee deep, and about ten yards over. We then ascended another rising piece of ground, composed of exceedingly fine, rich land, with large oak and hickory timber, and, at intervals, with marsh or swamp, well calculated for meadow ground. After arriving within half a mile of Kanaghsas, a small Indian village, which was previously destined for this day's march, night set in, and the main army being at least a mile in our rear, we received orders to encamp for this night, which was in the woods, and exceedingly ill calculated for that purpose, no water being nearer than half a mile. This day's march completed twelve miles.

After we encamped, Lieutenant Boyd, of the rifle corps, some volunteers, and as many riflemen, made up six and twenty in the whole, were sent up to reconnoitre the town of Jenese, having for their guide an Onieada Indian, named Hanyost, a chief of that tribe, who has been remarkable for his attachment to this country, having served as a volunteer since the commencement of the war.

Monday, Sept. 13th.—This morning before daylight we left; the general beat, on which the tents were immediately struck, and in half an hour the army marched into the town of Kanaghsas, which contained ten houses, situate on a flat near the head of a small lake. The flat contained a great quantity of corn, and vegetables of all kinds, which were remarkably well tended. At this place we halted to draw provisions, viz., beef, (half allowance,) and to destroy the town, corn, &c.

Four men of Lieutenant Boyd's party this morning returned, bringing information of the town of Gaghsequilahery (which they took for Jenese) being abandoned. About 12 o'clock we were alarmed by some Indians firing and giving chase to Mr. Lodge and a few men who went forward to survey. They wounded a corporal, who died next day, and chased them until one of our camp sentinels fired on them and stopped their career.

Lieutenant Boyd having retired from the town of Gaghsequilahery to wait for the arrival of the main army, which was detained longer than he expected, he sent back two men to know the cause; these two men had not gone far before they discovered a few Indians ahead. They then retired and informed Lieutenant Boyd, who immediately, with his party, gave chase, and followed them within about two miles and a half from the main army, where a body of savages, of at least four or five hundred, lay concealed, and probably intended giving the main army (the ground being favourable on their side) a fire, and push off according to custom, who immediately surrounded him and his party. He nobly fought them for some considerable time; but, by their great superiority, he was obliged to attempt a retreat, at the same time loading and firing as his party ran.

The Indians killed, and in the most inhuman manner, tomahawked and scalped six that were found. Nine of the party have got safe in ; but Lieutenant Boyd and Henjost, (the Indian already mentioned,) with seven others, are yet missing, one of whom we know is a prisoner, as one Murphy, a rifleman of the party, who made his escape, saw him in their possession. This Murphy is a noted marksman, and a great soldier, he having killed and scalped that morning, in the town they were at, an Indian, which makes the three and thirtieth man of the enemy he has killed, as is well known to his officers, this war.

There being a swamp or morass totally impassable for our horses, in front of Kanaghas, the infantry and rifle corps passed over, and ascended the hill, wherein Indians lay, in hopes to come up with them ; but they had fled, leaving behind them upwards of one hundred blankets, a great number of hats, and many other things, which we took, and then halted until the main army arrived, they having first been obliged, in order to enable them to move, to throw a hedge over the morass.

The whole then took up their line of march, and proceeded to the town of Gagsuquillahery, through the finest country I almost ever saw, without exception. Before dusk we arrived within sight of the town. The Indians, having thrown themselves in a wood on the opposite side, the following disposition for an attack was immediately ordered to take place, viz.: The infantry, with the artillery, to push on in front ; General Maxwell's brigade, with the left flanking division, to endeavour to gain the enemy's right ; General Poor's brigade to move and gain their left ; the right flanking division, and two regiments from General Clinton's brigade to move round Poor's right flank ; the infantry to rush on in front, supported by the remainder of Clinton's brigade. We then moved forward, and took possession of the town without opposition, the enemy flying before us across a branch of Genesee river, through a thicket, where it was impossible for us to follow, we not being acquainted with the country, and night having set in. We received orders to encamp, after making a march of eight and a half miles.

Tuesday, Sept. 14th.—Previous to our march this morning parties were ordered out to destroy the corn, which they did, plucking and throwing it into the river. About 11 o'clock we took up our line of march and proceeded for Jeneise, the last and capital settlement of the Seneca country ; the whole crossed a branch of the Jenise river, and moved through a considerable swamp, and formed on a plain the other side, the most extensive I ever saw, containing not less than six thousand acres of the richest soil that can be conceived, not having a bush standing, but filled with grass considerably higher than a man. We moved up this plain for about three miles in our regular line of march, which was a beautiful site, as a view of the whole could be had at one look, and then came to Jenise river, which we crossed, being about forty yards over, and near middle deep, and then ascended a rising ground, which afforded a prospect which was so beautiful that, to attempt a comparison, would be doing an injury, as we had a view as far as our eyes could carry us of another plain, besides the one we crossed, through which the Jenise river formed a most beautiful winding, and, at intervals, cataracts, which rolled from the rocks, and emptied into the river.

We then marched on through a rough but rich country, until we arrived at the capital town, which is much the largest we have yet met with in our whole route, and encamped about the same.

At this place we found the body of the brave but unfortunate Lieutenant Boyd, and one rifleman, massacred in the most cruel and barbarous manner that the human mind can possibly conceive ; the savages having put them to the most excruciating torments possible, by first plucking their nails from their hands, then spearing, cutting, and whipping them, and mangling their bodies, then cutting off the flesh from their shoulders by pieces, tomahawking and severing their heads from their bodies, and then leaving them a prey to their dogs. We likewise found one house burned, in which, probably, was a scene as cruel as the former.

This evening the remains of Lieutenant Boyd and the rifleman's corpse were interred with military honours. Mr. Boyd's former good character, as a brave soldier, and an

honest man, and his behaviour in the skirmish of yesterday (several of the Indians being found dead, and some seen carried off,) must endear him to all friends of mankind. May his fate await those who have been the cause of his. Oh! Britain, behold and blush. Jenise town, the capital of the Seneca nation, is pleasantly situated on a rich and extensive flat, the soil remarkably rich, and great parts well improved with fields of corn, beans, potatoes, and all kinds of vegetables. It contained one hundred and seven well-finished houses.

Wednesday, Sept. 15th.—This morning the whole army, excepting a covering party, were engaged in destroying the corn, beans, potatoes, and other vegetables, which were in quantity immense, and in goodness unequaled by any I ever yet saw. Agreeable to a moderate calculation, there was not less than two hundred acres, the whole of which was pulled and piled up in large heaps, mixed with dry wood, taken from the houses, and consumed to ashes. About 3 o'clock, P. M., the business was finished, and the immediate objects of this expedition completed, viz., the total ruin of the Indian settlements, and the destruction of their crops. The following is a part of the orders issued this day, viz.:

"The commander-in-chief informs this brave and resolute army that the immediate objects of this expedition are accomplished, viz.: total ruin of the Indian settlements, and the destruction of their crops, which were designed for the support of those inhuman barbarians, while they were desolating the American frontiers. He is by no means insensible of the obligations he is under to those brave officers and soldiers whose virtue and fortitude have enabled him to complete the important design of the expedition, and he assures them he will not fail to inform America at large how much they stand indebted to them. The army will this day commence its march for Tioga."

Previous to our leaving Jenise, a woman with a child came in to us, who had been taken prisoner last year near Wyoming, and fortunately made her escape from the savages. She, with her bantling, was almost starved for want of food; she informs us that the Indians have been in great want all last spring—that they subsisted entirely on green corn this summer—that their squaws were fretting prodigiously, and continually teasing their warriors to make peace—that by promises by Butler and his minions, they are fed up with great things that should be done for them—that they seem considerably cast down and frightened; and, in short, she says distress and trouble seem painted on their countenances. Distance of march this day, six miles.

Thursday, Sept. 16th.—After destroying several corn-fields, we took up our line of march about 11 o'clock, A. M., and proceeded towards Kanaghsas. Previous to our arrival there, parties were ordered out to reconnoitre the woods, and gather the bodies of those soldiers who fell in the skirmish of the 13th. Fourteen, including those six mentioned in my journal of the 13th, were found, and buried with military honours. The sight was most shocking, as they were all scalped, tomahawked, and most inhumanly mangled. Amongst those unfortunate men was Hanjost, the volunteer Indian, who fared equally with the rest. About six o'clock we arrived at Kanaghsas, and encamped. We found several corn-fields, which were immediately laid waste. Our march this day, 9 miles.

Friday, Sept. 17th.—About 5 o'clock this morning the general beat, the tents were struck, and the line of march taken up about 6 o'clock. We arrived at Anyeaya about 12 o'clock, being the place our stores, with a garrison, was left. It was not with a little satisfaction that we found everything safe. We were not without our apprehensions about them, on account of the intelligence we were fearful the enemy might have collected from the unfortunate prisoners who fell in their hands on the 13th. We encamped in the same order and on the same ground as on the 11th inst.

Saturday, Sept. 18th.—This morning about 8 o'clock the army moved; the rear was ordered (before they left the ground) to kill all such horses as were unable to move along, lest they should fall into the enemy's hands. On our route we fell in with several Oneida Indians, (our friends,) who seemed much rejoiced at our great success against the Seneca nations. We arrived about 6 o'clock, P. M., at the east side of the Kanadagua lake, where we encamped, after completing a march of thirteen miles and a half.

Sunday, Sept. 19th.—The army moved at eight o'clock this morning in the usual order;

—excepting a few obstructions they met with passing through several swamps, they marched remarkably steady. On our route we were met by an express from Tioga, who brought a number of letters and papers informing us of Spain declaring war against Great Britain. They also brought us the agreeable intelligence of a good supply for the army having come on to Newtown, (about twenty miles above Tioga,) to meet us. This agreeable intelligence conspired to make us exceedingly happy, as we had not only been a long time entirely in the dark with respect to home news, but the disagreeable reflection of half allowance was entirely dispelled.

We pursued our march until we arrived at Kanadasaga, which was about dusk. When the infantry got up; we encamped on the same ground, and in the same position, as on the 7th, after completing a march of fifteen miles.

Monday, Sept. 20th.—The greater part of the day was employed at head-quarters in holding a council in consequence of the intercession made by some Oneida Indians, (our friends) in favour of the Cayuga tribe, who have been for some time past in alliance with the Senecas, and acted with them, and are now desirous to make peace with us. The council determined no treaty should be held with them, and a command of five hundred infantry, with Major Parr's rifle corps, were immediately detached and sent to Cayuga lake, on which their settlement lay, with orders to lay wait and destroy their towns, corn, &c., and receive none of them but in the characters of prisoners of war. Col. Smith, with two hundred men, was also dispatched down the north side of the Seneca lake in order to finish the destruction of Gausiunque, an Indian village about eight miles below Canadasaga. Colonel Gainsworth, with one hundred men, was likewise detached, and sent to Fort Stanwix for some business, from whence he is to proceed to head-quarters on the north river, and join the main army.

About 4 o'clock, P. M., the army took up their line of march, and moved steadily. About half-past five they reached and crossed the outlet of Seneca lake, and encamped about one mile beyond the same.

Tuesday, Sept. 21st.—The army marched this morning about eight o'clock, and continued moving steadily until we passed Canadia about two miles, where we encamped, near the lake. Previous to our marching this morning, Colonel Dearbourn, with a command of two hundred men, marched to destroy a town on the north side of Cayuga lake. Distance of march this day, 13 miles.

Thursday, Sept. 23d.—About 8 o'clock this morning the army marched, and arrived at Catharines town about 2 o'clock, P. M., where we made a small halt. We found at this place the old Indian squaw who was left here on our march up the country. General Sullivan gave her a considerable supply of flour and meat, for which, with tears in her savage eyes, she expressed a great deal of thanks. During our absence from this place a young squaw came and attended on the old one; but some inhuman villain who passed through killed her. What made this crime still more heinous was, because a manifesto was left with the old squaw positively forbidding any violence or injury should be committed on the women or children of the savages, by virtue of which it appears this young squaw came to this place, which absolutely comes under the virtue of a breach of faith, and the offender ought to be severely punished.

I went to view, in company with a number of gentlemen, a very remarkable fall of water, which is about one mile above this place. Its beauty and elegance surpass almost anything I ever saw. The fall is not less than two hundred feet. About 3 o'clock the army moved about three miles further, and encamped on a plain at the entrance of the great swamp, after completing a march of thirteen miles and a half.

Friday, Sept. 24th.—This morning precisely at 8 o'clock the army moved, and continued their route through the hemlock swamp mentioned in the 1st inst., meeting with much fewer obstructions than we expected, owing to the very dry weather which we have had for this month past. After passing through the same we came to a fine open country, and soon arrived at Kanawaluhery, where there was a post established with a reinforcement of stores, which was a most pleasing circumstance, as the last was issued, and that

at half allowance, at Kanadaraga. On our arrival, the garrison saluted with the discharge of thirteen cannon, which compliment was returned them by the army.

Saturday, Sept. 25th.—In consequence of the accession of the King of Spain to the American alliance, and the generous proceedings of the present Congress in augmenting the subsistence of the officers and men of the army, General Sullivan ordered five head of the best cattle, viz. : one for the use of the officers of each brigade, with five gallons of spirits each, to be delivered to them respectively, thereby giving them an opportunity of testifying their joy on this occasion.

In the evening, the whole was drawn up and fired a feu-de-joie, thirteen cannon being first discharged. The infantry then commenced a running fire through the whole line, which, being repeated a second time, the whole army gave three cheers, viz. : one for the United States of America, one for Congress, and one for our new ally, the King of Spain.

The army being then dismissed, General Hand, with the officers of his brigade, attended by the officers of the park or artillery, repaired to a bowery, erected for that purpose, where the fatted bullock was served up, (dressed in different ways,) the whole seated themselves on the ground around the same, which afforded them a most agreeable repast. The officers being very jovial, and the evening was spent in great mirth and jollity.

After dinner the following toasts were drank, the drums and fifes playing at intervals.

- 1st. The thirteen states and their sponsors.
- 2d. The honourable, the American Congress.
- 3d. General Washington and the American army.
- 4th. The commander-in-chief of the western expedition.
- 5th. The American navy.
- 6th. Our faithful allies, the united houses of Bourbon.
- 7th. May the American Congress, and all her legislative representatives, be endowed with virtue and wisdom, and may her independence be as firmly established as the pillars of time.
- 8th. May the citizens of America, and her soldiers, be ever unanimous in the reciprocal support of each other.
- 9th. May altercations, discord, and every degree of fraud, be totally banished the peaceful shores of America.
- 10th. May the memory of the brave Lieutenant Boyd, and the soldiers under his command, who were horribly massacred by the inhuman savages, or by their more barbarous and detestable allies, the British and Tories, on the 13th inst., be ever dear to his country.
- 11th. An honourable peace with America, or perpetual war with her enemies.
- 12th. May the kingdom of Ireland merit a stripe in the American standard.
- 13th. May the enemies of America be metamorphosed into pack horses, and sent on a western expedition against the Indians.

An express, with dispatches for General Sullivan, from Philadelphia, arrived this morning, by whom I received a packet enclosing the commissions for my officers.

About 11 o'clock, A. M., the command under Colonel Dearbourn, who left us the 21st of June to proceed to Cayuga lake, returned, bringing two squaw prisoners; he having, in his route, destroyed several towns and a great quantity of fine corn.

Monday, Sept. 27th.—The detachment ordered to march yesterday moved this morning up Tioga branch to an Indian village, about twelve miles from this place, with orders to destroy the same.

Coleman and Caldwell, two of my soldiers, who, by some means, lost the regiment at Kanadaugua lake, on the eighteenth, after wandering for seven days in the wilderness, found and joined us at this place. They subsisted, during their absence, on the hearts and livers of two dead horses which they found on the path along which the army had marched.

At dusk this evening, the detachment which marched this morning returned, after destroying a considerable quantity of corn, beans, and other vegetables, sixteen boat loads of which they brought with them for the use of the army; they also burned a small village.

Tuesday, Sept. 28th.—Several commands were ordered out this day, viz., one up and the other down the Tioga branch, for the purpose of destroying corn, &c., of which there was a quantity left on our march towards the Seneca country.

All the lame and sick soldiers of the army were this day ordered to go to Tioga in boats, and the pack horses least able for other duty.

Colonel Butler, with his command, after laying waste and destroying the Cayuga settlements, and corn, &c., of which there was a very great quantity, returned, and joined the army about 10 o'clock this morning.

Wednesday, Sept. 29th.—The army marched this morning about 8 o'clock, and continued moving steadily until we passed Chemung about one mile, where we encamped on the same ground, and in the same position, as on the 27th. The two commands ordered out yesterday morning returned, and joined the army at this place about 9 o'clock, P. M., after destroying large quantities of corn, beans, and other vegetables.

Thursday, Sept. 30th.—This morning about 8 o'clock the army moved. About 2 o'clock they arrived at Tioga plains, near Fort Sullivan, where the whole formed in regular line of march, and moved into the garrison in the greatest order, when we were received with military honours, the garrison turning out with presented arms, and a salute of thirteen rounds from their artillery, which complement was returned them from the park of artillery with the army.

Colonel Shrieve, governor of the garrison, had an elegant dinner provided for the general and field officers of the army. We regaled ourselves, and great joy and good humour was visible in every countenance. Colonel Proctor's band, and drums and fifes played in concert the whole time.

Friday, Oct. 1st.—This morning the horses belonging to the officers of the brigade were forwarded to Wyoming. We also sent our cow which we had along with us the whole expedition, and to whom we are under infinite obligations for the great quantity of milk she afforded us, which rendered our situation very comfortable, and was no small addition to our half allowance.

This afternoon Colonel Brewer, General Sullivan's secretary, set off to Congress with the dispatches, which contained a relation of the great success of the expedition.

Saturday, Oct. 2d.—This day the commander-in-chief made an elegant entertainment, and invited all the general and field officers of the army to dine with him.

In the evening, to conclude the mirth of the day, we had an Indian dance. The officers who joined in it putting on vizors, (alias Monetas.) The dance was conducted and led off by a young Sachem of the Oneida tribe, who was next followed by several other Indians, then the whole led off, and, after the Indian custom, danced to the music, which was a rattle, a knife, and a pipe, which the Sachem continued clashing together and singing Indian the whole time. At the end of each, the Indian whoop was set up by the whole.

Sunday, Oct. 3d.—Agreeable to the orders of yesterday, the garrison of Fort Sullivan this day joined their respective corps, and the fort was demolished. The stores and other baggage with the park of artillery were put on board the boats, and every other matter put in perfect readiness to move with the army, on their route to Wyoming, to-morrow morning at 6 o'clock.

The young Sachem, with several Oneida Indians, relatives and friends of the unfortunate Indian Hanjost, who bravely fell with the party under command of the much lamented Lieut. Boyd on the 13th ult., who faithfully acted as guide to the army, left us this day, well pleased, (after bestowing some presents on them,) for their native place, the Oneida country.

The German regiment, which composed a part of the flanking divisions of the army, was this day ordered to join and do duty with the third Pennsylvania brigade, commanded by Gen. Hand.

Monday, Oct. 4th.—This day about 8 o'clock the army took up their line of March. We arrived at Wessaukin about 6 o'clock in the evening, after completing a march of fifteen miles. On account of the rain, marching was rather disagreeable this day.

On my arrival at this place I received a letter, with some newspapers, &c., from his excellency, President Read, which contained agreeable news, &c.

Wednesday, Oct. 6th.—About 8 o'clock this morning the whole embarked again, and moved, paying no attention to order down the river.

Thursday, Oct. 7th.—Embarked about 6 o'clock, and kept on steadily until we arrived at Wyoming. About 3 o'clock, P. M., the whole army landed and encamped on the same ground, and in the same order, as on the 30th of July.

Thus, by the perseverance, good conduct, and determined resolution of our commander-in-chief, with the assistance of his council, and the full determination of his troops to execute, have we fully accomplished the great end and intentions of this important expedition; and I flatter myself we fully surpassed the most sanguine expectations of those whose eyes were more immediately looking to us for success.

The glorious achievements we have exhibited in extending our conquests so far, and, at the same time, render them so very complete, will make no inconsiderable balance even in the present politics of America. Its future good consequences I leave to the eloquence of time to declare, which will, in ages hence, celebrate the memory of those brave sons who nobly risked their lives, disdaining every fatigue and hardship, to complete a conquest, the real good effects and advantages of which posterity will particularly enjoy.

Whilst I revere the merit and virtue of the army, I am sorry I am under the necessity of mentioning that there was an unparalleled and unpardonable neglect, (and which ought not to pass with impunity,) in those whose business it was to supply them with a sufficient quantity of necessaries to carry them through the expedition, instead of which not more than twenty-two days flour, and sixteen days meat was on hand when it commenced. And, although the army possessed a degree of virtue, perhaps unparalleled in the annals of history, in undertaking an expedition on half allowance, which was in every instance hazardous and imperious, yet, had we not been favored with the smiles of Providence, in a continuation of good weather, the half allowance itself would not have enabled us to perform what, from that circumstance, we have.

THE END.

JOURNAL OF LIEUT. JOHN JENKINS.

LIEUT. JENKINS was born in New London, Conn., at Gardner's Lake, 27th November, 1751, O. S. He was a surveyor and conveyancer, school-teacher, constable, agent for the Susquehanna Company at Wyoming, farmer, merchant and iron-monger. He came to Wyoming Valley, with his father Judge John Jenkins a native of East Greenwich, R. I., in 1769, and at once took an active part in the Pennamite and subsequently in the Revolutionary wars. He entered into the service of the United States, 26th Aug., 1776. was taken prisoner by the Indians and Tories in the latter part of November, 1777, carried to Niagara where he remained during the winter and in the spring was taken to Montreal and Albany, whence they proposed taking him to Kanadasego, to a grand Indian Council for final disposition. On the way he escaped and after great fatigue and suffering from hunger, reached home on the 2d of June, 1778, previous to the advent of the forces under Butler and Brant, of whose coming he brought intelligence. He was in command of Forty Fort when the settlers marched out to meet and turn back the invaders. He subsequently joined (6th July, 1778), Captain Spalding's Company as Lieutenant; went with Col. Hartley to Tioga Point in the latter part of September, 1778.

The next year, in April, he waited on General Washington at his request giving him important information relating to the Indian country. He served throughout the Sullivan campaign as a guide to the army, and received the thanks of Gen'l Sullivan in general orders, for "the services rendered the same by his vigilance and exertion," in the Battle of Newtown, 29th Aug., 1779. On his return from that campaign he remained on duty at Wyoming until 25th February, 1781, where he set out with his company to join General Washington at Headquarters on the Hudson, and arrived on the 10th of March. He was engaged in the

battle of King's Bridge 3d July, 1781, and when the army marched for Yorktown accompanied them; was at the surrender of Cornwallis, 17th Oct., 1781, serving under Baron Steuben. Returning with the army to the Hudson that same fall, and the war being virtually at an end, he on the 1st of March, 1782, resigned his commission and returned home to the defense of his family and friends.

He was an active, leading man in all the struggles of the settlers, firm and unyielding in his adherence to their rights, never compromising, never surrendering.

After the Revolutionary war, he settled in Exeter, on the battle field of Wyoming, where he died 19th March, 1827. He married Bethiah, daughter of Jonathan Harris of Colchester, Conn., on the 23d June, 1778, and by her had eight children. She survived him and died 12th August, 1842, aged 90 years.

From the 5th of June, 1778, up to the time of his joining Washington on the Hudson, he kept a journal of events, with which he was connected. So much of it, is here given, as relates to the Sullivan Campaign.

The original manuscript, is in the hands of his grandson, Hon. Steuben Jenkins, Wyoming, Pa., to whom we are indebted for the following copy and the foregoing biographical sketch. It has never before been published.

JOURNAL

*OF LIEUT. JOHN JENKINS, CONNECTED WITH THE CAMPAIGN OF
GEN. SULLIVAN, AGAINST THE SIX NATIONS.—1779.*

APRIL 1st. I set off for head-quarters, by order of Gen. Hand. Met Capt. Spalding in the swamp.

APRIL 6. Waited on Gen. Washington and had a long interview with him in relation to the Indian Country, on the head waters of the Susquehanna, and around the Lakes. and the facilities for an expedition into that country.

APRIL 8th. Set out for Wyoming.

APRIL 11th. Arrived at Wyoming with Major Birchard who commanded 400 men.

APRIL 23d. This day Major Powell with a party of men coming in were waylaid by the Indians near Laurel run. Capt. Davis, Lieut. Jones and three men were killed and two others were missing. About the same time the Indians drove off six cows from Shawnee.

MAY 8th. General Hand came to Wyoming.

JUNE 23d. General Sullivan came to Wyoming.

JUNE 30th. Two Tories condemned. One of them was Executed, the other was relieved and sent to his family near Easton.

SATURDAY, JULY 31st.

The army under command of Major Gen. Sullivan consisting of three brigades, commanded by Gens. Hand, Poor and Maxwell, left Wyoming and marched as far as Lackawanna, and encamped on the north side of the creek. The light corps, to which I was attached, taking the advance about a mile in front of the main body. We encamped at about 4½ o'clock, P. M. The boats did not come up by reason of the sinking of one of them loaded with ammunition, and damaging another.

AUGUST 1st. Continued at Lackawanna, waiting for the boats until afternoon. The army marched about 3 o'clock and encamped about seven in the evening at Wyolutimunk. I left a horse at Lackawanna, by reason of his lameness.

AUGUST 2d. The army lay still in the encampment. David Brown was wounded in the side by accident, with a tomahawk. The rear guard lost seven tents, by reason of being detained in the night.

AUGUST 3d. The army marched as far as Tunkhannock, and encamped near Wortman's. Two Indians discovered on the west side of the river.

AUG'T 4th. The army marched at 5 o'clock in the morning, and encamped at night at Van der Lypp's. The boats did not come up which detained our march until late the next day.

AUG'T 5th. The army marched about 10 o'clock and encamped at night at Wyalusing. I left a bay mare at Van der Lypp's, on account of her being lame and not able to go further. One of the men belonging to Stewart's bullock-guard, was unwell, and was left in the encampment. One of the boat men fell out of the boat and was unfortunately drowned. After we encamped at night a Sergeant, belonging to the New Jersey troops, died very suddenly. To-day we passed over the ground where the battle was fought between Col. Hartley and the Indians last fall, from DePui's farm on up some distance.

AUG'r 6.—The army remained at Wyalusing to refresh themselves. A party was sent back to Van der Lypp's. They found the man dead that was left there the day before, and brought him up and buried him near Kingsley's house. Orders given to march at five o'clock to-morrow morning.

AUG'T. 7th. The weather was stormy last night, and this morning, which detained our march, and we lay in camp all day.

AUG'T 8th. The army marched at 5 in the morning and encamped at night at Wysox. General Sullivan came on in the boats, being unwell, which detained him so that he did not come up to the light troops, but he encamped at the Standing Stone, about three miles in the rear.

AUG'T 9th. The main body of the army came up to Gen. Hand about 10 o'clock when the whole army advanced and encamped at night on the upper Sheshequin flats. This day in passing a narrow defile in break-neck hill, three of our oxen fell off and were killed. At night one of the small boats loaded with flour was stove, and the lading lost.

AUG'T 10th. The weather was stormy and in consequence of this and the boats not coming up in season, we remained in camp.

AUG'T 11th. The army marched at 5 o'clock in the morning, passing near Queen Esther's palace, which we destroyed last fall at the time of our expedition under Col. Hartley. After crossing the river we encamped on Tioga plains.

At night, I was sent with Capt Cummings to reconnoiter Chemung.

AUG'T 12th. Returned from Chemung, in the afternoon. We discovered an Indian village at that place, about 12 miles from camp. About 8 o'clock in the evening a large party marched in order to destroy that settlement.

AUG'T 13th. The party arrived at Chemung about 5 o'clock, in the morning, but found that the enemy had left the town. We followed them about one mile, and as our advance party, under command of Gen. Hand was ascending a small hill, the enemy fired upon them from the top. After a spirited contest, the enemy fled taking with them their dead and wounded. We had three brave officers,—Capt. Henry Carberry, Capt. John Franklin and Lieut. William Huston wounded, together with a number of men—and six men killed. After gaining the summit of the hill, we halted for some time and then returned to the town, and set it on fire, and destroyed about fifteen acres of corn.

As Gen. Poor was going into a piece of corn with his brigade, the Indians fired on them from across the river, killing one of his men and wounding three others, who are likely to recover. The army then returned to Tioga, to our encampment.

AUG'T 14th. The army lay in the encampment until night, and buried the dead, that had been killed yesterday, with military honors.

AUG'T 15. A detachment of nine hundred men, with ammunition and provisions for eight days, was made, to be commanded by Gens. Hand and Poor, with orders to march at six o'clock on the morning of the 16th, to go up the Susquehanna to meet Gen. Clinton, who is marching to join us. A small party of Indians came near the camp on the west side of the Tioga creek and killed three men, scalped young Elliot and wounded another, and another that was in company with Elliot was missing. They also killed an ox and drove off several horses.

AUG'T 16th. The party marched about 11 o'clock in order to meet General Clinton, and encamped at night about ten miles from Tioga, at a place called Mauckatawungum, or Red Bank. Sergeant [Asa] Chapman and [Justus] Gaylord were sent to meet Gen. Clinton and inform him of our advance to meet him.

AUG'T 17th. The party marched at six o'clock in the morning and encamped at night on Owego flats near the river, where there was an Indian town. The Indians had left the town however, some time before our arrival.

AUG'T 18th. The party marched at 7 o'clock and encamped at night at Choconut flats. On the opposite side of the river, was a beautiful piece of land which the Indians had desolated and left the day before. In the evening we heard the Indians prowling about our camp.

AUG'T 19th. The party marched early in the morning in hopes of meeting the army under Gen. Clinton. After we had marched about one mile we received orders to return to our camp. Soon after Gen. Clinton and our party joined and returned as far as Owego.

AUG'T 20th. The army lay still by reason of a very heavy rain.

AUG'T 21st. Marched at 7 in the morning and encamped about 3 in the afternoon, at Mauckatawungum.

AUG'T 22d. The army marched at 6 in the morning and returned to the encampment at Tioga, at about twelve o'clock, at which time General Sullivan honored us with the discharge of thirteen pieces of cannon.

AUG'T 23d. Lay in camp all day. Capt. Kimball of Col. Cilley's command, was killed by the accidental discharge of a gun, and a Lieut. wounded.

I drew 21 pairs of shoes and delivered them to the following soldiers:—

John Swift,	Nathan Stark,
Harvey Harding,	Frederick Eveland,
Thomas Baldwin,	Richard Halstead,
William Kellogg,	Justus Gaylord,
Daniel Denton,	Thomas Parks,
Elisha Garrett,	Elijah Walker,
Palmer Ransom,	Lawrence Keeney,
William Conover,	Stephen Skiff,
Isaac Benjamin,	Timothy Hopkins,
Asa Smith,	William Smith,

James Welles.

AUG'T 24th. The army was engaged in preparing to march from Tioga into the Indian country. A man was wounded by the accidental discharge of a gun. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the light troops marched off of the old encampment and encamped about 100 rods in advance, at which time Col. [William] Butler joined our corps, and encamped at 7 o'clock, P. M.

AUG'T 25th. The army lay still in camp, preparing for a march. About 11 o'clock it began to rain very hard, which continued till late in the afternoon. Three Indians came to our encampment, supposed to be friendly Indians from Oneida. Ordered to march at 8 o'clock to-morrow morning. An express from Fort Pitt came in this evening.

AUG'T 26th. The army marched about 11 o'clock and halted near a fording place in Tioga creek, waiting for the creek to fall as it was very high on account of the recent heavy rains.

AUG. 27th. The army marched about 6 o'clock and encamped on a beautiful flat about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Chemung. This day in passing a narrow defile, one of our wagons loaded with ammunition broke down and fell from the top of a high hill. I, with Lieut. Stevens, destroyed the enemy's encampment. Clinton did not march which delayed our further progress till late on Saturday the 28th instant.

AUG'T 28th. The army was busy preparing for a further advance, reconnoitering the country and selecting the route for the march. Repaired Col. Proctor's carriages for the artillery, which were taken yesterday and destroyed by the enemy. We cut down about 30 acres of corn, which was supposed to have been planted by the Tories, and left some time before.

We destroyed Chemung.

The army marched about 12 o'clock. As the advance guard of riflemen was crossing the river a small party of Indians fired on our boatmen, but did no damage. A small party, with two of our Indians were sent out, who discovered small parties of Indians, and heard them at work on their encampment. This day the army marched about two miles and encamped at Chemung, on the bank of the Tioga creek.

BATTLE OF NEWTOWN.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 29th, 1779. The army marched at 8 o'clock in the morning. After our advance parties had marched about two miles they frequently discovered Indian spies, about 200 yards distant in front of them, and a small party of the enemy on the west side of the river. The further we advanced the bolder these hardy fellows became, one of whom fired on our advance party but did no damage, and then ran off at great speed.

We continued our advance and discovered several more Indians, who fled before us. At the distance of about four miles from Chemung we discovered a very extensive and formidable breast-work, advantageously situated on a rising piece of ground. The rifle corps drew up and formed at the distance of about 300 yards from the enemy's works, and then, advancing to within 120 yards, kept up a brisk and scattering fire on the enemy for two hours, while Gens. Poor and Clinton endeavored to gain their rear, and our artillery could be properly placed for an engagement. In the meantime about 400 of the enemy sallied out on our advanced parties, but finding our troops determined to maintain their ground, thought best to return to their works. Soon after our cannon began to play upon them, they ran off and left their breastworks, in the most precipitous manner, leaving their packs, blankets, tomahawks, spears, &c., behind them. At the same time we took possession of the enemy's ground and fortifications. As the enemy were retreating their left flank fell in with Gen. Poor. A sharp fight ensued from both parties but the enemy were obliged to give way. In this engagement we lost in killed five men, and thirty-four were wounded. Among the wounded were Major Titcomb, Capt. Claves, and Lieut. McColley. Poor's party took a Tory prisoner, and 12 Indian scalps. The riflemen took a negro, prisoner, in the evening about two miles from the enemy's works, and then returned and encamped near a very beautiful flat where the enemy had planted and tilled about 120 acres of corn.

AUGT 30th. The army lay still and sent out reconnoitering parties, and buried the dead. Having destroyed about 120 acres of excellent corn, beans, &c., prepared to proceed after the enemy. Our wounded, heavy artillery and wagons were sent back to Tioga in boats. This day in examining the prisoners they said that Butler and Brant commanded, and that the enemy consisted of 700 men,—500 Indians and 200 Tories, and they had lived for two weeks on green corn, without bread or salt. The General asked the negro what their officers said when our cannon began to play upon our works. He answered, "As the Indians ran away, so did the white people run too. The rangers run, and the officers hollered, 'top rangers!' 'tòp rangers!' but rangers not top."

This day the Lieutenant wounded yesterday, died of his wounds. Our soldiers found a large number of the enemy's packs, blankets, and some young horses, and brought them in.

This day the whole army agreed to live on half rations to subdue their cruel and implacable enemies the Indians and Tories.

None of the Indians were seen to-day.

AUG'T 31st. The army marched at 10 o'clock past Newtown, where our soldiers found a large quantity of pewter, iron kettles, &c., then crossing a branch of Tioga creek, travelled over a fine beautiful tract of land and encamped near the Tioga branch on a level, open piece of ground. This day we discovered the enemy going up the main branch of Tioga with boats and canoes. Major Parr with the riflemen and a company of infantry, were sent after them. This party did not return to-day.

An Indian was found dead near our encampment, supposed to be one of those wounded at the breastworks and brought on until he died, and was then abandoned. The two prisoners taken on the 29th inst., informed us that we had killed three Indians, and wounded a number near Chemung when that town was destroyed.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 1st. The army marched at 8 o'clock in the morning, and with considerable difficulty reached Catharines town, or Cheoquock, at 7 in the evening, and found it had been evacuated by the enemy a few hours before. The pack horses and baggage did not reach here until Thursday morning.

Major Parr returned to the army about 10 o'clock to-day, and informed us that he could not come up with the Indians with their canoes, but that he burned a number of buildings and destroyed 30 acres of corn, and that the enemy had made a quantity of hay.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 2d. This morning some of our soldiers found an old squaw, that had not been able to travel, so as to make her escape. She said that Butler and the Indians held a great council of war, and the old Indian chiefs had a mind to make peace, but Butler told them that the rebels would kill them all, and they had better run off in the woods. Upon the whole they concluded to leave this town before we could reach it. The army lay still. Col. Butler went out with a party but made no discovery. Our soldiers found considerable plunder, horses, cows, hogs, &c. We lived very plentifully for a few days. This town is situated on a very fine and beautiful bottom of land about 3 miles south of Seneca lake.

SEPT. 3d. The army marched at 8 o'clock in the morning. This day we passed over a fine beautiful country of land adjoining Seneca lake on the west, and the Cayuga lake on the east. The army encamped about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, near a small Indian settlement, where we found plenty of Indian corn, beans, squashes, &c., which the army made use of for themselves and horses. This day our right flank discovered our Indian spy, who ran off as soon as discovered. This settlement the Indians left with the fires burning in their houses.

SEPT. 4th. The army marched about 10 o'clock in the morning, passed several houses and cornfields which we destroyed. To-day we marched over a fine, beautiful, level country of land, pleasantly situated on the east side of Seneca lake. The light troops encamped about 3 miles from Kindauga, and about two miles in front of the main army. This day our soldiers caught a number of fine horses.

SUNDAY, SEPT. 5th. The main army came up to the light troops about 10 o'clock, and the whole moved about 11 o'clock, passing one house, and several cornfields, and arrived at Candaia at 2 o'clock, which place the enemy had left some days before. In one of the out houses, about one mile from the town, a party of our riflemen found *Luke Swetland*, who was taken by the Indians near Nanticoke in August, 1778, and brought to their town and given to an old squaw who kept him as her son, and he fared as well as the rest of the family. He informed us that Butler left this place the Thursday before, with the whole of his army of 700 or 800 men,—about 300 Tories and 500 Indians, and that he understood by some of the Tories that the rebels had defeated Butler and Brant, and they had lost some men killed, and a large number wounded, and that a number of our old neighbors were down to fight against us, who looked very much ashamed when they returned

from Newtown, where we defeated them. This day we destroyed the cornfields, pulled down and burnt the houses, &c.

SEPT. 6th, MONDAY. This day the army was detained until late by reason of their losing some of the horses and cattle, which were not found until late, but the army marched about 2 miles and encamped on the bank of Seneca lake, in a very beautiful country well timbered with oak. This day an express arrived from Wyoming.

SEPT. 7th.—The army marched at 7 in the morning passing a defile near the lake without much difficulty, and arrived at 6 o'clock in the evening at Canadasago, the capitol of the Seneca country, which we found evacuated and left by the enemy. This is a very beautiful town, situate on a rising piece of ground about one mile from the mouth of the lake. It contained about sixty houses and was surrounded with apple and peach trees. Our soldiers lived very bountifully on vegetables, &c., while here, as the enemy had plenty of such things for their own support, but being hurried off they left them behind.

In this town we found a white child about 3 years old, which we supposed to have been taken by the Indians from some of the back settlements.

SEPT. 8th. The army lay in camp, washed their clothes and collected vegetables, &c., &c., preparing to march to-morrow. This day Major Parr, with his rifle corps, and a number of volunteers, went to destroy a small town 7 miles from this place, on the west side of the lake, called Shenawaga, where he found a large quantity of corn, and sent back for assistance to destroy it. A large fatigue party destroyed the corn here, and cut down the fruit trees. Orders were given to march for the Genessee at 6 o'clock, to-morrow, except a Captain's command, which was detached to return to Tioga with the invalids.

SEPT. 9th. The army marched at 12 o'clock over a very level country, 7 miles, without crossing any running water, and encamped at night on the west side of Flint creek. Major Parr, returned to the army this evening, and reported that he had destroyed a large quantity of corn and other vegetables, and burned 20 houses, at Shenawaga, where the enemy had hogs, fowls, apples, peaches, &c. Yesterday Col. Harper, with a number of volunteers, destroyed a small town called Scauwaga, about ten miles from Canadasago. This town was left by the Indians some time before.

SEPT. 10th. The army marched at 8 o'clock in the morning and in seven miles came to a very beautiful small lake, where the Indians had a few houses on the north side, and about a half mile from it, a town of 23 houses, called Canadaigua. This town was set on fire at two o'clock, and then we marched one and a half miles further to a convenient place to encamp, where the Indians had about 50 acres of corn and a great quantity of beans and other vegetables, all of which were destroyed soon after our arrival by our soldiers. Orders were given to march at 5 o'clock to-morrow.

SEPT. 11. The army marched at 5, in the morning. After marching 13 miles over a very pleasant level country, came to a town called Anayayea. Pleasantly situated near a small lake, where the enemy had plenty of corn, beans, &c. The army lived in great plenty off of these vegetables, and we thought ourselves happy to find so much good living in a savage country, and the enemy fleeing before us. Order to march at 5 o'clock in the morning. At this town the Indians had about 12 houses and 20 acres of good corn, which the soldiers were ordered to destroy. We here left a part of our stores, with a detachment under command of Capt. Cummings. Our sick also remained here in one of the block houses.

SEPT. 12th.

Last evening about 8 o'clock began a very heavy rain, which continued till late in the forenoon, and detained our marching agreeably to the order of yesterday. Marched about 11 o'clock, and after marching about 12 miles passed a lake called Canadagua and encamped near an Indian town called Canaghsoos. This evening Lieut. Boyd, with a party of 23 men went to a town on the Genessee, and found it evacuated.

SEPT. 13th. The army marched at 5 o'clock, went into the town where they halted and cooked breakfast, while the pioneers were building bridges and cutting a road through the swamp. Mr. Lodge, a surveyor, with his assistants, without the sentry's rising, advanced

up a hill, were fired upon by a party of Indians who lay concealed on the hill for that purpose. One of his men was wounded, the rest made their escape. As Lieut. Boyd was returning to camp this morning he was attacked by a large party of Indians, himself and 16 of his men were killed or taken. One of his party, who made his escape, informed us that this morning in the Genessee town they killed and scalped an Indian who rode a good horse, and had three guns, supposed to be going to join their main party.

After the army was alarmed, by the firing on Mr. Lodge, the riflemen and light troops immediately took possession of the height, where the enemy were posted. On the approach of our advance party the enemy left the ground, and about 150 of their packs, hats, blankets, tomahawks, &c., and fled before us without giving us one shot. We took possession of one of their towns on the Genessee, about 6 o'clock this evening without any opposition where we found a great plenty of corn and other vegetables.

SEPT. 14th. This morning the man wounded yesterday died. A fatigue party of 2000 men was ordered out at 6 o'clock to destroy the corn which they completed at 12 o'clock. The army then marched about 5 miles to the capital town on the Genessee. This town is situated on the west side of the river, on the most beautiful flat I ever saw, which town we entered without opposition and found two of our men, taken by the enemy yesterday, dead. They were brought to this place, killed and cut to pieces in the most barbarous and cruel manner that savages were master of. One of these men supposed to be Lieut. Boyd, the other a soldier of his party. These men were buried immediately, with the honors of war in as decent a manner as our situation would admit of.

SEPT. 15th. This morning the whole of the army was ordered to parade at 6 o'clock in order to destroy the corn of this place, which was judged to be upwards of 200 acres, and a vast quantity of beans, squashes, &c. This we completed by about 2 o'clock, by throwing it into the houses, which were set on fire. Some threw it into the river, and others built fires in the fields and burned it there. This forenoon Mrs. Lester, who was taken last November, by the Indians, came to our camp and brought with her one of her children.

RETURN OF THE ARMY.

SEPT. 16th. Large fatigue parties were sent out this morning to destroy the corn, which they accomplished at 10 o'clock. The whole of the army marched at 11 o'clock. When we came near the ground where Lieut. Boyd was attacked by the Indians, on the 13th inst., several reconnoitering parties were sent out and found 14 of his men dead, and scalped and cut in a most savage manner. An Indian that went out as a guide to Lieut. Boyd was found cut to pieces;—all of whom we buried as decently as we could in our situation, and then the army proceeded as far as Canaghsoos, where the whole encamped at night.

SEPT. 17th. The army marched at 6 o'clock in the morning, and marched 12 miles to Hanayayea, where we left our stores and the sick, which we find all well. We arrived at the town at 1 o'clock when the army encamped and drew provisions.

SEPT. 18th. Marched at 6½ in the morning and after a march of 13 miles came to a small lake near Canandaigua. This day we met on the road two Indians from Oneida, with dispatches for Gen. Sullivan. In the town we left this morning, and on the road, we killed about 20 pack horses that were not able to travel.

SEPT. 19th.—The army marched at 7 o'clock and with some difficulty reached Canadasago at 6 in the evening, where we encamped. This day an express met the army with letters from Gen. Washington. Information was brought that Col. Shreve had forwarded a great plenty of provisions and liquor to Newtown for the use of the army.

SEPT. 20th. The army lay in camp until 4 in the afternoon, and then the whole marched four miles, crossed the outlet of the lake, and encamped about 7 in the evening. This day several large parties were sent off to the different places. Lieut. Gore went on a command with Col. Butler, to the Cayuga lake, to destroy several towns and the corn belonging to the Cayuga nation, who a few days ago sent a request to the General, to have their crops saved.

SEPT. 21st. The army marched at 7 in the morning, and encamped at night near Kendawa, a distance of 18 miles.

SEPT. 22d. We marched at 8 in the morning and advanced 14 miles. This morning Nathaniel Church sent to Wyoming.

SEPT. 23d. The army marched at 8 in the morning, and came to Shequaga (Catharines town,) at 2 in the afternoon, where we found a squaw dead, and the old squaw that we left on our way up, alive in her hut. This night the army encamped on the flats about two miles from the town.

SEPT. 24th. The army marched at 6, and arrived at the Tioga Broom, where we found plenty of provision and liquor, under the care of Capt. Reed.

SEPT. 25th. The army lay in camp at Fort Reed, where we had the news confirmed in general orders concerning Spain declaring war against England. This day was spent very joyfully, and at 5 o'clock a *few de joie* was fired by 13 rounds of cannon. Three cheers were then given. One for the Continental Congress, one for the King of Spain, and one for the King of France, after which there was a good supper provided for the troops of 5 oxen barbecued, and a great plenty of liquor to drink. The officers of Gen. Hand's brigade had 13 fires and 13 candles burning, and drank the following 13 toasts given by Gen. Hand, to wit :

1. The 13 Sister States and their Sponsors.
2. The Honorable Continental Congress
3. Gen. Washington and the American Army.
4. The Commander-in-Chief of the Western Expedition.
5. The American Navy.
6. Our faithful allies the House of Bourbon.
7. May the American Congress and all her legislature representatives be endued with virtue and wisdom, and may our Independence be as firmly established as the pillars of time.
8. May the citizens of America and her soldiers be ever unanimous in the reciprocal support of each other.
9. May altercations, discord, and every kind of fraud be totally banished the peaceful shores of America.
10. May the memory of the brave Lieut. Boyd, and the soldiers under his command, who were horribly massacred by the inhuman savages, or by their more barbarous and detestable allies, the British and Tories, on the 13th inst., be ever dear to their country.
11. An honorable peace with America or perpetual war with her enemies.
12. May the Kingdom of Ireland merit a stripe in the American Standard.
13. May the enemies of America be metamorphosed into pack horses and sent on a western expedition against the Indians.

SEPT. 26th. This day the army lay in camp at Fort Reed. At 12 o'clock, Col. Dearborn returned to camp from the Cayuga Lake, with 2 squaws he had taken prisoners. He reported that he had destroyed five towns on the west side of the lake, and a large quantity of corn and other vegetables. These towns were situated near the lake, in a fine fruitful country. He also destroyed a fine plantation belonging to Hendrick Markle, a Tory, who fled from the frontier town and settled among the Indians rather than live an honest life among a people he called rebels.

SEPT. 27th. This day the army lay in camp. A large fatigue party was sent up the river 9 miles, where they loaded nine boats with corn and other vegetables, and brought them down. This evening Mr. Lodge and five men from Col. Butler's party, came in and informed us that the Colonel was about 10 miles from camp. A soldier belonging to the New Hampshire troops died to-day.

SEPT. 28th. The army lay in camp. Several large parties sent out this morning to destroy corn and other vegetables. Col. Butler returned to camp from the Cayuga country, and informed us that he had destroyed five towns, and about 150 acres of most excellent corn, and a large quantity of beans, potatoes, and other vegetables. One of his party died very suddenly this morning, before he reached camp.

SEPT. 29th. The army left Fort Reed and marched 10 miles toward Fort Sullivan passing Butler's breastworks. We encamped at night on a flat 2 miles below Chemung. This evening Capt. Spalding returned from a command up the Tioga branch where he destroyed a small town and about 10 acres of corn, the fences, &c. This town appeared to have been built by white people.

SEPT. 30th. This morning the army marched at 7 o'clock and arrived at Tioga about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and each brigade encamped on the old ground.

OCT. 1st. The army lay in camp. One or two small parties sent to Wyoming. I have been very unwell for some days.

OCT. 2nd, SUNDAY. Continued in Fort Sullivan. Order to march Monday at 6 o'clock for Wyoming.

OCT. 3rd. Continued at Tioga.

OCT. 4th. Marched for Wyoming. Encamped at night at Wysox.

OCT. 5th. The army went on board the boats, and came down as far as DePews.

OCT. 6th. Came to Lackawanna.

OCT. 7th. The army came to Wyoming.

OCT. 10th. The army left this place and marched for Easton.

OCT. 29th. The German regiments marched for Sunbury.

DEC'R 19th. Capt. Selin set out for Philadelphia.

JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN DANIEL LIVERMORE.

DANIEL LIVERMORE, Captain in the Third New Hampshire Regiment. He was born in Watertown, Mass., in 1749. After serving an apprenticeship to a house carpenter at Concord, N. H., he continued there working at his trade until the commencement of the revolution, when, in June, 1775, he was commissioned as Ensign in Third New Hampshire Reg't and in January, 1776, was appointed as First Lieutenant, and not long after was appointed Captain, and commanded a company of foot in the Sullivan expedition, during which time the following journal was written. Oct. 10th, 1783, Captain Livermore was promoted by Congress to rank of Major by brevet and Dec. 10, 1783, he retired from the army and returned to Concord where he continued to reside until his death, June 22, 1798.

His journal was published in the New Hampshire Historical Collections, Vol. VI, page 308, having been furnished by Joseph B. Walker, Esq., of Concord. The following is taken therefrom :

*A JOURNAL OF THE MARCH OF GEN. POOR'S BRIGADE, FROM
SOLDIER'S FORTUNE, ON THE WESTERN
EXPEDITION, MAY 17, 1779.*

BY DANIEL LIVERMORE, CAPTAIN IN THE THIRD NEW HAMPSHIRE REGIMENT.

JOURNAL.

MONDAY, MAY 17, 1779. This day at eight o'clock the remaining part of Gen. Poor's brigade leave Soldier's Fortune and march on the Western Expedition. At three o'clock, P. M., halt at Fishkill, where we dine, twelve miles from our old quarters. At five P. M., march for the Ferry, which we make about sunset ; five miles from town. Col. Read's regiment cross the North River this evening, Col. Dearborn's take quarters for the night on the east side. Nothing remarkable happens during the day, 17 miles.

TUESDAY, MAY 18th. This morning the weather being fair we proceed to conveying our baggage and stores over the river, to Newburg Landing, which was completed at about twelve o'clock. Here the troops refresh. At two o'clock, P. M., are ready to

march, near which time Gen. Poor arrives from New Hampshire. The troops now proceed on their march by the way of New-Windsor, three miles; thence to Bethlehem, nine miles. Put up at Maj. Deboyse's. This place is in the State of New York, and county of Orange. The country is not very good in general, although some of the farms are very fine. Nothing material has happened this day. 12 miles.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 19. This morning the troops march, at seven o'clock, through a very fertile part of the country, and make a short halt at Bloomsgrrove Church, five miles. From thence proceed on our march five miles, to a small village called Chester. Here we halt an hour. The weather proves rainy, but we proceed on the march three miles, and are then obliged to put up for the night, by reason of the bad weather, in very disagreeable quarters. The country during this day's march is exceedingly good, but the inhabitants are not friendly. Nothing remarkable happens this day. 13 miles.

THURSDAY, MAY 20. This morning the weather still continues rainy; necessity obliges us to continue the march. The travelling is exceedingly bad. At nine o'clock make a halt at a small village called Warwick, six miles. Here we take breakfast at Beard's tavern, from whence we proceed on the march to Hardiston, seven miles. During this days march we went past but few farms of any consequence. The land is not fertile, but on both sides of the valley very mountainous and broken. At about four P. M., we arrived at the afore mentioned place. The weather continues rainy. Put up at Hinksman's formerly a tavern, but now a torified house. Nothing remarkable happens during this day. 13 miles.

FRIDAY, MAY 21. The weather continues rainy. The troops lie by in their disagreeable quarters. Nothing remarkable happens during this day.

SATURDAY, MAY 22. This day the troops lie by for want of provisions, and are employed in washing and drying their clothes. Nothing remarkable happens this day except a dispute which arose between the landlord and some of the officers, on account of the uncivil treatment they received from him, which was carried to no small height. N. B.—A Tory.

SUNDAY, MAY 23. This morning the troops march at five o'clock. Proceed on their march seven miles, to the sign of the Ball. Here make a short halt. This is about two miles from New York line, in the State of New Jersey. We soon march on a few miles farther, and halt four hours in the heat of the day. At two o'clock proceed on the march through a mountainous, poor country, having but few inhabitants. At six o'clock arrive at Sussex State House, where we put up for the night. This is a small village consisting of about ten decent houses, with a large State House, built of Stone. In the north-east part of the town the people are chiefly of the English descent, but the greater part are not friendly to our cause. We put up at Prentice's tavern, and had very good treatment. I passed the evening very agreeably with our own corps of officers, and Mr. Abial Frye. Nothing remarkable happens during this day. So ends the twenty-four hours. 22 miles.

MONDAY, MAY 24. This morning, at about seven o'clock, the troops proceed on their march for Easton. We make but very few halts during this day's march. At about five, P. M., we arrive at a small village called Moravian Mills or Oxford. This place is pleasantly situated, lying on a small river, on which stands the most curious corn mill I ever saw. The inhabitants are of that denomination of people, called Moravians. They are of a kind and benevolent disposition. The curiosities of this place are worthy of notice, their water-works in particular form a large fountain opposite the town, on a hill. The water is carried under ground down the hill and through the bottom of the river, to a considerable of an eminence on the opposite side. During the preceeding day's march we travelled through an indifferent country. The people were chiefly of the Dutch descent. Nothing remarkable happens during this day's march. 16 miles.

TUESDAY, MAY 25. This morning the troops march early. Make a short halt at Carr's Tavern, five miles; from whence we proceed on the march and make but few stops till we halt for the night. The troops encamp on the edge of a wood, on the left hand, near Col. Bond's. This night we lie on the ground in the open air. Sometime in the night it rains and makes it very uncomfortable. During the preceeding day's march the weather was

very hot. The country on the right hand is fertile. Some exceeding fine farms between the road and the river Delaware, which is from five to two miles distant. During the day's march nothing remarkable happens, 17 miles.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 26. This morning the troops march early. At eight o'clock arrive at Easton, Ferry, five miles. We then proceed to conveying the troops and baggage over the Delaware, which is completed at about ten o'clock. This day the troops are supplied with tents, and encamp on the south-east side of the town on the banks of the River Lehigh, which empties itself at this place into the Delaware. The town of Easton is pleasantly situated, on a level flat of ground, on a point made by the Delaware and Lehigh. The buildings in this place are plain, and built of stone. Their State House is built in the centre of the town, where four roads meet. It is built of stone and lime, and makes an elegant appearance. They have one house of worship, near the State House. It is built of hewn stone; large and elegant, with a large organ. The inhabitants are chiefly Low Dutch, and they worship wholly in that way. There are some few Jews living here, who are the principal merchants of the place.

THURSDAY, MAY 27; Friday, 28; Saturday, 29, and Sunday, 30. Nothing material happens. We lie by having little to do. Spend our time in fishing and other sort of diversions.

MONDAY, MAY 31. This day I set out on a party of pleasure, to Bethlehem, in company with a number of gentlemen, officers of the brigade. Had an elegant dinner, after which we walked out and took a survey of the town and its curiosities. The town of Bethlehem is a small, compact town, lying on the river Lehigh, about twelve miles from Easton. It lies on a small descent towards the south-east, and is pleasantly situated. The inhabitants are all Low Dutch, and of that denomination called Moravians. They are much bigoted in their ways of worship, as also in their method of living. Their buildings are not elegant though decent, and built wholly of stone and lime. They have but one place of public worship, and perform in the Dutch language and one house of entertainment, which is supplied out of the public fund. Nothing extraordinary happens this day.

TUESDAY, JUNE 1. Nothing remarkable happens this day. We lay in camp having little exercise.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2; Thursday, 3; Friday, 4; Saturday, 5; Sunday, 6, and Monday, 7. Nothing remarkable happens.

TUESDAY, JUNE 8. This day the troops are reviewed by Gen. Sullivan. They parade on the banks of the river Lehigh, about one mile from the town, on very disagreeable ground. Nothing remarkable happens during the day.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9. This day the two remaining regiments of Gen. Poor's brigade decamp and move up the river about one mile. There encamp on the banks, on good ground. Nothing remarkable happens during this day.

THURSDAY, JUNE 10. This day the troops parade at four, P. M., for exercise; march to town and go through various manœuvres, in forming and displaying columns, crossing ditches, &c. Nothing remarkable happens this day.

FRIDAY, JUNE 11. This day, at four o'clock, the troops march to town for exercise, and perform several manœuvres of displaying columns and reducing platoons to rank entire, and forming the same. Nothing remarkable happens this day. So ends the twenty-four hours.

SATURDAY, JUNE 12. This day, at four, P. M., the troops parade to attend the execution of three criminals, inhabitants of this State, convicted of murder and highway robbery. They were tried before the civil authority, and have been under sentence eleven months. Nothing more worthy of notice this day.

SUNDAY, JUNE 13. This day, one of the criminals executed yesterday was dug up and dissected of which I was a spectator. Nothing further worthy of notice this day.

MONDAY, JUNE 14; Tuesday, 15; Wednesday, 16, and Thursday 17. Nothing worthy of notice happens. We follow our diversions while we stay at this place.

FRIDAY, JUNE 18. This morning, at four o'clock, the troops strike their tents and load

their baggage, in order for marching at seven o'clock. With much regret we take our leave of that pleasant town, and pursue our intended expedition. We march on seven miles, through an indifferent part of the country. Here the troops halt and take breakfast. We then pursue our march, and travel through the poorest country I ever saw—so bad that even bushes can't grow thereon. About five, P. M., we encamp near Hill's tavern, in Hillstown. Nothing remarkable during this day's march. 12 miles.

SATURDAY, JUNE 19. This morning the troops march early, and pass the wind-gap, so called, for its being the only pass for a number of miles through the long chain of mountains that extend to the southernmost part of the continent, called the ——— mountains. We continue our march through a very barren and mountainous part of the country, and make a halt at Brinker's Mills, seven miles. Here we breakfast, from whence we proceed on the march and make a few halts till we halt for the night at Leonard's tavern, in Poconogo, nine miles, and the last house on that road till we came within seven miles of Susquehanna. Nothing remarkable happens during this day's march. 16 miles.

SUNDAY, JUNE 20. This morning the troops march at eight o'clock ; leave Poconogo, and proceed to chowder Camp, where we encamp for the night, five miles. This day we march through a barren, mountainous, country, and uninhabited. Nothing remarkable during this day's march. 5 miles.

MONDAY, JUNE 21. This morning I mount guard. The troops march at sunrise, and soon enter the great swamp. Proceed seven miles and take breakfast. Here we cross the small river called Tunhannunk, which empties itself into the Delaware at Easton. We now proceed on our march through the swamp, which is a dark and dismal place, being covered with a growth of large pines and hemlock, and small brush so thick that a man can't be seen a rod from the road. This swamp is not level, but has some considerable hills and ledgy mountains in it ; and by accounts it extends between forty and fifty miles, north and south, and from twelve to twenty in width. In about seven miles we cross another small river, called the Tobahanna, much smaller than the former. We still proceed on the march, making few halts. About two come to Locust Hill, but, there being no water, obliged us to continue the march ; the travelling very bad and the troops much fatigued. At about four, P. M., we cross considerable of a river, which is the principal branch of the river Lehigh. At about six, P. M., arrived at Barren Hill, alias Burnt Plain, much fatigued with our day's march. Here we encamp for the night. Nothing remarkable happens during this day's march. 19 miles.

TUESDAY, JUNE 22. This day the troops lie by till twelve o'clock, at which time we move off the ground, myself in the rear guard. The troops were scarcely gone when two savages were seen by our friendly Indians, and the first that had been discovered by our party during the march. At about five we arrive at Bullock House, where we encamp for the night. Nothing extraordinary this day. 5 miles.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 23. This morning the troops march at seven o'clock, and pass the Bear Swamp and a place called the Shades of Death, by its being a dark, lonesome place. The sun is scarcely to be seen for the trees and bushes. Not far from this place is where Capt. Davis and Lieut. Jones from Pennsylvania, were inhumanly murdered April 18th, 1779, by the savages. During the whole of our march from Easton we travelled through the most barren part of the country I ever saw for so far together. Rocky mountains, sunken swamps and burning plains the whole of the way. At about two, P. M., we arrived at Wyoming, which lies on the east branch of the Susquehanna river. Here is a fertile country, but the town wholly destroyed by the savages ; and, if I mistake not, about this time, twelve months ago, their settlements were very extensive both up and down the river. There are two hundred and fifty widows in the place, whose husbands were slain in Col. Butler's battle, about the time the town was destroyed. The principal town was on the east side of the river. This was a county town, in the County of Westmoreland. The inhabitants are wholly from the State of Connecticut, and hold their land by its grant. The troops march about half a mile down the river and encamp. Nothing remarkable happened this day. 7 miles.

THURSDAY, JUNE 24. Nothing remarkable happens this day. We lie by in our tents, having little or no duty to do. So ends the twenty-four hours.

FRIDAY, JUNE 25, AND SATURDAY, 26. Nothing worthy of notice happens. All peace and quietness. So ends the forty-eight hours.

SUNDAY, JUNE 27. This day the two regiments of Gen. Poor's brigade, 2nd and 3rd, cross the river, and move about three miles up stream and encamp on its banks, near a large picket fort, known by the name of Forty Fort. This fort derives its name from its being built by forty persons, original proprietors of the tract of land lying on that side the Susquehanna, and containing forty rights. The land here is very fertile, and the intervale or meadow extends near four miles from the bank of the river. Nothing extraordinary happens during this day. 3 miles.

MONDAY, JUNE 28; Tuesday, 29; Wednesday, 30; Thursday, July 1; Friday, 2, and Saturday, 3. Nothing remarkable happens. Scarcity of provisions, which makes uneasiness among the troops.

SUNDAY, JULY 4. This day being the anniversary of the Independence of America and being Sunday, the celebration was put off till tomorrow. This day we are joined by the other—2nd regiment—belonging to the brigade. Col. Cilley New-Hampshire troops; Col. Courtland, New York troops. Nothing remarkable happens during this day.

MONDAY, JULY 5. This day General Poor makes an elegant entertainment for all the officers of his brigade, with a number of gentlemen from other brigades, and from the town. Gen. Hand and his retinue were present. The dining room was a large booth, about eighty feet in length, with a marquee pitched at each end. The day was spent in civil mirth and jollity. The company consisted of upwards of one hundred who graced the feast with a number of good songs. After dinner the following toasts were drank, to wit:

- 1st. The United States.
- 2nd. The Fourth of July, '76: The memorable era of American Independence.
- 3rd. The Grand Council of America.
- 4th. Gen. Washington and the army.
- 5th. The King and Queen of France.
- 6th. Genl. Sullivan and the Western Expedition.
- 7th. May the Counsellors of America be wise, and her Soldiers invincible.
- 8th. A successful and decisive campaign.
- 9th. Civilization, or death to all Savages.
- 10th. To the immortal memory of those heroes who have fallen in defence of American Liberty.
- 11th. May the husbandman's cottage be blessed with peace, and his fields with plenty.
- 12th. Vigor and virtue to the sons and daughters of America.
- 13th. May the new world be the last asylum of freedom and the arts.

TUESDAY, JULY 6. This day nothing of notice happens.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 7.—This day I sat on a court martial. Nothing remarkable happens this day. So ends the twenty-four hours.

THURSDAY, JULY 8, AND FRIDAY, 9. Nothing worthy of notice happens.

SATURDAY, JULY 10. This day I ride to town for recreation. Towards evening ride down the river four miles to a place called Shawney. The land is exceedingly good and pleasant. I return home late. Visit the guards at twelve o'clock at night. This day Capt. Frye and Capt. Ellis set out on their command to Brinker's Mills.

SUNDAY, JULY 11, AND MONDAY, 12. Nothing happens worthy of notice.

TUESDAY, JULY 13. This day a number of gentlemen and ladies from town ride up to take a survey of our encampment; Col. Butler, Capt. Spalding and others, with their ladies.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 14, AND THURSDAY, 15. Nothing worthy of note happens.

FRIDAY, JULY 16. This day I dine with Gen. Poor, in company with the Hon. Major General Sullivan and his Suite. The day was spent very agreeably. Nothing remarkable happens during the day.

SATURDAY, JULY 17. Nothing worthy of notice happens this day.

SUNDAY, JULY 18. This day, at ten, A. M., the brigade attend divine service. This

afternoon considerable of a cannonade is heard down the river, the reason of which is not known. Nothing extraordinary.

MONDAY, JULY 19. Nothing happens worthy of notice this day. So ends the twenty-four hours.

TUESDAY, JULY 20. Nothing this day to be mentioned.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 21. This evening, by order of Gen. Poor, I sat out from Camp for Easton, in Company with Lieut. Hoite. At ten, P. M., leave Col. Butler's and enter the Shady Grove. At day break we arrive at Locust Hill, from whence we proceed, and at eleven o'clock join Col. Read at Brinker's Mills; halt two hours, and then proceed to Easton. Nothing remarkable happens during Wednesday night and Thursday. So ends the thirty-six hours.

FRIDAY, JULY 23. This morning I feel the effects of my late journey; am employed in preparing for returning to camp. Nothing material during this day.

SATURDAY, JULY 24. This day I set out for Easton. Nothing remarkable happens this day.

SUNDAY, JULY 25. This day, after sending the party on I stop in company with Dr. Barnet and other gentlemen, and take breakfast; from whence we proceed on the journey and make a halt at Hiller's tavern, Plainfield, twelve miles from Easton. Here we halt for the night. Nothing remarkable happens this twenty-four hours.

MONDAY, JULY 26. This morning the weather still proves rainy, but we proceed on the journey to Brinker's mill; there dine; move on to Leonard's tavern and put up for the night. A dispute arises between Capt. Peatt and myself. So ends the twenty-four hours.

TUESDAY, JULY 27. This day we move on the march through the woods and swamp. This evening, at seven o'clock, come up with Col. Read's party at Bullock's house, and there stay during the night with Capt. Frye. No more this day.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 28. This morning I march early in, and leave Col. Read on the ground. At nine I arrive at Wyoming, and find the brigade have moved on to the east side of the river.

THURSDAY, JULY 29. Nothing remarkable during this day.

FRIDAY, JULY 30. This day I am busy in preparing for the march.

SATURDAY, JULY 31. This day the troops march from Wyoming. They march on the east side of the river. At about sunset arrive at Lakawaonunk, ten miles. This was a new settlement, but destroyed by the savages. The land is very fertile, and bids fair to have made a very fine town. The river here takes a turn to about a west point. Nothing remarkable happens during this day's march. 10 miles.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1. This day the troops march at twelve o'clock. The road here soon leaves the upland and takes the beach; the mountains here shutting close down on the river till we come to Quilutimunk, seven miles. Here encamp for the night on the intervalle, the finest I ever saw. Nothing remarkable this day. 7 miles.

MONDAY AUGUST 2. This day I improve in fishing with the seine, and catch some bass and other fine fish. So ends the 24 hours.

TUESDAY AUGUST 3. This morning, at 7 o'clock, the troops leave Quilutimunk; proceed on the march, up the river, which we soon leave and take the upland. The country is very mountainous for near 10 miles. Here we encamp for the night at a small settlement called the Tunkhannunk. 10 miles.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4. This morning the troops march early through a barren country. March 10 miles to a small river called —; make a short halt and refresh, and then proceed 5 miles to Vanderlap's Ford. Here encamp for the night. The finest black walnut timber grown on the intervalle that I ever saw. This place is desolated, and the owner gone to the enemy. Nothing remarkable this day. 15 miles.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 5. This day the troops leave Vanderlap's desolated farms. I march on the flank guard, over the most mountainous country I ever travelled. Here the mountains shut down close on the river for 7 or 8 miles. At 6 o'clock we arrive at Wye-luting. Nothing remarkable happens this day. 10 miles.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 6. This day the troops lie by for washing their clothes. Nothing remarkable happens during this day. This place is remarkable for its fertility. It is a considerable spot of intervale, extending up the river about 2 miles, but not exceeding half a mile back from the river. This place was settled by a denomination of people called Moravian Indians, by the Moravians having missionaries among them. They are all gone back at present, and are with the enemy.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 7. This day the weather proves rainy. The troops lie by.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 8. This morning the troops proceed on their march up the river; the country not extraordinary, and the mountains shutting in on the river on both sides most of this day's march. At 1 o'clock halt at the Standing Stone, so called by their being a large rock on the side of the river standing on end. Here we encamp for the night on the intervale, there being considerable of a tract of good land at this place. Nothing remarkable during this day. 11 miles

MONDAY, AUGUST 9. This morning the troops proceed on the march and make a short halt at 4 miles. Here is a considerable of a body of intervale, the finest I ever saw; the wild grass and wild beans higher than a man's head. Here are the finest button wood trees I have seen in my travels, growing as tall and straight as any pine trees that I ever saw, and equally as large. We now proceed on the march, leaving the river and taking the upland, and travel through a very indifferent country. At 6 o'clock arrive at Sullivan's Farms, formerly Shegekanunk Flats. Here encamp on the flats, twelve miles. Nothing remarkable during this day. 16 miles.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 10. This day the troops lie by on the flats. Nothing remarkable happens this day.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 11. This morning the troops march up the river 1 mile, and there ford the—branch, and march up on the south side of the river; and in marching about 2 miles come to where Queenchester palace was destroyed. It is a fine, open, level country. Here we cross the south branch of the river, into the old Indian town called Tiega, which lies in the arms of the two rivers. Their wigwams were all destroyed by themselves about a year ago, when they left the place.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 12. The troops lie by this day. At 6, P. M., orders come for marching to Chemung. At 9, this evening, set out on the expedition. The night is very dark and the road very indifferent; nothing more than a foot path, and in many places none at all. At daybreak we come to the town of Chemung, which consists of about seventeen Indian houses, or wigwams, deserted by the enemy. The land on the east side is but indifferent. On the west the intervale appears to be considerably extensive. At this place are some fine fields of Indian corn, which we destroyed by fire. Gen. Hand, who marched in front, lost 6 men on the field, and Col. Cilley 1. Major Franklin, from Wyoming, is badly wounded.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 13. We still lie on the ground until twelve o'clock, when we begin to move for our old quarters, Tiego. Col. Shrewler's regiment of Jersey, and Col. Dearborn's of New-Hampshire, form the left flank on our march back. At 9 o'clock in the evening we arrive at Tiego, where our tents and baggage were left, much fatigued with our march. So ends the 24 hours.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 14. This morning I feel much fatigued with my late command, but, nothing of notice turning up, we lie by and rest.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 15. Nothing remarkable happens during this day.

MONDAY, AUGUST 16. This day a detachment of 900 men is sent up the east branch to join Gen. Clinton, who is expected to be on his march from lake —, the head of this river. The country during this day's march is poor, being chiefly pine plain with some considerable hills. At sunset we encamp on the banks of the river, on the west side. Nothing remarkable this day. 13 miles.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 17. This day the troops march early. I march on the flank guard. The country is very mountainous, with some fertile valleys. At 4, P. M., we arrive at a considerable Indian town, called Owago, 14 miles. Here is a very good tract of land on both sides of the river. The town consisted of about twenty houses, which we destroyed,

together with considerable Indian corn, which is in the milk just fit to roast. The town appears to have been evacuated but a little time. 14 miles.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 18. This morning we march early. During this day's march we travel through a broken, barren country, having no path of consequence, but picking our way over mountains and through sunken swamps, the most disagreeable travelling I have seen. At 4, P. M. arrive at Churamuk, a considerable Indian town on the east side of the river, consisting of about—houses, which we destroyed. Here we found corn and cucumbers in abundance. The land here is exceeding fine; a large flat of 400 or 500 acres clear run over to English grass, so thick and high it was with difficulty a man could travel through. Here we encamp for the night. At sunset we hear a cannon up the river, which we supposed to be at Gen. Clinton's encampment. Two men are sent off this evening as spies. 18 miles.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 19. This morning we hear another gun up the river, but, no intelligence arriving, the troops are ordered to march, and proceed about one mile, when our spies, sent off last evening, meet us with intelligence of Gen. Clinton's being near.

We then return to the place of our last encampment. At 10, A. M., Gen. Clinton arrives with about — boats and 1500 men. We immediately proceed on the march for Tiego. At sunset arrive at the old encampment at Owago, and encamp. Nothing material happens this day. 14 miles.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 20. This day it proves rainy. We suffer much by reason of the weather and want of tents.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 21. This morning the troops march early. Make but few halts during the day. At 5, P. M., encamp on the banks of the river opposite — Farm, about 17 miles from Owago. Nothing remarkable this day. 19 miles.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 22. This morning the troops march early for the old encampment at Tiego, which we make at about 11, A. M. Nothing remarkable during this day. 8 miles.

MONDAY, AUGUST 23. This day a very melancholy accident happened. A soldier in snapping his gun, insensible of its being loaded, it went off and shot Capt. Benjamin Kimball through the heart. The same shot went through two more tents, where were a number of soldiers, with no further hurt than slightly wounding a man in the leg.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 24. This morning the remains of Capt. Kimball were interred with the honors of war. The troops are paraded and all the baggage loaded. Every thing is made ready for the excursion into the Indian country. At sunset all unloaded, and tents pitched on the old ground. The morning gun to be the signal for marching tomorrow morning.

TIEGO, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 25. The day is very rainy, which prevents the troops marching. They lie by on the ground. Nothing remarkable this day.

TIEGO, THURSDAY, AUGUST 26. This morning at 11, A. M., the troops march from Tiego, making our course about northwest, over a thick pine plain, clearing the road before us, and following the Allegana branch. Encamp at 3, P. M., near the river, by a large plat of intervale. Nothing remarkable this day. 4 miles.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 27. This morning at 8 o'clock the army proceed on the march in two columns, about half a mile in distance and about a west course. The Artillery deters our march this day, having the road to clear before us through an uncultivated wilderness. The difficulties of this day prevent the troops from encamping till 12 o'clock at night, at which time we encamp on a large flat of intervale, called Old Chemung. Here is a vast quantity of corn and vegetables which we destroy. There are no buildings at this place, the town being built about 3 miles up the river. 6 miles.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 28. Having despatched the business here, at 11, A. M., march forward, and at sunset encamp at Chemung town, near the banks of the river. This evening several smokes and fires are discovered at some distance before us, supposed to be the enemy. 6 miles.

CHEMUNG, SUNDAY, AUGUST 29. At 10 o'clock this morning the troops proceed on the march in the usual order. At about 12 o'clk, our vanguard come in sight of the

enemy's lines, thrown up by our left from the river, half a mile in extent, on a very advantageous piece of ground; the infantry beginning a slow attack on their flanks and advance parties, while Gen. Poor's brigade is sent round their left flank, to gain the enemy's rear, which he nearly completed, falling in with their flank, or rather their main body, lying off in the woods in order to cut off our rear. A very warm action ensued between about 600 chosen savages, commanded by Brant and Capt. Butler, of the Queen's rangers, and Poor's brigade, commanded by himself in person. The brigade marched on with coolness, with charged bayonets, not a gun being fired till within a short distance, when the enemy were obliged to give back, leaving their dead on the ground, amounting to about twenty. We took three prisoners. At sunset, after a complete victory, encamp near the field of action, carrying off our dead and wounded. Among the latter was Major Titcomb, Capt. Cloyes, and Lt. McCawley, and about thirty others. The killed amounted to but four or five. During the whole of the action Col. Reed's and Col. Dearborn's regiments fared the hardest. 6 miles.

NEAR NEWTON, MONDAY, AUGUST 30. This day Lieut. McCawley dies of his wounds. The whole of the army lie by and are employed in destroying the corn and vegetables at this place, which are very plenty. The wounded are sent down the river this evening to Chemung, and the remains of the dead buried. This evening the whole of the army by their voluntary consent are reduced to half allowance; half a pound of beef and flour.

NEWTON, TUESDAY, AUGUST 31. This day the army proceed on the march in the usual manner. At 2, P. M., arrive at the forks of the river; the Allegana branch keeping its former course, and the Tiego branch twining near a north-west course. Here are the principal improvements in Newton, and some good buildings of the English construction, some very large flats of intervals, and great quantities of corn, which were destroyed yesterday. Here the troops take dinner and burn the town. At 4, P. M., proceed on the march. At sunset encamp on a beautiful plain. We keep about a north-west course, following the Tiego branch. 12 miles.

PLEASANT PLAIN, WEDNESDAY, SEP. 1. This morning at 9, A. M., the troops proceed on the march, the traveling continuing good, about 4 miles; then, crossing a mountain; from thence into a swamp, about 8 miles through, very thick with bushes, and exceedingly bad travelling. Not finding an agreeable spot to encamp on, travelled till 12 o'clock at night, over the most disagreeable road I ever travelled. At 12 o'clock we arrived at an Indian Town called French Catharines, deriving its name from a French lady debauched by an Indian chief; afterwards marrying him, and made queen of the place. It is a small town, consisting of thirty houses and large fields of corn—The inhabitants leaving the town at our approach, in the greatest confusion. We take two squaws at this place, who inform us that the Indians are in the greatest confusion, not knowing what to do; that the old Indians and squaws are for making peace on any terms, but that Butler and Brandt would not let them, telling them that they would all be scalped if they attempted any thing of that nature. Here is a small river that runs due north and empties itself into Seneca Lake, the head of which comes within 4 miles of Tiego branch, which empties itself into the Susquehanna. 14 miles.

FRENCH CATHARINES, THURSDAY, SEPT. 2. This morning a small scout is sent out to reconnoitre the woods. They discover Butler and his party about eight miles off, on the opposite Side of the Lake of Seneca. The troops lie by on the ground, and are employed in destroying the crops. We leave the squaws taken prisoners yesterday, they being old and unable to do us any harm—leaving with them a sufficiency of food till we should return.

FRENCH CATHARINES, FRIDAY, SEP. 3. This morning the troops march early. In marching about 3 miles we come to the Seneca Lake, which we follow on the east side. This lake is very pleasant, being from 3 to 5 miles in width. The land ascends gradually and appears to be of the best quality. At night the troops encamp in the woods near the lake, having travelled about 12 miles. Nothing remarkable during this day.

SATURDAY, SEP. 4. This day we proceed on the march down the lake, passing by small Indian town called Appletown. During the day's march we travel over a fine level

tract of land, and at night encamp near the lake. Nothing remarkable this day, having travelled about 12 miles.

SUNDAY, SEP. 5. This day we continue the march as usual, the country continuing very good. At 3, P. M., come to an Indian town called Conday. Here the troops encamp for the night. This is considerable of a village, consisting of about twenty houses, which were burnt, and appears to be an ancient settlement by the number and bigness of the fruit trees. Nothing remarkable during our stay here, except taking a soldier that had left the enemy. 4 miles.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 7. This morning the troops march early, following the lake 11 miles; where we come to the outlet, which empties itself into Cayuga Lake. We cross this outlet and march along on the beach on the lower end of the lake which is very pleasant, having a prospect of the whole length, which is 42 miles. Near the end of this lake is the famous town of Kanadagago, the metropolis of the Seneca Nations. It is an old Settlement, Consisting of about 90 houses, very irregularly built, the land being much run over, to bushes. Their corn fields are planted in bye places in the woods, at considerable distance from town, and very extensive. At this place we found in one of their houses an image which I think might be worshipped without any breach of the second commandment—not having its likeness in the heavens above or in the earth beneath, &c. Here we find a young boy the savages had left, and in the evening his mother comes in, having deserted the enemy this day. She was an inhabitant of Wyoming, taken about a year ago at the capitulation of the fort at that place—her husband being killed at the battle of Wyoming. Here is a large burying place, with several large monuments raised over some of their chiefs. The enemy left this place the morning of our arrival. This town lies near 3 miles from the lake. 14 miles.

KANADAGAGO, WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 8. This day the army lie by, and a detachment is sent up the lake 7 miles on the west side, to a large town called ———, where they find vast quantities of corn, beans, peas, and other vegetables, the town consisting of about 20 houses, which were destroyed together with the crops.

KANADAGAGO, THURSDAY, SEPT. 9. At 10 o'clock the army decamp and pursue the march for Genesee river. Steering our course about south-west through an open country, hundreds of acres together with scarcely a tree on it, and the grass as high as a man's head. We march 9 miles and encamp. Nothing remarkable this day.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 10. At 10 o'clock the troops march. We travel over a fine tract of land, supposed to be an old Indian town, the grass being higher than our heads and but few trees to be seen. At 4, P. M., come on a large pond or lake, having but one outlet, which empties into Lake Ontario. We cross the outlet, near which is a fine Indian town called Canandaigua. Their improvements are two miles from the town. The town consists of between thirty and forty buildings, some of them the best I have seen on the march, which were destroyed by fire, together with the crops. Nothing remarkable during the stay here: 8 miles.

CANANDAIGUA, SATURDAY, SEPT. 11. This morning the troops march early about a south-west point, over a country as heretofore, except being badly watered. At 4, P. M., encamp at an Indian town called Anagangoan. It is an old settlement, almost evacuated, having but about 20 houses left in the place, and the appearance but indifferent. 14 miles.

CANANDAIGUA, SUNDAY, SEPT. 12. The preceding night the weather proves rainy; and there is very severe thunder and lightning. At 1, P. M., the troops march, leaving a small garrison of 100 men and 2 pieces of small artillery, the chief of the ordnance stores, with the whole of our flour for the army, except four days' half rations, which we take on with us. We travel over a fine tract of land this afternoon. At sunset encamp near a small town called Yorkjough. 11 miles.

MONDAY, SEPT. 13. This morning the army march early and soon pass by Yorkjough, a small Indian town, consisting of about 30 buildings, evacuated this morning by the enemy. Considerable crops are growing at this place. The troops halt and refresh; likewise to repair a bridge the enemy had destroyed at their going off. Last evening Lt.

Boyd of the Pennsylvania line was ordered forward to make discoveries. This morning, in attempting to return to the main body, he is attacked by the savages and a severe engagement ensues. The savage party being much superior, surrounded Boyd and his party. Three only of 27 escaped. Boyd and the rest of the party were either killed or made prisoners—The latter of whom were afterwards barbarously murdered, two of whom I saw myself—Boyd, and one Parker, a sergeant in the rifle corps. Boyd's head was cut off, his ears cut off, his tongue plucked out, his right eye likewise put out, and himself stabbed in twenty places, and Parker used in the same manner. The next day 13 more were found mangled in the same manner—the most horrid sight I ever saw. At 12 o'clock the troops get under way and march over a fine tract of land, and at sunset arrive at New Genesee, a small town pleasantly situated on the north branch of the Genesee River. Here the enemy stay until our coming in sight gives us reason to expect a battle, but on our near approach they disperse without making any resistance. Here we encamp for the night. 8 miles.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 14. This morning the troops cross the east branch, coming on to the flats called Genesee Flats,—the most beautiful flats I ever saw, being not less than 4 miles in width, and extending from right to left as far as can be seen; supposed to be 15,000 acres in one clear body. On the opposite side of this flat is the main branch of the Genesee. The two make a junction about 4 miles down the river, near which is the old town of Genesee, which is the best town I have seen. It consists of upwards of 100 houses. The fields of corn are beyond account, there being not less than 700 acres in the place. The river that runs here empties into Lake Ontario, and good bottoming almost any time of year, and does not exceed 25 miles to the lake. 6 miles.

GENESEE, SEPT. 15. This day the troops are employed in destroying the crops and buildings at this place. At 2, P. M., orders are issued for the march back to Tiego, and to our great joy at 3 get under way—returning by the same route we came—having fully accomplished the end of the expedition, and encamp at New Genesee.

NEW GENESEE, SEPT. 16. This morning the troops get under way, after destroying 100 acres of corn, not found on the march up. March about 5 miles and encamp at Yorkjough.

YORKJOUGH, SEPT. 17. This day the troops make a rapid march. At 2, P. M., encamp at Annagaugaw.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 18. This day, at 11, A. M., the troops march, and at sunset encamp near New Canandaigua. Nothing remarkable this day.

SUNDAY, SEPT. 19. this morning at 9 the troops march. At sunset encamp on the old ground at Canandaigua.

MONDAY, SEPT. 20. This day a detachment is sent up to Fort Stanwix, under the command of Col. Van Chort. Another detachment is sent off this day to Tiego Lake, commanded by Col. Butler, to make excursions in to that part of the country. The troops march late in the day, cross the outlet of Seneca Lake, and encamp near its banks.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 21. This day Col. Dearborn takes the command of a detachment sent to Tiego Lake, to follow the west side, while Col. Butler and the party scour the east side. The troops proceed on their march as usual, travel about 12 miles, and encamp. Nothing remarkable this day.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 22. This day the troops march about 14 miles and encamp. Nothing remarkable this day.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 23. This day the troops march early, nothing remarkable happening during the day. At 12 make a short halt at French Catherines, then move on about 4 miles, and encamp in the edge of the swamp.

FRIDAY SEPT. 24. This day the troops make a rapid march through the swamp. At 4, P. M., arrive at Fort Reed.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 25. This day the troops lie by on the ground, and a feu de joie is fired on the news of the declaration of war by His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain. Thirteen pieces of artillery are fired, with a running fire from right to left of the line.

Each brigade has a present of a fat ox. The day is closed with civil mirth. So ends the 24 hours.

SUNDAY, SEPT. 26. The troops continue on the ground this day. Nothing remarkable happens.

MONDAY, SEPT. 27. This morning a detachment of 500 men, is sent up the Allegana Branch, and thirty boats, myself commanding the latter. The difficulty of getting the boats up so rapid and shoal a river prevented the party by land proceeding more than 5 miles. Where the boats landed we find some large fields of corn, with a few houses—The mountains closing nearly to the river on both sides. Here the boats are loaded with corn, beans, pumpkins, and other vegetables. At sunset I set out with my whole fleet, and at 9 arrive at Fort Reed, fatigued with my days march.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 28. The troops continue on the ground, and at 11 o'clock the detachment under Col. Butler, sent out the 20th. inst., arrives. Orders are issued for marching tomorrow morning.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 29. This morning at 12 o'clock the troops march from Fort Reed passing over the field of action, and at 12 arrive at Chemung, and make a short halt; from whence we march to old Chemung, about 3 miles below, and encamp, having marched about 11 miles. Nothing remarkable happens this day.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 30. This morning at 8 o'clock the troops march. At 12 arrive at Tiego, in sight of Fort Sullivan. After making a short halt, the troops march in, displaying all the honors of war and glories of victory. The fort saluted us with 13 pieces of cannon, and the compliment was returned by our corps of artillery. An elegant dinner is cooked by those left in the fort for our reception. All marks of joy appeared in the face of every soldier, having his brother messmate by the hand, appearing as happy as a prince. The day is closed with civil mirth.

TIEGO, FRIDAY, OCT. 1, and SATURDAY, OCT. 2. The troops lie by and nothing remarkable happens.

SUNDAY, OCT. 3. This day a fatigue party is employed in destroying Fort Sullivan and other fortifications at this place, and preparing the boats. A sermon is preached this day by the Rev. Dr. Evans, chaplain to the brigade, and suitable to the time.

MONDAY, OCT. 4. This day at 9 the troops leave Tiego, having demolished all the fortifications at that place, and cross the river, marching about 15 miles, and encamp. Nothing remarkable happens this day.

TUESDAY, OCT. 5. This morning the troops chiefly go on board the boats, myself going by land. I keep in front of the boats the whole of the day. At night encamp near Vandalap's desolated farms in front of the boats.

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 6. This morning at day break I move on my journey, keeping in sight of the boats the chief of the day. I travel about 30 miles and encamp near Lackawannuk.

THURSDAY, OCT. 7. This day I pursue my journey. At 8, A. M., I arrive at Lackawannuk: where the boats lie by for the rear to come up. Myself and company go on to Wyoming, where we arrive at 12 o'clock. The boats soon leave in sight and are saluted from the fort with 13 pieces of cannon, and the compliment returned by our fleet.

FRIDAY, OCT. 8, and SATURDAY, OCT. 9. The troops lie by at this place, cleaning their arms, washing their clothes, and preparing for marching tomorrow.

SUNDAY, OCT. 10. This day at 12 o'clock the troops get under way for Easton. Late in the evening we arrive at Bullocks desolated farm, where we encamp for the night.

MONDAY, OCT. 11. This day the troops march early, and move but slow, by reason of the bad roads. At 4, P. M., incamp near Locust Hill, having marched about 11 miles.

TUESDAY, OCT. 12. This morning the troops proceed on the march through the swamp. The latter part of the day proves rainy, and make the travelling exceedingly bad. At night encamp at Chowder Camp.

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 13. This morning the troops pursue their march. At 4, P. M., encamp at Brin coup's mills.

THURSDAY, OCT. 14. This morning the troops march at about 11, A. M., and encamp at 3, P. M., at Hiller's Tavern.

FRIDAY, OCT. 15. This morning the troops march early from Hiller's Tavern at 1 P. M., arrive at Easton. From this day to the 23rd. the troops lie by at this place, where nothing remarkable happens.

SAURDAY, OCT. 23. This day the troops cross the ferry in Jersey, march about 4 miles, and encamp near Col. Bond's.

SUNDAY, OCT. 24. The troops lie by on the ground. Nothing remarkable.

MONDAY, OCT. 25. This day the troops lie by.

TUESDAY, OCT. 26. This day the troops lie by, and a brigade court martial is called, of which Maj. Titcomb is President, for the trial of Capt. Isaac Frye, of the third battalion of New Hampshire forces, of which I was a member. The charge brought against Capt. Frye was ungentlemanlike behaviour, and defrauding the officers of the regiment of public stores. The charge was not supported, and Capt. Frye is acquitted.

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 27. This day the troops march towards Sussex. We proceed about 8 miles and encamp. Nothing remarkable happens during this day.

THURSDAY, OCT. 28. This day the troops pursue the march, mostly through Moravian-town, where we make a short halt and refresh; from whence we proceed to a place called Log Goal, and here encamp for the night.

FRIDAY, OCT. 29. This day the troops pursue the march for Sussex, where we arrive at 2, P. M., and encamp for the night.

SAURDAY, OCT. 30. This morning the troops leave Sussex about 9 o'clock and march on towards Warwick, about 14 miles, and encamp at Flaggborough. Nothing remarkable this day.

SUNDAY, OCT. 31. This day the troops proceed on the march, and at night encamp near Warwick church. Nothing remarkable this day.

MONDAY, NOV. 1. This day for want of wagons the march is deferred till 12, o'clock, when we proceed on the march. Being ordered to alter the route for Pumpton, we proceed over the mountains towards that place—the travelling very bad. At night encamp at Stirling, a place noted for making the best pig iron on the continent. Here is a fine furnace for casting cannon balls, &c.

TUESDAY, NOV. 2. This day we get through the mountains, and at 3, P. M., arrive at —, where we encamp for the night. Nothing remarkable happens this day.

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 3. This day the troops lie by on the ground. Nothing remarkable this day.

THURSDAY, NOV. 4. This day the troops lie by. Myself, in company with Maj. Whiting, Capts. Reed, Ellis and Dennet, ride out to Smith's Tavern, and stay over night. Nothing remarkable during the twenty-four hours.

FRIDAY, NOV. 5. This day in the afternoon we return to camp. Receive orders for marching tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock. Nothing remarkable this day.

SAURDAY, NOV. 6. This day Gen. Hand's brigade and the artillery march off the ground. The other two—Poor's and Clinton's—stay for want of waggons. Gen. Sullivan likewise sets out for Pumpton this afternoon.

SUNDAY NOV. 7. This day Gen. Clinton's brigade march for Pumpton. Gen. Poor's lie by for want of wagons.

MONDAY, NOV. 8. This day Gen. Poor's brigade march for Pumpton, where we arrive at 4, P. M. and encamp near the fort.

TUESDAY, NOV. 9. This day the troops lie by. His Excellency pays us a visit from head quarters—this day being the first since our arrival from the Indian country. The weather is exceedingly uncomfortable and cold about this time.

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 10, and THURSDAY, NOV. 11. The troops lie by. Nothing worthy of notice.

FRIDAY, NOV. 12. This day the troops shift their quarters. March about two miles south-east in a thick wood, on the east side of the river.

SAURDAY, NOV. 13. This day we lie by. Nothing remarkable.

SUNDAY, NOV. 14. This day the officers of Gen'l's Clinton's and Poor's brigades meet at Gen. Poor's quarters on business of a public nature.

MONDAY, NOV. 15. From this time to the 24th. the troops lie by, and nothing remarkable happens.

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 24. This morning the troops march from Pump-ton on the way to Kings ferry. At night encamp at——, near Smith's tavern travelling about 16 miles.

THURSDAY, NOV. 25. This morning the troops march early. At 2, P. M., arrive at King's ferry, and immediately proceed to conveying the men and baggage of the regiment over the ferry, which is accomplished about sunset. The troops march about 2 miles, and encamp in the woods.

FRIDAY, NOV. 26. The preceding night proves stormy, and the first snow that has fallen this winter prevents the troops from marching this day.

SATURDAY, NOV. 27. This day at 4, P. M., the troops get under way, and march about six miles towards Danbury and encamp in the woods. The snow is about eight inches in depth.

SUNDAY, NOV. 28. This day we proceed on the march, the travelling being very bad. At night encamp near Salem, travelling about 12 miles.

MONDAY, NOV. 29. This morning we proceed on the march. At 4, P. M., take quarters in houses three miles from Danbury, by reason of Gen. Stark's brigade lying in the town of Danbury.

TUESDAY, NOV. 30. The troops lie by at Muddy Brook, by reason of the weather.

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 1. This day the troops lie by and nothing remarkable happens.

THURSDAY, DEC. 2. This day the troops proceed on the march, and go on to the ground laid out for hutting, which is in the vicinity of Danbury towards Newton.

FRIDAY, DEC. 3; Saturday, 4, and Sunday, 5. These three days the troops are busy in clearing and fixing for laying the foundations of the huts.

MONDAY, DEC. 6. This day the huts go on rapidly, and in the evening the officers of the brigade attend at the Hon. Gen. Poor's quarters, to wait on the committee from New Hampshire and choose a committee to send to New-Hampshire, to settle the depreciation of the continental currency.

TUESDAY, DEC. 7. This day I lay the foundation of my hut, twenty-two feet in length and twelve in width.

The journal ends here and is re-opened April 6, 1780.

JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN THOMAS MACHIN.

THOMAS MACHIN, Captain in Colonel John Lamb's Second Regiment (N. Y.) Artillery. From April 19 to 23, 1779, in Colonel Van Schaick's expedition against the Onondagas. Published in the *Magazine of American History*, November, 1879, and republished here by permission, through the courtesy of Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, Editor of that Magazine.

JOURNAL OF MARCH FROM FORT SCHUYLER.—EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ONONDAGAS, 1779.

BY THOMAS MACHIN, CAPTAIN IN COL. LAMB'S SECOND REGIMENT, N. Y. ARTILLERY,

Communicated by F. H. Roof.

JOURNAL.

Early on Monday morning, 19th of April, 1779—Marched from fort Schuyler with a Detachment of Troops, Consisting of 558 men, Including officers, and after moving Eight Days provision Into Battows, wich had been conveyed over a carying place in the night, and Leaving sufficient Number of Soldiers to assist the Battowe men to get the Boats down Wood Crick, with five officers to hurry them on—

The Remainder of Troops marched to the old Scow place, Twenty two miles by land, but much more by water; the Troops ar'ved by 3 o'clock p. m., but the Boats did not all arrive until 10 o'clock, having been much obstructed by trees which had fallen across the Crick: as soon as the Boats arived the whole of the Troops Embarked, and on Entring the onidahogo was much Impeded by a cold head wind. Made one halt in the night for the rearmost Boats to come up, and then proceeded to Possers bay, whare we Arrived at 8 o'clock in the morning of the 20th, to wait again for the Coming up of all the Boats, when we continued with as much Expedition as possible to the Onondago Landing, opposite to old fort, and arived there at 3 o'clock p. m; from whence, after leaving the Boats with Proper Guard, we marched Eaight or nine miles on our way to the Onondago Settlement, and lay on our Arms all Night without fire, not being able to continue our marching. Dark. The Night cold. Very early on the 21st proceeded to the old Salt Lake, and at 9 o'clock a. m. Forded an arm of that Lake, two hundred yards over, and four feet Deep a considerable part of the way. Pushed on to the Onondaga Breech, whare Capt Graham, with his Company of Light Infantry, took an Onondago Warrior

prisoner, wick was the first Indian discovered—ordered Capt Graham to Endeavor to surround the first onondago Settlements, wick ware about Two miles of, and hastning on the troops By Companys as fast at he crost the Creek upon a Log, the Creek not being fordable, I soon arrived with the whole Detachment at the principle Castle, but was before apprised of their haveing discovered our advanced Parties while they were takeing some prisoners, upon which I ordered Different Routs to be taken by several Different Detachments, in order to surround as [many] of their Settlements as possible at the same time, which Extended Eaight Miles in Length, with some scattered habitations laying back of the Costs, and on the opposite side of the Creek ; but notwithstanding Entred their first settlement in the most secret manner, and quite undiscovered by them, thay soon recd the alarm throughout the whole, and fled to the woods, but without being able to carry off any thing with them. We took thirty three Indians & one white Prisoner, & killed twelve Indians ; the whole of their Settlement, consisting of about fifty Houses, with a quantity of corn, and every other kind of Stock we found whare Killed ; about one Hundred guns, some of which ware Rifles, was among the Plunder, the whole of which, after the men had Loaded with as much as they could carry, was Destroyed, with a Considerable quantity of amunition. One Swivel taken at the Counsel House had the Trunions Broke off and otherways Damaged ; in fine, the Destruction of all their Settlements ware compleat ; after which we began our march back, Recrossing the Creek, and forded the arm of the Lake, along side of which we Encamped on very good ground. Haveing been once Interrupted in our Return by a Small party of Indians, who fired at us from the opposite side of the Creek, but were soon beat off by Lieut Evens Rifle, with the Loss of one Killed on the part of the enemy, and none on our own. Fair Weather all this Day. 22d, marched Down to the Landing. Found Bateaus in good order ; Rejmbarcked, and Rowed to the Seven Miles Island, whare we Encamp.

Fair weather—23d Crossed the Lake and Landed two miles up Wood Creek at two o'clock ; left two companies to guard and assist the Bataus Men in gitting up the Boats, marched Eaight Miles, and Encampt along side Feals Creek.

Fair Weather, Saturday, 24th. Small showers of Rain on our march to the fort, whare we arrived at 12 o'clock, haveing been out five Days and half, the whole distance of going out and Returning Being One Hundred Eighty miles, not having [lost] a Single Man—

The following in relation to Colonel Van Schaick's Expedition against the Onondagas is from "The Order Book of Capt. Leonard Bleecker, Major of Brigade in the early part of the expedition under Gen. James Clinton, against the Indian Settlements of Western New York in the Campaign of 1779." New York city, Joseph Sabin, 1865.

Head Quarters, Albany

June 8, 1779

Resolved, That the Thanks of Congress be presented to Col. Van Schaick, and the Officers and Soldiers under his Command, for their Activity and good Conduct in the late Expedition against the Onnondagas.

Extract from the minutes,
Charles Thomson, Secretary.

[A Copy]

Head Quarters, Middle Brook,
Saturday, May 8, 1779.

The Commander-in-Chief has the Pleasure to inform the Army that a Detachment of Troops under the Command of Col. Van Schaick, marched from Fort Schuyler the 19th of last Month towards Onnondaga, a considerable Indian Settlement on the Waters of Lake Ontario, which was entirely destroyed, with a large Quantity of Grain, Cattle, Horses, and Ammunition, except such Part as could be conveniently brought off. Twelve of the Savages, mostly Warriors, were killed, and four and thirty made Prisoners, the rest saved themselves by a precipitate Flight into the Woods.

This Expedition was performed in about five Days and a half, the Distance going and returning, one hundred and eighty Miles, without the loss of a Man.

The good Conduct, Secrecy, Spirit and Dispatch, with which this Enterprize was executed, does the highest Honour to Col Van Schaick, and the Officers and Men under his Command, and merits the Thanks of the Commander-in-chief.

[A Copy]

Extract from Genl Orders,
Alex. Scammel, Adjt Genl.

The following is a copy of a table of distances in the hand writing of Captain Machin, found among his papers after his decease.

Distance of places from Easttown to Chenesee Castle, taken in 1779, by actual survey :

	MILES. TOTAL.	
From Easttown to Weoming	65	65
“ to Lackawaneck Creek.....	10	75
“ to Quailuternunk.....	7	82
“ to Tunkhannunk Creek.....	11	93
“ to Meshohing Creek.....	9	102
“ to Vanderlip's Plantation.....	5	107
“ to Wealuskingtown.....	8	115
“ to Wessawken or Pine Creek.....	14½	129½
“ to Tioga.....	15½	145
“ to Chemung.....	12	157
“ to Newtown.....	8½	165½
“ to French Catharinestown.....	18	183½
“ to Candaia or Appletown.....	27½	211
“ to the outlet of the Seneca lake.....	11½	222½
“ to Kanedesago or the Seneca Castle.....	3½	226
“ to Kanandaque	15½	241½
“ to Haunyauya.....	13½	255
“ to Adjusta.....	12½	267½
“ to Cossau Wauloughby.....	7	274½
“ to Chenessee Castle.....	5½	280

Distance from Kanadesago round the Cayuga Lake to Newtown—Fort Reed.

From Kanadesago to Scawyace.....	8½	8½
“ to across the outlet of the Cayuga.....	8½	17
“ to the Cayuga Castle.....	10	27
“ to Chonodote, a town remarkable for a number of Peach trees.....	3½	30½
“ to the upper end of Cayuga Lake.....	23	53½
“ to a town not named.....	5	58½
“ and from there to Newtown, otherwise Fort Reed.....	27½	86

THOMAS MACHIN was born in England, March 20, 1744, settled in America, in 1772, and took an early and active interest in the Revolution. He was made Second Lieutenant of N. Y. Artillery, January 18, 1776, and Captain Lieutenant in the second battalion of Artillery on the 1st of January, which rank he held in the Expedition to Onondaga, under Col. Van Schaick, and to the Genesee country, under Gen. Clinton,

in 1779. On the 21st of August, 1780, he was appointed Captain in the Second N. Y. Artillery, and one year after in the First.

He was employed as Engineer in constructing and placing the chain across the Hudson in the Highlands, and after the war, was for a time, engaged in coining money for the States, before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, his works being at the outlet of a pond, five miles back from Newburgh. He enjoyed the confidence of Gov. Geo. Clinton, Gen. James Clinton, Gen's Washington and La Fayette, and many other distinguished men of his day. He obtained patents of large tracts of land in the northern part of Oneida county; was a member of the N. Y. State Society of Cincinnati, and was succeeded by his son Gen. Thomas Machin of Albany. He died at Charleston, Montgomery county, N. Y., April 3, 1816. (F. B. HOUGH, in Bleecker's Order Book)

FIRST NEW YORK REGIMENT.

ROSTER OF OFFICERS.

Prepared from records at Albany, N. Y., and Washington, D. C., (some of the important military records of the State of New York, having been removed to Washington, to replace records burned by the British army in the destruction of the National Capitol in 1814). See also New York "Balloting Book" published in 1825, and "Calendar of New York Historical Manuscripts—Revolutionary Papers," published in 1868.

The first N. Y. Regiment took part in the Onondaga Campaign in the spring of 1779, under direction of Gen. James Clinton, whose headquarters were then at Albany, N. Y. The expedition was commanded by Col. G. Van Schaick and consisted of the first New York Regiment, with a detachment from the 3d N. Y. Regt., in charge of Lieut. Col. Marinus Willett and Maj. Robert Cochran, together with several detached companies from other regiments. See also Lieut. Beatty's journal, at page 16, hereof.

In December, 1780, the consolidation of the five regiments of the New York line into two regiments began. The first and third were consolidated as the first regiment, under Col. G. Van Schaick, and the second, fourth and fifth together with Col. Livingston's Regiment, &c., were reorganized as the second regiment, under Col. Philip Van Cortlandt.

See autobiography of Col. P. Van Cortlandt in Magazine of American History, N. Y. City, August 1878.

FIRST REGIMENT, 1779.

Colonel,	Goose Van Schaick.
Lieut. Colonel,	Cornelius Van Dyck.
Major,	John Graham.
Captains,	John H. Wendell,
"	Andrew Finck,
"	Benjamin Hicks,
"	Nicholas Van Rensselaer,
"	Charles Parsons.
Capt. Lieutenant,	Guy Young.
Lieutenants,	Barent S. Salisbury,
"	John C. Ten Broeck,
"	Adiel Sherwood,
"	Peter B. Tearse,
"	Nathaniel Henry,
"	Abraham Hardenbergh,
"	Ephraim Snow.
Ensign,	Bartholomew Van Valkenburgh.
"	Christopher Müller,
"	Henry Van Woert,
"	Abraham Ten Eyck,
"	Jacob Henry Wendell,
"	Wilhelmus Ryckman,
"	Benjamin Gilbert.

Col. Goose Van Schaick, (son of Sybrant G. Van Schaick, a former Mayor of Albany), served as a major in the French war, under Col. Johnson, and was at the battle of Ticonderoga. Upon the breaking out of the Revolution, he was appointed a Colonel, and during most of the war, he commanded the First New York Continental Battalion. His services on the northern frontier, in the Mohawk valley, upon the Hudson, and in the New Jersey campaigns, fill an honorable page in our Revolutionary Annals. His expedition to lay waste the Onondaga settlements in April, 1779, was decisive, and resolutions were adopted by Congress, congratulating him and his command for its success. He remained to guard the valley, after the departure of Gen. Clinton's army, to join Gen. Sullivan.

Col. Van Schaick served till the close of the war. On the 10th of October, 1783, he was appointed Brigadier General by brevet. His death occurred July 4th, 1789, at Albany, where he had resided through life.

Marinus Willett, was born at Jamaica, Long Island, N. Y., July 31, 1740. His taste for military life was acquired during the colonial wars under General Abercrombie. He was at the battle of Ticonderoga, and in the expedition against Fort Frontenac, by General Bradstreet. In the war of the Revolution, he served as Captain in the expedition

against Quebec, Canada; was commissioned as Lieut. Colonel in 1776, and commanded at Fort Constitution on the Hudson river, in 1777, and afterwards took part in the gallant defense of Fort Stanwix (Schuyler) against the Indians. He was a participant in the battle of Monmouth, New Jersey, in 1778, and served in the Onondaga expedition in the spring of 1779, and with General Clinton in his march from Otsego lake. In the years 1780, '81 and '82, he was actively connected with military operations in the Mohawk valley. After the close of the war, he was frequently honored with important positions in civil life; was twice appointed Sheriff of the county of New York; was Mayor of the City of New York, in 1807, and in 1824, President of the Electoral College of New York. He died August 23, 1830, aged 90 years.

JOURNAL OF LIEUT. WILLIAM McKENDRY.

WILLIAM McKENDRY, Lieutenant and Quarter Master in Colonel Alden's, Sixth Massachusetts Regiment. He was at Cherry Valley at the time of the massacre and with Clinton's column in the Sullivan expedition. He died at Canton, Mass., in 1798. His original journal, commencing with October 25, 1777 and ending with January 3, 1780, is yet in existence. A copy of the same was procured by the late Ellis Ames, Esq., for the Massachusetts Historical Society, and prefixed with a list of diaries relating to the Sullivan campaign by A. McF. Davis, Esq., is published in the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, second series, Vol. II, pp. 436-478," October, 1886.

Acknowledgments are due and heartily tendered to the Massachusetts Historical Society for their cheerful and prompt compliance with the request to furnish advanced sheets, from which that portion covering the Sullivan campaign from June 1, 1779, is herewith printed. The portion of the journal that precedes, (from Oct. 25, 1777, to June 1, 1779), is to be found in the publication above named.

JOURNAL.

June 1st. Liet Day left Fort Alden for Albany on command, adjt White returned from Fort Herkimin.

Ditto 2d. Cool weather for the season — This day was informd. not many days ago 6 Indians took two men prisoners from turlough [*sic*] (12 miles from Fort Alden) carried them as far as Ocquaugo where two of the indians left the party to go on to inform their brothers of their success, when the 4 that was left got asleep the two prisoners took their hatchets and killd. 2 of the Indians the other 2 awoke and started the white men being two ready for them wounded them both and the 2 indians fled, the two late prisoners took the Indian's Arms of the dead & those that had fled with only their lives, and made their escape — the Indians soon were alarmd. in that quarter and came to the ground, Set the woods all on fire, so that they might discover their tracks that had made their escape, but to no purpose the 2 late English prisoners escapd. clear — I have had the pleasure since to see the man that killd. the two Indians it was Mr. Sawyer.

Ditto 3d. A very hard frost last night which killd. the blossoms at this place.

Ditto 4th. This morning 2 O Clock this garrison was alarmd. the centry had fird. on a man that was creeping towards him but soon ran off and was discoverd no more the lines were mand.

Ditto 5th. P. master Tucker arrivd. in Fort Alden with clothing for the Regt. — Informs that the British Troops has got to the highlands above N. York — Liet. Peebody arrivd. in Fort Alden from Furlow.

June 6th. (Sunday) Lt. Day arrivd in Fort Alden from Albany.

Ditto 7th. P master Tucker gave out the cloathing to the Regt. in this garrison.

Ditto 8th. . . P master Tucker left Fort Alden with cloathing for the men at Fort Herkiman.

Ditto 9th. Warm and showry.

Ditto 10th. This day the Centry discovd. a man creeping towards the wood choppers centry fird on him he was seen no more.

Ditto 11th. Cold weather for the season.

" 12. A Scout was ordered from Fort Alden, returnd without making any discoveries of the enemy.

Ditto 13 (Sunday) Heavy rain, — this day was informed — that some days ago the Indians took 6 prisoners from Germantown above German-Flatts and let one of them return which was an old woman.

Ditto 14th. This day Orders came to Majr. Whiting from Genl. Clinton, for the Regt. to hold themselves in readiness to march at an hours warning and Genl Clinton was to make his Head quarters in Cennagoharry for a few days.

Ditto 15th. The Provisions in Fort Alden all condemn. Comy Woodman went to Mohawk River after provisions for the Garrison.

Ditto 16th. Majr. Whiting recd. a letter from Genl. Clinton to wait on him at the River Comy. Woodman Arrivd. from sd. River.

Ditto 17th. Majr. Whiting and adjt. White went to the river and returnd. with orders for the Regt. to march tomorrow for lake Otsago.

Ditto 18th. The Regt. marchd from Fort Alden (in Cherry Valley) 11. O'Clock. A. M. encampt. this night in Springfield 6 miles from the Fort Majr. Whiting ordered a fatiguing party on to mend the Roads towards the Lake it was commandd. by Capt. Ballards.

Ditto 19th. The Regt. marchd. from Springfield with 8 waggons carrying the baggage 12. O'Clock A. M. Arrivd at Lake Otsago 3. O'Clock P. M : Capt. Lane had gone forward to clear the encampment — Encampt. on the heights 5 miles march this day.

Ditto 20th. (Sunday) Cleard. the passage for the waggons to unload the stores — 60 Bateaus arrivd. at this lake & a Quantity of provisions from the River.

Ditto 21st. The Light Infantry company & late Col. Aldens joind the Regt. at this place from Fort Herkamin — a party of men was orderd. By Col. Butler to the foot of the lake to dam the same that the water might be raised to carry the boats currant down Susquehanna-River — Capt. Warren 6 Masts. Regt. commanded the party — This day a man was hangd. at Mohawk river taken up for a spy that was viewing the stores as they passd. up the River he Informd. Genl. Clinton that he was a Liet. in butler service which is now with the Indians also Informs that another Tory & 9 Indians came off with him.

Ditto 22d. The late Col Aldens Regt. musterd by Capt Lush at this Lake Col. Butler and Majr. Whiting went to the foot of the lake to view that Post.

Ditto 23d. A No. of boats Provisions arrivd. at the Lake this day.

Ditto 24th. Boats & provisions arrives at this Lake very fast 500 waggons going steady — A soldier shot at the River this day for desertion.

Ditto 25th. A committee began to inspect the provisions at this Lake found but little of the same damaged.

June 26th. Col Dubois Regt. Arrivd. at this Lake and proceeded in Boats to Lows Mills.

Ditto 27th. (Sunday) One of the Rifle men was fird upon by the Indians in Springfield, was wounded but made his escape with the loss of his fire arms.

Ditto 28th. Went to camp Liberty at Lows Mills (and dind at that place) Genl. Clinton gave Each officer on the ground at this post one cag of Rum containing two Gall. — one man hangd. at Mohawk River taken up for a spy from Butler's camp thats with the Indians.

June 29th. The camp was Alarmd. by the firing some Guns by officers going to camp Liberty.

Ditto 30th. Nothing new this day.

July 1st. 1779. Nothing new.

Ditto 2d. Genl. Clinton arrivd. at Lake Sago from Mohawk river, Col. Butlers Regt. & Col. Ganseworts arrivd. and crossed the Lake with the Genl. and encampd. at the foot of sd. Lake, Col Wisenfields Regt. Arrivd at the Lake but did not cross, the Genl. orderd all the Provisions to be movd. immediately to the foot of the Lake.

Ditto 3d. Col. Wisenfields Regt. & Col. Dubois crossd the Lake and encampd. with the other troops at that place, the Genl. left Majr. Whiting with his Regt. to bring up the rear of the Army.

Ditto 4th. (Sunday) P. M. Genl. & comy. Genl. arrivd at this Lake with the rear of the Stores, 30 Indians arrivd. at this Lake to go the expedition with Genl. Clinton, they were commanded by Col. Hunyary.

Ditto 5th. The 6th. Massts. Regt. crossd the Lake with the rear of the Stores and encampd with the rest of the troops at that place.

July 6th. Rainy and very windy Col Rignier began to review the troops.

Ditto 7th. The 6th Massts. Regt. reviewd by Col. Regnier.

" 8th. Two of our centries fired on two men in the bush, supposd. them to be spies — the officers drew each one Cag more of Rum.

Ditto 9th. Pleasant weather.

" 10th. Nothing new.

" 11th. (Sunday) Heavy storm of Rain.

" 12th. cool weather for the season.

" 13 Solomon Steel soldier in 6 Massts. Regt dropt. down dead as he was roling provisions to the Store.

Ditto 14th. Alarm this night by the centries, firing some Guns, supposd. the saw men advancing to them but soon disappeared.

Ditto 15th. Took a tour on the Lake fishing.

" 16th. The weather cool for the season very unholosome at this place some days warm and the next after cool — a No. of the troops sick with the dissentary.

Ditto 17th. Doctr. Younglove arrivd. in camp from Mohawk river.

Ditto 18th. (Sunday) I attended publick service at this Lake Mr. Greno deliverd. the sermon Chaplain to Genl. Clinton's Brigd., his text was taken from 22nd Job. 21. V.

Ditto 19th. Nothing new.

" 20th. Major Dow arrivd. from Albany, (Capt. Parker arrivd. from furlow in this camp) two deserters were brought to the 6th Massts. Regt. that had left it a few days Agone, (Serj. Spears & Johnathan Peirce.)

Ditto 21st. Three deserters brought into this camp (that had not left it many days) one belonging to the 4th. Pensylvania Regt. was tied up immediately and recd. 500 lashes it being back allowance due to him some days before he deserted and was forgave by his Col.

Ditto 22d. Began to build an Oven for the Regt.

" 23 An Indian arrivd. in this camp from Fort Schyler, Informs that 1400 Indians and Tories were collected to intercept our march down the river.

Ditto 24th. Serjt. Spears whipt. 100 lashes one soldier more 100 lashes with him — three men sentenced to be shot by the same Genl. Court Martial Monday next.

Ditto 25th. (Sunday) Rainy weather.

" 26th. The three Prisoners reprieved until Wednesday next.

" 27th. An express arrivd. in this Camp this day Informs, that Genl. Wane has taken a small Fort from the enemy at Stonny Point on North River and Captured 550 Men — also informs that Majrs. Hopkins with a No. of officers from Col Warners Regt. are kildd. at Sabbath Days point, below Crown point they were out on a Party of pleasure, and were surprised . . by a No. of Indians. Also informs that thirty two men and one Liet are kildd. and taken at the Areseo Fields near Fort Schyler, they were out making hay.

Ditto 28th. This morning 9 O Clock in Camp Lake Otsago Jonathan Peirce soldier in 6th Massts. Regt. Frederick Snyder 4 Pennsylvania Regt. Anthony Dunnavan 3d New York Regts. were all brought on the grand Parade to be Shot to death for desertion the two former were reprieved. and the latter Shot to death — he deserted from Saint John's last winter and inlisted in Albany in ye 4th N-York Regt.

Ditto 29th. An Express arrivd. this day informs that a body of the enemy has been discover'd near fort Schyler including some British troops.

July 30th. Very pleasant weather which is something remarkable at this place.

Ditto 31st. Liet. Peebody Arivd. from Mohawk river with fat cattle for the use of the troops at this post.

August 1st. Mr. Greno, Deliverd. a Sermon.

" 2d. Pleasant weather eat a rarity Apples and Cucumbers the first I have eat this year.

Ditto 3d. Pleasant weather, an Indian arrivd from Onida in this camp Informs by a letter from Col. Lewe that two Indians from the enemy brought in the account that 50 men had been killd lately at the Minisinks by indians.

Ditto 4th. An Express Arrivd from Genl. Sullivan to Genl. Clinton in this camp — informs that Genl. Clinton's division will march in a few days.

Ditto 5th. Warm days & cool Nights at this place.

" 6 Nothing new.

" 7 This day all the light infantry Paraded, belonging to the several Regts. was inspected by Col. Wm. Butler 4th Pensya. Regt. who is to have the command of them together with the Rifle corps.

Ditto 8th. (Sunday) All the boats loaded ready to proceed down the river to morrow — this Evening 6 O'Clock the sluice way was broke up and the water filld. the river immediately where a boat could pass, which was almost dry before — this Lake is 8 Miles long and very level was raisd. in the upper part of it by this dyke one foot perpendicular.

Augst. 9th. The Troops embarkd. on board the boats 9, O Clock this morning excepting those that went by land at 10 proceeded down Susquehannah River, 4th. Pensya. Regt. in front 3d N.York in Rear and arrivd at Mr. Culleys farm without much trouble by the crooks and turns in this River which are very plenty the land on the sides of this River very Good and rich soil — Killd a large No. of rattle Snakes which were very plenty at this place, and very large came 30 Miles by water and 16 by land this day.

Ditto 10th. Rainy in the morning 2 O'Clock P. M. embarkd, and proceeded as far as Vokeums farm and encampt. which is 8 Miles by water and 5 by land, the form of our March is as follows — Rifle men and light infantry in front Comd by Col. Wm Butler, detachd from each Regt. to march opposite the boats with a strong rear Guard cattle in centre.

Ditto 11th. Embarkd. 7 O'clock A. M. proceeded without much trouble as far as Ogden's Farm and encampt on the right of the River 25 Miles by water and 15 by land this day — the land very fine at this place, the land in Genl. by the sides of this River when one side is good the other is barren — The Genl. orderd. each officer one Quart of Rum and one Gill to each other man.

Ditto 12th. Embarkd. 7 O'clock AM arrivd. at the Scotch Settlement 2 O'Clock P. M. 15. Miles Ogdens where I went on shore and gatherd. a quantity of berrys and made a Bowl of Punch — Our troops burnt two houses, Arrivd. at Unadilla 3 O'clock P. M. and encampt. half a mile above Demini Johnston's Farm — the land very good at this place the houses are all destroyd. by the Indians last summer — Some Indian tracks discovered by the front Guard this day. — This is the place where Genl. Hercamin held the first Council with Brant and the Indians after this war commenced.

Ditto 13th. Embarkd 6 O'clock A. M. proceeded half a mile and halted by reason of the Rapids proceeded on and encampt 4 O'clock P. M. on an Indian Island which had ben improv'd. by them left hand River 25 Miles by water 10 by land this day.

Ditto 14. Embarkd. 9 O'clock A. M. proceeded on and Arrived at Ocquango and encampt. 5 O'clock P. M. the land very fine at this place 10 Miles by land 15 by water

this day — Some Apple-trees at this place this is the Indian Settlement that Colonel Wm. Butler burnt last fall.

Ditto 15th. (Sunday) Mr. Greno delivered a sermon this day, a soldier of the 4th. Pensya. Regt. died of a putrid fever and was buried under Arms with three volleys fired over his Grave Genl. Clinton is waiting for some Militia to join him from the North river.

Ditto 16th. This Onnaquaugo is pleasantly situated on both sides of the river and on Island in the center the Ruins of about 60 houses which appears by the cellars and wells that it was a fine Settlement before it was destroyed. considering they were Indians One English family lived with them 4th. Pensya. Regt. went out to escort the Militia into this place but returned without seeing them.

Ditto 17th. Fired a cannon this morning to inform the Militia that the troops were not gone. embarked. 10 O Clock A. M. proceeded on 6 Miles and then made a halt to let the troops ford the River. — Burnt a No. of Indian houses at the lower end of Onnaquaugo, some fine Orchards with plenty of Apples in them on the banks of this River, but the troops were not allowed to stop and get any of them — passed a large rapid and made a halt, this river is very crooked and you will run all points in the day — it divides in some places into 6 different Streams — leaves one sufficient to carry a large boat. Arrived at Tiscarora village about sunset and encamped right hand of the river — The Rifle men found some Sides of tanned leather in a fat [*sic*] in the woods — made other discoveries found a dead man under the roots of a wind fall (which was supposed him to be a prisoner that they had lately taken) found a war post which the Indians had put up with marks cut in the same in token of their Scalps, and prisoners, destroyed two houses. discovered a batteau painted on a ledge of Rocks left hand of the river which was a token that the Indians knew of their enemy's coming as the kept runners constantly before our Army — came 25 miles by water and 15 by land this day.

Ditto 18th. Embarked 7 O Clock A. M. proceeded one Mile and burnt one house right hand of the river went a little further and burnt two more, Arrived half a mile below Chenango Creek and turned back to said creek and encamped the Genl. detached a party of men to go up said Creek and destroyed Chenango town which was done — Two men from Genl. Poor arrived to Genl. Clinton and informs that Genl. Poor will be within 8 miles of this camp this Night to escort Genl. Clintons Troops to Genl. Sullivan — came 25 Miles by water and 16 by land this day — Encamped right hand of the river.

Ditto 19th. Embarked 8 O Clock A. M. and proceeded on one mile and burnt 7 houses, left hand of the river, went a few miles and burnt 2 more same side of the river. Arrived at Chukkanut, 9 O Clock A. M. where Genl. Poor's Division were encamped — About 11 hundred men, burnt 5 houses at this place 5 miles By water and 4 by land from our last Encampment to this place this is a fine large Flat chiefly on the right hand of the River going down the army proceeded on and arrived, at Owago about sunset this is a large Indian Settlement and fine land — Encamped at this place, this is the Indian town that Serjt. hunter was Carried to that was taken 10th Novr. last below Cherry Valley on this same River as he was returning with his Scout — heavy rain this night, the Genl. detached a party and sent them and burnt the town at this place About two Miles up a little Creek — 18 Miles by water and 14 by land this day.

Ditto 20th. heavy Rain this day which detained the troops from marching — There was but one Barrel of rum in the Store which the Genl. ordered to be equally divided between the officers which was one Point each — The Land which I have passed in Genl. down this river is very good but when the flats are good on the one side the other is mountainy and the flats narrow from the river.

Ditto 21st. Embarked 7 O'clock A. M. proceeded on our way and encamped 3 O'clock P. M. opposite an old Indian field about 500 Acres cleared and very good — left hand of the river — saw some fine land on the sides of the river this day some pleasant mountains cleared by fire — discovered in the camp two Indian's bodies, lately buried only covered with turf, and the bones of one man that had been burnt to death, saw the tree that they took the pitch splinters from, supposed him (that was burnt) to be an English Prisoner they had taken, and this was done in revenge for one of their Brothers that had been killed. — Two

of our boats ran on the rapids one of which was stove, both loaded with Ordinance Stores — 14 Boxes ruind 27,000 Cartrigs in the Same 3 barrels of Powder We are now 6 Miles from Genl. Sullivan's camp — One Fitch Jerritt had lived at this place and is now with Genl. Sullivan as a Pilate — 20 Miles by water 14 by land this day.

Ditto 22d. (Sunday) Embarked 7 O'clock A. M. Arrivd. at Genl. Hands detachment of light troops 9. O'clock A. M. where our troops were saluted from the land with 13 Cannon proceeded on one Mile further and arrivd at Tioga where Genl. Sullivan's troops were campd on the West side of the river — Encampd $\frac{1}{2}$ after 11 O Clock A M in an Old Indian Field a large quantity of land cleard. at this place — which is very good the Field officers all dind with Genl. Sullivan this day — All Mountains on the East side of this River at this place — Tioga Branch Leads from this into the Cinnaku [Seneca?] nation — 6 miles By water & 5 by land this day.

Ditto 23d Capt Kimbal P. master to Col. Cilley's Regt. this day was accidentally shot to death, and two soldiers wounded by the same gun that was carelessly discharged by a soldier of said Regt. — New Hampshire Forces — Fine pleasant weather.

Ditto 24th Struck tents in the afternoon and proceeded on to our line of March. 6 Massts. Regt. joind Genl Poor's brigade.

Augst. 25th. The troops all ordered to March and leave the ground at 8 O clock A. M. but were detain'd by a heavy rain.

Ditto 26th. 11 O clock A. M. the army marchd. and left the ground proceeded on about 5 miles and encampd on a pine plain by the side of a Large flatt about 500 Acres in the same well coverd with grass — one deer ran through the camp.

Ditto 27th. Capt. Day and Liet Carter with 25 men from the 6th Massts. Regt. are left in Fort Sullivan with the baggage the Army proceeded on this morning 8 O clock over hills and mountains, made a halt for the Pack horses and waggons to pass a large defile some men detachd. to get them over about sunset marchd. forward and arrived at a large Indian settlement 11. O clock P. M. a large quantity of corn beans and other sauce at this place — the land very good, large flats — much trouble this day with the Pack horses their loads often falling off. — came 7 miles this day.

Ditto 28th. Pleasant weather — the troops lay on this ground until 3 O clock P. M.. waiting for Genl. Clinton's Brigade to come on and to destroy the corn. After a signal of three cannon the Army movd on the first for striking tents 2d. for Loading the baggage 3d for Marching &c and proceeded over a large mountain about 2 miles high — arrivd at Chemung about Sunset and Encampd near the river — came 4 Miles this day.

Ditto 29th. (Sunday) This morning the camp was alarmd. by the firing some guns, but turnd out to be the Riflemen clearing out their Arms — the Army movd. on. 8 O Clock A. M. — at 1. . P. M. our front guard discoverd the enemy's breast-works at Newton — the army made a halt, and was ordered in line of Battle — the Artillery under the command of Col. Proctor soon began to cannonade their works with Ball and Shells — Genl. Poor's Briga. were Posted on their left and had to climb a large mountain while the savages kept a smart fire on them from the top of said mountain, but Genl. Poor's Briga. soon gaind the enemy's ground which were obligd to take to their heels for safety and leave a good deal of their baggage behind them — such as blankets, packs &c. — the enemy was soon attackd from right to left in one hour they left their works and fled before the brave continental troops leaving behind them, one of their Chiefs and a No. of others dead in the field — making in the whole 14 Indians — one Negro, and one white man, fell prisoner into our hands — their breastwork was made of pine Logs coverd with green skrub bushes that no one might discover the same until they were quite on it — it extended near half a mile in length and from their right to their left one mile and half — the loss of Genl Sullivan's army is one Liet 3 Soldiers killd. 34 wounded — including 1 Majr. 1 Capt. — in the 6th Massts. Regt. one man killd. 6 wounded included in the above No. Came 5 miles this day the name of the Liet. that was killd. was McColley — Encampd — large quantities of corn and sauce at this place.

Ditto 30th. The army employd this day in destroying the corn.

Genl. Sullivan requested the troops to take half allowance for the present which was agreed

to by the Army as the corn and other sance is very plenty at this place—the wounded with the waggons and part of the cannon, were sent down this night to Fort Sullivan.

Augst. 31st. 1779. The Army movd. on 11 O Clock, A. M. marchd. chiefly on plains & flats, had very fine marching this day—Encampt on a pine plain.

Our Riflemen discovd some Indians—12 miles march to-day.

Sept. 1st. The Army movd. on 10 O Clock A. M. marchd 5 Miles on this plain and came to a defile a large marsh on the left hand—The Pack horses were detained some time by passing a narrow passage close under the mountain—soon arrivd at a long-swamp, where the Artillery and Pack horses by reason of large gully's and miry sloughs found it very difficult to pass—this swamp is 9 miles through the Army arrivd at Queen Catherine's Castle 9 O'clock P. M. Excepting Genl. Clintons Brigade campt in the swamp as it brought up the rear of the Army could not get through—Some of the Pack-horses Died in this swamp and a No. of them left their drivers all night, as they could not reach through—the Indians had left this place but a few hours, when our front guard arrivd., as their fires were burning—there was a creek ran through this town, there was five houses one side of said Creek and six the other—the Queens Pallace was a gambrell ruft house about 30 feet long and 18 wide—I campt by the side of a log on a piece of bark that came off one of their houses, by a fire the Indians had left, without any blanket, as my baggage tarried all night in the Swamp (I was very cold) the worst rout this day I have seen on the march—came 14 Miles this day.

Sept. 2d. This day the troops were employd in washg. their cloathing (and lay still to recruit the horses) and let the rear of the Army come up & the Genl. detachd a party of Volunteers to pursue the enemy, but returnd. without discovering any of them—Our troops found an old Indian squaw at this place that the Indians had left by reason of her being so old that she could not travel with them—the land is very good at this place, ownd. all by this Queen—there was one Dutch family livd. here, and are gone off with the rest; there was a No. of feather beds found in his house and two horses found in his fields.

Ditto 3d. The army movd. on at 8 O'clock A. M. marchd in the Indian path, the roads very good this day—passd. some fine land timberd with Oak and Walnut—marchd by a creek, which ran through a large meadow—Our front guard discovd. some Indians in a corn field, which fled and left their Kettles on the fire—Encampt on a heighth about 6 miles from an Indian Village—the horses had only bushes for forrage this night—came 12 miles this day.

Ditto 4th. This morning the troops were ordered to march at sunrise, but werè detaind by reason of the rain—the Army movd. on 9 O'clock A. M. arrivd. at an Indian Settlement 11 O'clock A. M. where we burnt 6 houses and destroyd. some fields of corn, joining the Cinnaka Lake—where I had a full view of sd. Lake, and appeard. to me like a small Ocean—the Land the Army marchd over this day, is very fine and not mountany—some of the Pack-horses gave out and died under their Loads partly for want of forrage—Genl. Sullivan sent off two Indians as Expresses one to Col. Broadhead the other to Onida (those two Indians were from Onida) Encampt on a piece of fine Land, little or no under brush, woodd chiefly with white oak—the horses had brushes for fodder this night—I gathered a quantity of wild Oranges this day as large as common limes—the Enemy had wrote on several trees that Genl. Sullivan might pursue, but would soon meet with trouble.

Sept. 5th. (Sunday) The Army movd on, 9 O'clock A. M. the land our army marchd. over this day is very good and level. Passd two large Gulleys which made it very difficult for the Pack horses to pass—the Army arrivd at appletown or Saint Coy. 2 O'clock P. M. where we found 13 houses and a large old orchard and some peach trees—Three grand tombs where it is supposed they buried some of their chiefs, they were all painted very fine, and coverd with a frame and bark, on the top of the whole—some of the houses were made of hewd. timber and one of them had a chimney in it. 11 of those houses stood on a ridge about 60 rods long and 20 rods wide; on this place stood the Orchard which appeard. to be plantd many years—Near this Town was all bushes the

piece I have mentioned, only excepted, which is a custom with them to have no land cleared near their houses : their corn fields were about half a mile from the town but the corn was chiefly gone before the Army arrivd. — The Army encampt at this place — A prisoner came to our army informd. Genl. Sullivan that he left the Indians last friday and made his escape — he was taken by them last summer at Wyoming and brought to this place — says that the Enemy left this town last Thursday & Friday, and that their strength Now with Butler is about seven hundred Indians and Tories and that Butler means to fight us again — the Genl. orderd the apple trees all girdled or cut down which was done — the houses burnt — came 6 miles this day.

Sept 6th. This morning the army was detaind from marching, by reason of the guards losing 60 or 70 head of Cattle last Night — A party of men were sent out in quest of them and found about half of them — the Army marchd on at 2. O'clock P. M. proceeded on about four miles and Encampt near the Lake which is at this place, about 8 miles acrost the water very clear and gravelly bottom — came over fine land this day and level — came 4 miles this day.

Sept. 7th. The Army movd. on at 8. O'Clock A. M. proceeded on 8 miles and came to the foot of the Great Cinnakee Lake about 12, O'clock A. M. the army forded the outlet of this Lake which was two rods acrost about two feet deep the water, with a swift current — the Army marchd on the beach at the foot of this lake, from one side to the other, which was about three miles — Swamp on the right hand and water on the left this Lake is 40 miles long and 8 miles wide at the widest part — the land on the west side is very level, and not mountany — 80 miles from Tioga, to the foot of this lake — The army burnt two houses at the foot of this lake, was said they belonged to the Cinnakee King and made use of one of them as a summer seat — the Army proceeded on two miles and arrivd, at Cannondesago the chief Cinnakee castle about dusk, where we found about 80 houses something large — some of them built with hewd. timber & part with round timber and part with bark. Large quantities of corn and beans with all sorts of sauce, at this place a fine Young Orchard, which was soon all girdled by the pioneers — this town lays very compact not more than 100 rods from outside to outside. came 10 miles this day — the foot of this Lake lays exact East.

Sept. 8th. This day the Army lay at this place to recruit — The Genl. sent a detachment to destroy some houses and corn, on the sides of this Lake, which was done — at our first arrival at this place, there was found a man child about 4 years old naked, left by the Savages. Must be the child of some white prisoner they had taken.

Sept 9th. The Troops were ordered to march at 6 O'clock this morning, but were detaind by reason of a heavy rain — Capt Reed set out for Fort Sullivan with the invalids from this place — The troops movd. on 11. O'clock A. M. and marchd. the Artillery in an Indian path — the Indian fields continued near 5 miles on our way from this Castle. very good road this day — excepting one small swamp but passd. the same without much trouble — After marching 7 miles came to a brook, the first water the Army passd this day — three brigades crossd. the brook half a mile and encampt — Genl Clinton's brigade did not cross — came 7 miles and half this day.

Sept. 10th. The Army movd on 8 O'clock A. M. proceeded on 4 and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles through swampy ground, and then arrived at an Indian Field, which continued for some miles — Came to a large Lake forded the Outlet, which was two feet deep about, four rods acrost. proceeded half a mile and arrivd. at Cannonowago — a Ginnacee Castle where was 19 houses about 1. O'clock P. M. fire was set to then soon which consumed them to Ashes in a short time — the Army proceeded on $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile and encampt near their Corn, which was in great plenty, near a mile in length. Came 9 and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles to day.

Sept. 11th. The Army movd on 6 O'clock A. M. (as the corn was destroyd. Yesterday) had very good roads this day the land very good and level passd. a No. of Indian fields which were all covered with large quantities of Indian grass — Arrivd. 3. O'clock P. M. to a Ginnacee Castle of 8 houses, Great plenty of corn and beans at this place, the Army encampt (this Castle cald. Onnayayon) this town is on a fine piece of intervale land and well waterd. by fine springs and a small brook running through the same, which is

very rare to be found in this country and in general the Towns I have passd. stand on poor land. — Came 13 miles this day.

Sept. 12th. 1779 (Sunday) The troops were ordered to march this morning at 6 O'clock. but were detain'd. by the rain, the Army movd. on 1 O'clock P. M. and proceeded 4 miles and came to a lake which was on our left hand, forded the out-let which was one rod across and one foot deep with water, (myself crossd. on a tree that was fell across the same) went 7 and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles further and the Army encamp't on the side of a large hill — where was but little or no under brush — The Genl. left part of the Stores with one of the field pieces and a strong guard at the place the troops left this day — The route very good this day — came 11 and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

Sept. 13th. The Army movd on 6 O'clock A. M. proceeded on one and a half miles and arriv'd. at Yoxsaw, a Ginnasee Town, where was 10 houses that were soon burnt — great plenty of corn, and all sorts of sauce at this place, Great No. of Peach trees which our troops soon cut down. — The Army made a halt at this place for breakfast and to destroy the corn — About 12. O'clock A. M. the Indians attack'd. a party of our men that were sent out Yesterday as a discovering party command'd. by Liet. Boyd., they were returning to camp and were about one mile from the same, when the Indians discovered them, with the Liet was a No. of the Riflemen some Musket men, and one Onida Chief making in the whole 27 men 11. of the No. made their escape, the rest were kill'd. and taken. Our troops were making a bridge across a Miry River at this place *(Whenden), our Army movd. on and arriv'd. at Costeroholly, (a Ginnasee Castle) about sunset, where some of the Enemy were discover'd. but soon fled — Where was 12 houses which were soon Burnt, by the men that escaped in the late Action, we are inform'd. that a No. of the Indians were kill'd. and that their No. in Said Battle were 200 — the Onida Chief was kill'd. and cut to Pieces — came 8 miles this day.

Sept. 14th. I should mention that the Riflemen Yesterday took 100 Pack that the Indians had left in their flight — together with their kettles and blankets. — The army was employ'd this forenoon in destroying the corn at this place, which was done by throwing part of it into the River and part was burnt — The army movd on at 1. O Clock P. M. and forded a deep creek, crossd the large Ginnasee flatts two miles — Forded the Ginnasee River 8 rods across. and knee deep, swift current, which made it very difficult to pass — came on a height the other side of this flatt, where I had a full view of the same and suppose there is 10,000 acres in it of clear'd. land level and all cover'd with grass as high as a man's head — proceeded on over hills and swamps and arriv'd. sun one hour high at night; — at the grand Ginnasee Castle where was 120 houses the most of them compact together — where at our arrival we found the body of the brave Liet Boyd. and the body of one of the Serjts. that was with him both of their heads cut off. the Liet. was all skinned, his back much bruised, his nails burnt out, and many stabs in his body; his brother sufferer was in the like condition, with a knife sticking in his back — their bodies much eat by dogs — The Army encamp't at this place — came 6 miles this day.

Sept. 15th. This morning the whole army was ordered out to destroy the corn at this place $\frac{3}{4}$ at work while $\frac{1}{2}$ guarded them; — this was done by carrying part into the houses, which were sav'd for that purpose, the biggest part was burnt in the fields, there was the largest quantity of corn. beans and all sorts of sauce at this Castle that I have seen in one place on my march, as it was their head castle It was suppos'd. by the army that there was 1000 acres at this place, and the land very fine and rich — The land from Yoxsaw this appears to be the best in this country that I have seen though in general all very good, but not well watered — A woman and a little child came into our camp this day, that the enemy had left behind them, she informs Genl. Sullivan, that she was taken from Wyoming by the Indians last summer, and had ben with them ever since; likewise informs that the enemy are much distress'd. with hunger and frighted at the approach of the Gen'l's. Army, and thinks he is bound for Niagara — 1. O'clock P. M. the army left this place and began their march back for Tioga as they are now 150 miles

* Perhaps an error — When done (?) — G. S. C.

from the same. — Set this Town all in flames as there has not one house ben burnt since our arrival, but as I mentioned before were referrd. to distroy the corn in — Crossd. the large River (I mentioned before) about sun-set and Encampt on this large flatt near Castroholly.

Sept. 16th. This morning the army was employd. in distroying Corn that was left when the Army movd. up, which was in great plenty on this flatt. The Army moved on at 9 O'clock A. M. and arrivd. at Yoxsaw 3. O'clock P. M. where the Army halted and encampt to distroy corn that was left at this place — Our dead was gathered together and buried, that was killd. ye. 13th. Instant, 13 white men and one Indian was found dead in a small compass of ground, they were all Scalpt and hadd. with Tommahawks, the Indian was cut almost all to pieces (it was Capt. Hunyost from Onida) in the whole 16 killd. 11 escapd. making 27 in the party — Hard frost this night.

Sept. 17th. The Army movd. on this morning 6 . O.Clock and arrived at Onnayauyan — 12 O'clock A. M. where we found our Stores in good order, the troops that were left with them had made an Abbertee [abatis?] fort for their Security against the enemy.

Sept. 18th. This morning the Army movd on at 7. O'clock Arrivd. at Cannonowago 4 . O'Clock P. M. fordel the Out-let of the Lake and encampt — a No. of Onida Indians with one of their Chiefs met us this day.

Sept 19th. Sunday . the Army movd on this morning 7 . O'clock arrived at the half way brook 12 . O'Clock A. M. and made a halt for the troops to refresh themselves 3. men as Express from Newtown, met Genl. Sullivan this day informs that there is 6 days provisions for the Army at that Post . . proceeded on and arrivd. at Cannondesago, sun half an hour high at night, and encampt on our old camping ground.

Sept. 20th. This forenoon the Army lay at this place the Genl. detachd. a party under the command of Col. Gansewort to proceed for Albany after the baggage that was left at that place — another party up the side of the Cinnakee Lake to distroy corn — the Army movd. on 3 . O'Clock P. M. forded the out-let of the Lake and marchd about one mile and encampt.

Sept 21st. The Genl. detachd a party this morning commandd. by Col. Durbin to go to the other Lake to burn some houses and distroy the Corn &c. at that place — The army movd. on this morning at 7. O.Clock proceeded on and arrivd at Appletown 2 . O'Clock P. M. proceeded on a few miles farther and encampt near the lake where had ben an old Indian Settlement — 4. O'Clock P. M.

Sept 22d. The Army movd. on this morning 8 . O'Clock proceeded on our march campd 8 miles from Queen Catharines Castle on a pine plain near a brook — a large buck ran through the camp this evening.

Sept. 23d. This morning the Army movd on at 7. O'clock Arrivd at the Queens Castle 12 O'clock A. M. where the Army made a halt found the same old Indian Squaw that was left at this place when the Army went up — the army proceedd. on 4 miles and encampt in the long Swamp

Sept. 24th. This morning the army movd on at 8 . O clock proceeded on and arrived at Newtown 4 O Clock P. M. where we found the stores under the Command of Capt. John Reed 6 Massts. Regt The army was saluted from the fort with 13 Cannon which were returnd. from Col. . Proctors Artillery — the troops drew one Gill of Whiskey each man, and one pound and quarter of beef the first allowance the troops drew this month more than ½ pound beef per day Per man and ditto of flour — there has not been one storm to detain this army one day since they left Tioga which is 30 days.

Sept. 25th. Those forks of the River at this place are called the one Tioga branch the other Keugah branch, both empty into Susquehannah River. The Army lay at this place this day and the future joy [*feu de joie?*] was fird in this camp at 5 O Clock P. M. The Genl. made a present of an Ox to the officers of each brigade and Likewise to the core of Artillery — each officer half a Point of Rum and each other man one Gill of Whiskey.

Sept 26th. Sunday. This day Col. Derbin arrived with his detachment from his command and brought two Indian squaws prisoners with him — he informs that he has burnt a No. of houses and destroyed a large quantity of corn.

Sept. 27th. Col. Cortland was sent with a detachment up Tioga branch to destroy corn which was in great plenty up this River.

Sept. 28th. This morning about 9. O'clock Col. Butler arrivd. in this camp with his detachment that had ben on the Frontiers of Keugo [Cayuga?] Lake. informs that he has destroyed a large quantity of corn and burnt a No. of Indian Towns — The sick were sent off this day from this place to Tioga, part by water and part by land, the Artillery and Ordinant stores, were all sent in boats down the river to Tioga, excepting the Cowhorn [cohorn?].

Sept 29th. The Army movd. this morning at 8. O'clock arrivd. at Chemung 12. O'clock. A. M. where the troops made a short halt, and then movd. on, arrivd. at the camping ground, where we found the first corn going up. Encampt 4 O'clock P. M. 8 miles from fort Sullivan.

Sept 30th. I would inform the reader that Fort Sullivan and Tioga is one place The Army movd. on this morning at 8. O'Clock passd. the large defile which was 200 rods between the brink of the mountains and the river — The army arrivd at Fort Sullivan 2. O'Clock P. M. and was saluted with 13 cannon from the fort — which was returned with 13 from Col. Proctors Artillery, the troops passd. by the Fort and marchd. on to their old Camping ground; and encampt — The officers all dind. in the Fort on a dinner orderd. by Col. Shreefe who commanded said fort while the Army were gone on the Expedition — The officers drew $\frac{1}{2}$ a pint of rum each, the other troops one Gill of Whiskey. each — This day completes 36 days since the army left this grownd, and has not ben detained one day by storms or any other Accident.

October 1st. 1779. Pleasant weather this day.

“ 2nd. The Genl. gave orders for the troops to march monday Next at 6 oclock — Fort Sullivan to be evacuated to morrow morning at 7. O'Clock.

October 3d. Sunday. This day the troops were employed in destroying the Fort and throwing the pickets into the River which was near on both sides of the Fort.

Octr. 4th. This morning the Army Marchd. and left the ground at 9 O'Clock for Wyoming — came over skrub land this day — Passd. a defile on the brink of the river where was a narrow path on the steep side of a large mountain about 200 feet perpendicular which made it very dangerous to pass; and was a sollid rock three horses with their loads fell off and dashed to pieces in the River — Proceed. on and encampt on the point of the river — Some rain this day and very hard this night — Came 25 miles this day — Part of the troops came in the boats.

October 5th. This morning 11 O'Clock the troops all embarkd. on board the boats, excepting a No. to drive the Cattle, and take down the pack-horses Proceeded down the river and encampt 7 miles below Wylucee the boats came on very well, this day passd some bad rapids — This river on the sides is very mountany and opposite on the other side some small flatts Some of these mountains 300 feet perpendicular Came 21 miles this day.

October 6th. This morning the troops movd. on at 6 O'Clock proceeded down this river and encampt west side of the same on a piece of land that was cleared by girdling the trees and was coverd. with English grass — Came 30 Miles.

October 7th. This morning the Army movd. on and arrivd. at Wyoming 12. O'Clock A. M. and encampt on a pine plain — the troops drew half a pint of Whiskey each — This river is very mountany, on the sides of it and opposite these mountains on the other side, some small flatts which are very rich and good land, those flatts from Tioga to Wyoming have all ben improv'd. and clear'd by girdling but the houses are all burnt by the Indians — This Wyoming is pleasantly situated on both sides of the river and the land near the same very good — Came 15 miles. making in the whole 91 miles from Tigo to this place by water.

October 8th. pleasant weather orders this day for the Army to March Sunday next for Easton.

Octr. 9th. Commissary Woodman left this place for Albany.

October 10th. (Sunday) The Army marchd. and left the ground 3. O'clock P. M., for

Easton — Came over a large mountain very rocky and some muddy sloughs, Arrivd. at Bullocks-Farm at a long meadow 11. O'clock at night where the troops Encampt — Came 7 miles this day.

October 11th. This morning the Army movd. on at 8. O Clock very bad roads this day — Crossd. the School-kill River Encampt. about sunset on a pine hill. — Came 14 miles this day — Enterd. the Pennsylvania Line.

October 12th. This morning the army, movd. on at 7. O'clock and came into the bad swamp 3. O Clock P. M. Met a No. of Waggon from Easton to help on with the baggage — Rained very hard this afternoon. got through the Swamp 4. O clock P. M., the rout very stony and muddy this day Crossd. the Lehi River. Encampt. about dusk on a pine plain — Came 16 miles this day.

October 13th. This morning the Army movd. on at 7. O'clock proceeded on 5 Miles and arrivd. at Larnards Tavern, where was forrage for the use of the Army — proceeded on and arrivd. at Brinkers Mills 5 O'clock P. M. where the army encampt and drew provisions, as there is a Continental Store kept at this place — Came 7 miles this day — This place is west side the Blue Mountains.

October 14th This morning the army movd. on 10 O'clock and crossed the Blue Mountains at the wind gate — Encampt East side of the mountains — The Dilleware and Lehi Rivers runs through this Mountain — large fields of buck wheat in this place, which the men and women thresh in the Fields the Land very Poor in general only some valleys improv'd. — Came 7 miles this day.

October 15th. This morning the troops marchd. at 6 O'clock. proceeded on and arrivd. at Easton 1. O'Clock P. M. — The land the Army came by this day is very poor, chiefly skrub oak plains — The army encampt on the bank of the Dilleware River — The Officers of the 6th. Massts. Regt. dind. in town this day, that was prepared by Capt. Ballard as he has ben here some days — This Easton is situated between two mountains, and lays on Dilleware and Lehi River opposite the Gersies, the houses are chiefly built with stone and lime some of them very elegant — Came 12 miles this day, which makes 63 miles from Wyoming to this Town.

Octr. 16th. This day I went into the Gersies after some Markee cordage — A very poor place and the land very stony.

Oct 17th. Sunday. The 6th. Massts. Regt. musterd. this day by Mr. Nehemiah Wade Mr. Master — the troops attended public service in the new church in this town, the sermon deliverd by Mr. Evins Chaplin to Genl Poor's Brigade.

Octr. 18th. This day the troops were ordered to be Barrackd in town, those that had no tents to cover them — Capt. Daniel Lane this day was dischargd. from the Continental Army By Genl. Sullivan at Easton.

Octr. 19th. This day I rode with Capt Reed and some more gentlemen of the Army to Bethlehem a Town 12 Miles from Easton Inhabited by Moravians. Arrivd there 12 O'clock A. M. and dind. at the great Tavern as there is but one in the town, which is kept by the whole place as all their stores are put in public stock — after Dinner was piloted through the town by a squire, went to the Nunnery where was many Curiosities carried on by the Nuns, this house is very large and many rooms in the same which are filled with women of all Ages, not mixed, but every class by themselves, in short all sort of work ever done by a woman carried on in this place, went into their place of worship, where were many Grand Pictures amongst the rest a near Emblem of the sufferings of our Saviour — went into their Bed Chamber where were as many beds as Nuns in the house, as no two of them sleeps together they are exceeding neat and clean with every thing that concerns them. — their custom at night is to keep one of themselves as a Centry at the door of their Chamber, which is relieved every hour, so that they may discover any man coming near them, they see no man but every sunday, excepting those strangers that go to see their curiosities, which is the time that they expose of the works that supports them — From this I went to the brother's house, where are many things worth seeing, but not equal to the Sisters, those Brothers all live in one house, but dont work in the same — Went to see the Smiths, Tanners, Cloathiers, and all sorts of trades, which are carried on

in the easiest manner all by water — the water is carried through this town to every house, after this manner, it is taken out of a spring by three Pumps, which never stop carried by water, conveyed through a brass Pipe up a steep hill into a Cistern then taken 20 feet into the air perpendicular and from that conveyed through small pipes to all parts of the town, and is drew from a brass Cock that stands in the street in a pump — this town is very pleasantly situated on Lehi River the buildings very elegant all Stone and Lime. These people put all into a common Stock and from that draws their subsistence — left this town about sunset. Arrived at Nazereth 7 O clock this evening, where we tarried this night. 7 miles from Bethleham.

Oct. 20th. This morning went through this town, to see the situation of it, which is very pleasant but is a new place settled but 6 years — All stone houses, the water is carried through this town, in like manner as in the other only it comes naturally from a spring of a heighth without the help of pumps and is carried under ground in large wooden pipes.

Left this town 10 O Clock A. M. Arrived at Easton 1 . O Clock P. M. the land between this place and Bethleham is very poor and sandy, they raise chiefly buck-wheat.

October 21 and 22d. Nothing new.

“ 23d. This day Genl. Poor's Brigade crossd. Dilleware-river 10 Oclook A. M. marched 5 miles in the Gersies and, Encampt in the woods — Capt Lane set off for New Winsor on North river.

Octr. 24th. Sunday. Pleasant weather.

“ 25 This day I crossd. the Lehi River and rode 10 miles in Pensylvania to Col. Larricks for horses for the Regt. and returned to camp in the evening, the land in this rout is very stony and rough.

October 26th. Rode into Greenig town with Major Whiting and Adj. White, & P. Master, Tucker arrived at the Regt. with money for the same.

October 27th. The Army marchd. on this day and Encampt in Oxford, about 8 miles from the ground we left, there was wood and straw provided at this place for the Army this place is in the Gersies.

October 28th. The army movd. on this morning at 7 . O'clock, proceeded on and arrivd. at Hardwick and encampt, near the Log Goal — came 15 miles.

Octr. 29th. The Army movd. on this morning at 7 . O'clock arrived at Sussex Court House in Newtown 12 . O'clock A. M. in the Gersies 39 and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

October 30th. This day the army movd. on and arrived at Charcole Town 12 miles from the Court House, and Encampt.

Octr. 31st. Sunday. The Army moved on this morning and Arrived at Warrick in the afternoon in the State of New York and Encampt — Came 15 miles this day.

Novr. 1st. The army moved on this morning and marchd. over Sterling Mountains a very rocky, bad rout this day Arrived at Sterling town and Encampt near the furnace, which is built at the mouth of a small Lake the land very rocky and mountany at this place Came 10 miles this day.

Novr. 2nd. The Army moved on this morning, and arrived at Rammessau in the Clove 18 miles from Kings ferry this mountain is 17 miles very rough rout, and difficult for Waggon to pass Encampt in the woods Came 11 miles this day Lord Sterlings division has left this two days and gone to Kings ferry.

Novr. 3d. Blustering and Cool some squalls of Snow.

Novr. 4th. Majr. Whiting and Capt. Reed rode into the Country for a party of pleasure.

Novr. 5th. The majr. and Capt. Reed returned to camp this-afternoon, the officers baggage arrivd. from New Winsor with their Portmanteaus Orders to march tomorrow morning 8 O clock for Pumpton in the Gersies.

Novr. 6th. Genl. Hands brigade and the Artillery marchd. this day for Pumpton the other two brigades were detained for want of waggon. I rode into the country to see a sityr which was 24 inches high drest in coat Jacket and trowsers resembled a small Negro, would handle the fire-lock very well and go through any Manoeuver that his master bid him.

- Novr. 7th. Sunday, Genl. Clinton's brigade marchd this day for Pompton.
- Novr. 8th. Genl. Poor's brigade marchd. this morning and arrived at Pompton 3 . O'Clock P M. and encampd in the woods, Genl. Washington arrived at Genl. Sullivan's Quarters this afternoon, about 2 miles from this Camp. Marchd. 12 miles this day.
- Novr. 9th. This day Genl. Washington rode through this Camp.
- Novr. 10th. This day the 6th Massts. Regt. and Rifle Corps were ordered to march tomorrow for Westpoint.
- Novr. 11th. Were detained for want of waggons
- Novr. 12th. 6th. Massts. Regt. marchd. from Pompton and arrived at Rammepo in New York State.
- Novr. 13th. Marchd. from Rammepo this morning and arrivd. two miles from King's ferry on the North river, and Encampd — Came 17 miles this day.
- Novr. 14th. Sunday, This morning crossd the North river — Arrived at Peekskill and encampd about dusk — Came 7 miles this day.
- Novr. 15th. This morning the Regt. marchd. on and crossd. the river and arrived in Westpoint 2. O Clock P. M. and encampd in the bush one mile and $\frac{1}{2}$ down the River — came 8 miles.
- Novr. 16th. Some snow this night.
- “ 17th. Cold and blustering Weather.
- Novr. 18th. This day the 6th. Massts. Regt marchd. and joined Genl. Patterson's Brigade very cold and blustering.
- Novr. 19th. Pleasant weather.
- “ 20th. This day sent the horses into the country to be kept as there was no forage on the Point.
- Novr. 21st Sunday, Rainy weather this day — Majr. McKinster and Capt. Bussey came to see me.
- Novr. 22nd. This day the 6th. Massts. Regt. was mustered by Colo. Varrick* Muster master Genl. this is the fifth day that the troops have drew no bread on this Point as there was none.
- Novr. 23d. Drew some bread this day — very cool weather at this place.
- Novr. 24 & 25th. Nothing new.
- “ 26th. A smart snow storm this day — and the men in the tents which made it very tedious.
- Novr. 27th. The Snow blew very much, and made it as tedious as the storm which Crept into our tents very fast.
- Novr. 28th. Sunday. Pleasant weather this day and warm.
- “ 29th The Paymaster arrived with the Clothing for the Regt
- Novr. 30th. This day the chane that crossed the River was removed by hoisting the same whole between Boats and was taken to the shore to be laid up for the winter.
- December 1st. Five men dischargd. this day from the 6th Massts. Regt.
- December 2d. A Still snow storm began this morning, which cleared off with a heavy rain — made it very tedious in camp.
- Decr. 3d and 4th. Nothing new.
- “ 5th Sunday . . A tedious snow storm and wind this day.
- Decr. 6th. Liet. Carter Ensign Bagnal, Ensn. Parker, set out for home, on furlow from Westpoint.
- Decr. 7th. Capt Ballard left West-point on furlow — Capt Reed, P. Master Tucker and Liet Givins went to New Winsor.
- Decr. 8th. Capt Reed P. M. and Lt. Givins returnd to camp.
- Decr 9th. Thanksgiving-day the Troops drew one Gill of Rum.
- Decr. 10th. Some rain this day.
- “ 11th. Nothing new this day.
- “ 12th. Sunday some snow and heavy rain this day at West point.
- Decr. 13 . . 14 . . 15 . . 16 . . & 17th. Nothing new.
- “ 18th. A tedious snow storm with hard wind which made it very bad in tents.

* Colonel Richard Varick, afterwards a distinguished public officer of New York State.

Decr. 19th. (Sunday.) Went to Genl. Heath's and got my furlow.

December 20th. Left Westpoint on furlow Lodgd at Mr. Huestins 6 miles from said point the weather very cold.

December 21st Breakfast at Fishkill — Dined at Esq Storms's lodged at Col Moorhouse's 30 miles this day.

December 22nd. Lodgd. two miles from Lichfield came 25 miles this day.

December 23rd. Proceeded on, the roads very bad this day, and not broke, Lodgd. in Symsberry at Landlord Garrets, 18 miles from Lichfield 20 miles this day.

December 24th. This morning proceeded on Arrived at Springfield 6 O'clock P. M. — Lodgd at Landlord Edes 11 miles from Springfield — 41 miles this day the roads very good.

Decr. 25th Proceeded on — Lodgd. this night at Landlord Tafts 6 miles West from Worcester 32 Miles this day.

Decr. 26th. Sunday. proceeded on and Lodgd. at Col Mackintoshes in Needham Came 47 miles this day.

Decr 27th. Proceeded on and arrived at Stoughton sunset, the weather has ben very cold and severe since I left camp 12 miles this day.

December 28th. Some snow this day.

" 29 .. 30 and 31st Nothing new this day.

January 1st 1780. Pleasant weather.

" 2nd (Sunday) very cold this day and a storm of snow this night.

Jany. 3d. Some snow and blustering this day.*

* The original journal is now owned by Mr. William Henry McKendry, of Ponkapoag, Massachusetts, of the Harvard Class of 1882. By him it was lent to our associate, the Rev. Henry F. Jenks, of Canton, who has compared the proof with it, and has made the essential corrections in the text. — J. W. [Justin Winsor, Cor. Sec'y, Mass. Hist. Society.]

*JOURNAL OF LIEUT. CHARLES NUKERCK.

NUKERCK, CHARLES, Lieutenant and Captain in Colonel Van Cortlandt's Second New York Regiment. From May 1, 1779, to December 11, 1780. Captain (afterward Colonel) Nukerek was born in Hurley, Ulster County, New York. In 1776 he was serving as Second Lieutenant in Colonel Ritzema's 3d New York Regiment, organized to garrison the forts southward of Crown Point. Under the call of September 16, 1776, he entered the Second New York Regiment to *serve during the war*, and continued with that regiment as Lieutenant and Captain until the consolidation of the five New York regiments into two in December, 1780, when he was assigned to the class of deranged officers, and continued in service to the close of the war. He afterward settled at Palatine Church, in the Mohawk Valley, where he died greatly respected in November, 1822.

The following is a verbatim copy made from a *fac simile* of the original in possession of General John S. Clark :

* This Journal has had a somewhat interesting history. A portion of it appeared in 1831 in Campbell's Annals of Tryon County, as "extracts from the manuscript Journal of an officer," but without giving the author's name. Extracts have also appeared from time to time in the writings of the late Thomas Maxwell of Elmira as the Journal of Colonel Gansevoort. In Colonel Stone's Life of Brant, 1838, Introduction p. xxiii, he says "the author has likewise been favored with the manuscript diary of the venerable Captain Theodosius Fowler of this city, who was an active officer during the whole campaign. In addition to the valuable memoranda contained in this diary, Captain Fowler has preserved a drawing of the Order of March * * * and a plan of the *great battle fought at Newtown*, both of which drawings have been engraved, and will be found in the Appendix." In the body of the work he incorporates the text as found in Campbell's Annals, including several interpolations from Seaver's Life of Mary Jemison, which appear in the Annals *as quoted*, but in Colonel Stone's work as *part of the original Journal*. At page 18, Vol. II, appears the "Order of March" and "Order of Battle," the latter having no reference whatever to the battle of Newtown, it being nothing more than the general order of battle prescribed at the beginning of the campaign. After the death of Colonel Stone, the original manuscript fell into the hands of that distinguished scholar, Dr. Lyman C. Draper, Secretary of Wisconsin Historical Society, who purchased it at the sale, in a bound volume of manuscripts. In June, 1879, he placed it in my hands for examination and directed my attention to the fact, of its unquestionable identity with the many fragments ascribed to Captain Fowler and others. The Journal is substantially a history of the movements of the Second regiment from the date of the first entry, to the time of the consolidation in 1780, when it closes. It contains abundant evidence to warrant the conclusion that it must have been written by an officer of that regiment. This appears effectually to dispose of the claims of the supposed authorship of Captain Fowler, as he was made Captain of the First New York, June 21, 1778, and continued in service with that regiment until the consolidation in 1780, when he was assigned to the new New York Second, and continued in that position to the close of the war. It is highly probable that Captain Fowler was on duty with his regiment, which remained to guard the Mohawk Valley during Sullivan's campaign,

JOURNAL.

SATURDAY MAY 1st 1779

Incamped at Jacobus Browns at Wawassinck.

2nd & 3rd. Remained at Do.

Do. 4. Decamped just got on our way when we was alarm'd by an Express from the Fontine Kill. Inform'd us the Savages were destroying that part of the Country Marched to their assistance and found they had left it and taken to the woods, pursued them and less than Half an Hour they firing at us from a high knowl in front of us and push'd off.

5. Returned to Wawassinck and lay that Night at Vemoys Mills.

Do. 6. Decamped and March'd to Mamecotton and Incamp'd.

Do. 7. Decamped this day foard'd the Nawe senck twice and Incamped at Major Deckers.

Do 8 Decamped and Incamp'd at Naumenaugh—

Do. 9. Decamped in the morning and Incamped in the evening at Deckers Ferrey on Deleware.

Do 10. Remained in our present Incampment.

Do 11. Pass'd the river and Incamped this Evening at Sundown at Fort Penn.

Do 12 & 13 Remained at Fort Penn

Do 14. Decamped filed off to the Right about Gunshot from Fort Penn and Marched about five Miles into the Woods.

Do 15 Detach'd 100 Men to mend the Roads in front Early in the Morning at 8. o'clock Decamp'd, March'd to Larns and Incamped in the Fields. this is the Last House between this and Wyoming

Do 16. Camp Remaind at Larns with a small 2nd Guard whilst the Troops Employ'd to work the Road in front

Do 17th Decamped early in the Morning and Removed our Camp to White Oak Run about Six miles distant from Larns

Do 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd. The Camp Remained at White Oake Run (now called Rum Budge)—Much Rain during this time—Notwithstanding which worked the Road some distance in front.—

Do 23rd. Decamped at 9 oclock after Marching about 3 miles entered the Great Swamp and Incamped between Tunkhannak and Tobyhannah about 6 Miles from White Oak Run.

Do 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29. Camp Remained at said Incamp'te in the mean while the Troops employ'd to work the Roads in front, Built a Bridge across the Tobyhannah—Great plenty of Trout in these two River

Do 30 Decamped early in the Morning and with difficulty Reached Locust Hill where we Incamped in the Evening—

Do 31st & JUNE 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th. Remained at Locust hill. in the mean-while made the Road in front—

Do 7 Decamped and March'd to the Edge of the Shades of Death where we incamped—

Do 8 March'd and Incamped between Bare Swamp and the Shades 3 miles from last Incampment.—

and consequently could not have participated in the westward march, and if the author of a Journal it certainly cannot be the one in question, which, beyond any doubt was written by an officer actively engaged in the main expedition. A careful examination of the manuscript disclosed the fact that unmistakably it is the hand writing of Captain Nukerck, and presumably his Journal. On being advised of this fact Dr. Draper addressed a note to Mrs. Miller, of Englewood, N. J., a granddaughter of Captain Nukerck, who answered "that she remembered distinctly, that her father loaned to Mr. Campbell the Diary of her grandfather relating to Sullivan's Campaign, and that afterwards it was loaned to an agent of Colonel Stone who failed to return it." The manuscript is in an excellent state of preservation, every word from beginning to end being plain and distinct, especially the proper names. At the end a single leaf is missing, which probably contains the order of march and order of battle, mentioned by Colonel Stone.—J. S. CLARK.

Do 9th & 10th Remain'd at our present Incampment.—

Do 11 Incamp'd at Bullocks House 7 miles from Wyoming. N B—No Pasture in all this distance but at the particular places of Incampment I mentn

Do 12 13 Remained at Bullock's and worked the road a'head—in the Evening formed a junction with Colo Butler who with a party had cut the Road thro' from Wyoming thus far.—

Do 14 Decamped early in the Morning and Incamped at Wyoming on the Banks of the Susquehannah River—

Do 15th, 16th Remained at Wyoming

Do 17—Decamped and Marched to Jacobs Plains up the river about 4 Miles from Wyoming and Incamped on the Banks of the river.—

Do 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th and JULY 1st, 2nd, 3rd. Remained at Jacobs Plains.

JULY 4th Decamped in the Morning Forded the River in front of our Incampment and Incamped at Forty Fort where Genl Poor with the Three New Hampshire Regts had taken post a few days before—and to whose Brigade we was then annex.—

5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th. Remained Incampd and Forty Fort.

N B Genl Sullivan with the Army arrived June 24th.

JULY 27. Decamped in the Morning Marched to Wyoming and Incamped near the Town.—

Do 28th, 29th, 30th. Remained at Do—

Do 31st. Decamped about one oclock and proceeded on our way to the Indian Settlements, The Boats about 150 in Number, under the Command of Colo. Proctor with all the Commissary and Quarter Masters Stores & Artilliry proceeded by water up the Susquehannah River. The army Incamped this day at Leghiwaunuck 10 Miles distant from Wyoming.—

AUGUST 1st Decamped and Incamped at Quilitumack.

Do 2nd Remained at Do—

Do 3rd Incamped at Tulkhanuck

Do 4th Incampeat at Vanderlips Desolated Farm

Do 5th Incamped at Wyalusing here lies some fine Land, the property of—Pawling

Do 6 & 7 Remained at Wyalusing

Do 8 Incamped at Standing Stone

Do 9 Incamped on Sheshecunuck Flats about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile wide and Two Miles in Length and very Level—Lying on the Bank of the River which groes very small at this place Much good Land about this place.—

Do 10th Remained at Sheshecunung Flats.

Do 11 Decamped early in the Morning Forded the Susquehannah River 3 Miles below Tioga, pass'd over Esters Plains Forded the Tioga Branch and Incamped at Tioga in the Forks of the River

Do 12th 8 o'clock at Night Marched for Shemung about 12 miles distant where we arrived between Light and Sunrise—The Enemy having Notice of our approach left the Town and lay Skulked on the Hills from which they fired and Kill'd 7 of our Men and Wounded as many More.—

Do 13th. In the Morning Sot Fire to the Town. Employed this Day in destroying the Corn & Beans about this place 8 oclock in the Evening Returned to our Camp at Tioga.

Do 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th Remained at Tioga in the meanwhile Built a Fort about one Mile and a Quarter above the Forks between the Rivers which is not more than a stones throw apart

22 Genl Clinton with his Army Form'd a Junction at Tioga—From Tioga upwards—

AUGUST 26th The Army Marched and left Tioga. Marched about 3 Miles and Incamped. having lost so many Horssees during our stay at this place as made it difficult for us to move off the Ground.—

Do 27 The Army Incamped within 3 miles of Shemung Near a large Corn Field. Clintons Brigade to which our Regt. was the annex bringing up the Rear of the Army. Incamped about 5 or 6 Miles in the Rear Near a Narrow defile in front which detained the Army from Crossing until sometime in the Night

Do 28 About one oclock came up with the army at the Cornfield. Marched in one Hour after over a Large hill on the Last side of the Tioga Branch to avoid a Narrow defile in front thro which no more than one man could go abreast—The Pack Horses, Cattle and artillery Crossing the Branch with some Detatch'd Regiments as a covering party and Recross'd opposite Shemung where the army Incamped that Night.—

Shemung is a Beautiful Situated Country lying on the Tioga branch 12 Miles distant from Tioga and large quantity of Indian Corn growing here doubtless Intended for a Magazine to carry on a war against our Frontiers.—

Do. 29 Decamped in the Morning, about 10 o'clock. our advanced party fell in with the Enemy near Newtown about 5 Miles from Shemung after Skirmishing with them some time—Reconnoitering their situation found they had thrown up a Breastwork and seemed determined to defend it to the Last—Our Artillery Consisting of Six prs.—Three pounders and a Cohorn was soon brought to bear and Terribly frightened them from their Works —But previous to that Genl Clintons and Poors Brigades filed off to the right and Hands light Troops to the left to gain the Enemies Rear where lay a very high hill on which they had taken post but they were soon Routed and drove from there with the Loss of 9 Indians Killed and left on the ground. The wounded they carried off and have reason to suppose they were considerable—Our Loss 3 Killed and 34 Wounded—among the latter Major Titcombe, Capt. Claves of the 2nd NHampshire Regt and Lieut McColley of the 1st Do who is since Dead of his wounds. In this action took two prisoners, a White man and a Negro their accounts nearly agree in the following manner, that Butler and Brant were both there and had with them 600 Indians & 200 Hundred Tories that they had been there some time waiting our arrival and subsisted upon corn only. This Night Incamped on the Field of action—

Do 30th Remained on the ground. Large Detachments sent off this Morning to destroy the Corn, Beans &c. about this place, which was not half destroyed—This Evening sent off our Wounded, heavy Artillery, and Waggon in boats down the River to Tioga, these Boats brought forward such stores as would not be loaded on pack Horses—This day put on Half allowance

Do. 31 Decamped at 8 oclock Marched over mountaneous ground until we arrived at the Forks of New Town then Entered on a low Bottom Crossed the Cayuga Branch and Incamped on a pine Plain about Ten miles from last Incampment much Land about New Town and very good here we left the Tioga Branch to our left.—

SEPT 1st Decamped early in the Morning. after marching about 3 Miles entered a swamp 8 or 9 miles across. Roads very bad and no pasture here Occasioned the army to make a kind of a forc'd march and arrived that Night at Dark in Catharines Town. the Cattle and most part of the pack Horses together with our Brigade lay that Night in the swamp without pack or baggage. from this Town the Enemy seem'd to have made a very precipitate Retreat leaving behind them an old Squaw.—

Do. 2d. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon Came up with army at the Town and Incamped.

Do. 3 Removed the old Squaw out of Town and destroyed it together with the Corn, Beans &c—And Decamped at 8 oclock in the Morning after Marching 3 miles fell on the East side of Seneca Lake. This Lake runs North and South about 36 Miles in Length and between 2 & 3 Miles across—at 2. o'clock pass'd Apple Tree Town situated on the Banks of the Lake. This day march'd Eleven Miles over high tho' level ground Timbered chiefly with white oak and Incamped in the Woods.—

Do. 4 Marched Twelve Miles from last Incampment pass'd several Narrow defiles and Incamped in the Woods beside the Lake. This day and yesterday pass'd several Cornfields and scattering Houses which we destroyed as we pass'd along. The Cayuga Lake runs the same direction with this Lake and is about Ten or Twelve Miles distant, and Land Tolerable good.

Do. 5 Decamped in the morning and about Twelve o'clock arrived at Kandaia a fine Town Lying about Half Mile from the Lake, here we find a great plenty of old Apple Trees Evidently appears to be an Old Inhabited Town—their Houses large and Elegant some butiffully painted theirs Tombs likewise Especially of their Chief Warriors are butifully painted on Boxes they build over the grave of plank hewn out of Timber.—

Do. 6—Decamped at Noon and Marched about three Miles where we Incamped on the Edge of the Lake. Land Timberd with white and Black Oak Soil very good The ground Naturly descending with an easy descent towards the Lake.—

Do. 7—This day pass'd the North end or outlet of the Lake which is very Narrow and Marched thro' a Narrow defile about one Mile in Length, tho Lake on our left and a Morass thro which no one could pass on our Right, arrived at sundown at the north west Corner of the Lake, where we destroyed a Town and some Corn—proceeded on to Canodaseago, the Capital of the Seneca where we arrived 8 oclock at Night.

This Town lies on a Level spot of ground about one Mile and a Half north from the Lake and Consisted of about 60 Houses and a great plenty of Apple and Peach trees. The Enemy in their Retreat from this lef a white Child about 4 years old and some Horses and Cows, &c.

Do. 8—The army employed this Day in destroying the Corn, Beans &c at this place of which there was a great quantity—The Riflemen Detached this Morning to destroy Kashanguash about Eight Miles South from this. This Morning, a Capt and about 50 men detached with all the sick and Lame and such others as Could not proceed with us to Chennesee—To the garrison at Tioga—

Do 9 Decamped this morning and Marched over low ground soil very good, water very scarce and Incamped at Evening beside a Brook—this day marched about Nine Miles

Do. 10—Decamped early in the Morning, about 2 oclock fell in with a small Lake on our left, at the outlet of which lies the Town Kanandague Consisting upwards of Twenty Houses which we sot fire to and Incamped Near the Cornfields.

This town from the appearance of the Buildings seems to have been Inhabited by White People, some houses with very Neat Chimney's which the Indians have not. but Build a fire in the Centre around which they gather—

Do 11th Decamped this Morning earlier than usual to reach the Next Settlement Called Hanneyye where we arrived in season and Incamped. The Country from Kanandasagea excepting this days March is exceedingly Level and the soil very good, this Day cross several Mountains between which lies fine Rich Valleys. This Town lies at the Head of a small Lake in a fine Rich Valley, Consisting of 13 or 14 good Houses. and neatly Built, here we likewise find great quantity of Corn, Beans &c—

Do 12 Decamped this morning at Eleven oclock, detain'd on account of a Heavy rain that feil this Morning and march'd over a rough Country, pass'd another small Lake Called Konyouhyough (Narrow gutt), and arrived within two miles of Adjuton and Incamped in the woods—The Sick, Lame and others that were unable to March and such stores & the sore back pack Horses as we had occasion for was left here with a detachment under the Command of Capt Cummings who took post in one of the Block Houses.

Do 13 Decamped this Morning at 5 oclock—March'd to the Town where we was employ'd in destroying the Corn &c untill Noon—from this Lieut Boid of the Rifle Corp was detached with fifteen or Twenty men to Reconnoiter the Next Town Seven Miles distant. Killd and Skulp'd two Indians in the Town. on his Return found his Retreat Cut off and surrounded by 500 or 600 Savages, defended himself untill His men were all cut off But himself and one man and surrenderd whom we afterwards found in the Chenneesse Castle—Tortured in a most cruel manner proceeded on our way and Incamped that Night at Gathesegwarohare, where we found the Enemy paraded before the Town and seemed determined to fight us—Clintons Brigade filed off to the Right to gain the Enemies Rear which Could not be effected but they retreated in a very precipitate manner—

Do 14 This morning the whole Army paraded at Gun firing which was half past Three in the Morning. lay on our Arms untill sunrise expecting an attack from the Enemy. at 6 oclock detached large parties to destroy the Corn about this place—at 10—the Army pass'd a Branch of the Chennesee River and entered on the Chennesee Flatts—the largest Plains I ever saw. March'd about three miles we forded the Chennesee River in which the Currents is very strong. one Hours Rain swells the River as makes it imposible to ford it—This River in a high fresh overflows most part of this Extensive plain as appears from several large Trunks of Trees scattered on the same—No tree growing to be seen on this Flatt for several Miles—after fording the River Rais'd a Considerable Hill—Timber Chiefly White Oak, entered Another Flatt, on which Stood the Capital of the Chennesee Consisting of upwards of 120 Good Houses regularly Build and was quantity of Corn, Beans Pompkins, Potatoes &c&c—Incamped this Evening around the Town

Do—15—This Morning the Whole Army paraded at 6 oclock to distroy the Corn &c about this place, which could be done no otherwaybut by gathering the Corn in the Houses and set fire to them. Here we likewise found a great quantity of Corn gathered in Houses by the Savages

At 3 oclock in the afternoon we Completed the destruction of this place—Recross'd the Chennesee River and Incamped on the Flats about Half Mile North of Gathsegwarohare—This Morning a White Woman taken prisoner at Wyoming Last Year Came in to us at the Chennesee Castle.

Do 16th This morning after destroying the Corn &c on the South east Corner of the Flatts, Recross'd the Branch of the Chennesee River on Logs. This River is about one Dozen paces wide with very high Banks and the Current hardly perceivable at 10 oclock pass'd the Town Gathsegwarohare lying on the Banks of this Branch and Incamped this Night at Adjuton—

Do 18 Decamped early in the Morning and arrived in good season at Hanneyye where we Incamped this Night found our stores &c as we left them—

Do. 18. Decamped and left Hannyaye with great difficulty. The Horses left at this post having stragled so far from the Village as could not be found, Consequently many packs would have been left on the ground, had not those officers Intitled to ride, dismounted of which Genl Sullivan was one—This day met three Aonida Indians with dispatches for Genl Sullivan they Inform'd us the City of New York was laid in ashes and Evacuated—Arrived at Kanandaque some time before Night, pass'd the out let of the Lake and Incamped about One Mile from the out lett.—This Town lies about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Mile from a small Lake (I suppose of the same Name of the Town) and is about two Miles Wide and 5 Miles long—

Do 19th Decamped this morning early proceeded on our way to Kanandasagea where we incamped a little before sunset—

Do 20 Remain'd Incamp'd until 2 oclock when we Decamed and pass'd the out let of the Seneca Lake and Incamp'd about one Mile and half from the out let.—This morning Detached Colo Butler the Rifle Corp and 500 Men to the Cayuga Lake to destroy the Settlements there—Colo Gansevoort—Detach'd at the same time with 100 Men to Fort Schuyler—

Do 21 Decamped in the morning, pass'd Kandaia and Incamped about Two Miles above—This Morning Detached L Colo Dearborn with 200 Men to destroy the Corn and Settlements along the South side of Cayuga Lake—

Do 22 Decamped early in the Morning, pass'd several defiles and Incamped within 7 Miles of Catherines Town.

Do 23 Decamped and marched about 4 Miles South East of Catherines—Town at the Edge of the swamp & Incamp'd

Do 24th This morning pass'd the swamp so much dreaded for its badness without any difficulty; and arrived at the Forks of New Town, where Capt Reed with a detachment of 200 Men had thrown up a Breast Work to Guard some stores and Cattle brought forward from Tioga for the army in Case of Necessity—Saluted by thirteen Rounds of

Cannon from the Breast Work on our arrival—which Number was Returned from our Artillery—

N. B. The Cayuga Branch coming into the Tioga forms this fork

Do 25th This Morning the small arms of the whole Army were discharged.—At 5 o'clock the whole were drawn up in one line, with a Field piece on the Right of each Brigade to fire a FeuDeJoy. First 13 Rounds of Cannon Secondly a Running fire of Musquetry from Right to Left which was repeated twice 5 Oxen Killed on this Joyous Occasion—one delivered to each Brigade and one to the Artillery and Staff—This was done in Consequence of Spains declaring War against Great Britain—

Do 26 This day L. Colo. Dearborn with his Detachment arrived with two Squaws Remain'd Incamped waiting Colo Butler Arrival—

Do 27 Camp Remained at New Town—

Do 28 Colo Butler with his Detachment arrived having destroyed a vast quantity of Corn Beans Apple trees, &c, on the East side of Cayuga Lake, and burnt Three Towns among which was the Capital of the Cayuga Tribe

This day sent off all the sore back Horses, and all the sick and lame among us to the Garrison at Tioga—Colonels Cortlandt and Dayton Detach'd with large Detachments to destroy Corn. The former taking his Rout up the Tioga Branch, to which place he was detached the day before and destroyed large Fields of Corn. And the latter taking his Rout downwards and destroy'd such as the Army left undestroy'd going up—

Do 29th Decamped this Morning at 8 o'clock pass'd the Cayuga Branch and Incamped at Old Shemung 3 Miles below New Shemung This Day forded the Tioga twice.

Do—30—Decamped this Morning 8 o'clock. Arrived at Fort Sullivan about one o'clock. Saluted from the Fort by 13 Cannon which Number was Returned from our Artillery after which we pass'd the Fort and Incamped on our Old Ground in the Fork of the Rivers—

OCTOBER 1st, 2d, 3d. Remained at Tioga—3. Demolished Fort Sullivan

Do 4 Decamped, at 6 o'clock and left Tioga forded that Branch at the Forks, and pass'd over Ester's Plains from thence Two Miles below forded the Susquehannah when we entered on the Sheshecununk Flatts, after which we filed off to the Left and Crossed the Mountains, left the River some distance to the Right—pass'd a very narrow defile about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Mile in Length, this defile is a narrow Indian foot path on the side of a very high Mountain, at the Foot of which is the River, 3 Bullox and one pack Horse Tumbled down this steep precipice into the River and were killed In this Days march Timber chiefly oak Incamped at Weshauking Creek, 15 Miles from Tioga—

Do. 5 This Morning the whole Army Embarked on Board the boats, except a small detachment on Horse back going down by Land—pass'd several Rapids—and Incamped Two Miles above Vanderlips Desolate Farm where the Signals were given for Landing—

Do 6 Embarked early in the Morning—pass'd Several Rifts and good Land and in the Evening Incamped at Leghewannunk 10 Miles from Wyoming—

Do 7 Decamped early in the Morning and Embarked—pass'd a small Falls 2 Mile from Wyoming the only one between this and Tioga—Arrived at Wyoming at 10 o'clock Saluted by Cannon from the Fort Incamped in front of the Town about Half a Mile from the River—

This Expedition from our First setting off from Wyoming until we Returned was performed in 69 Days

Distance from East town to the Chennesee Castle—

	Miles.
From Eastown to Wyoming is,	65-65
To Leghewannunk,	10-75
To Quilitumack,	7 82
To Tunkhannah Creek,	11 93
To Messhauping Creek,	9-102
To Vanderlips plantation,	5-107
To Wyalusing,	8-115

To Whissanking Creek,	14½-129½
To Tioga,	15½-145
To Shemung,	12-157
To The Fork of Newtown,	8½-165½
To French Catherines Town,	18-183½
To Kandaia,	27½-211
To Out let of Seneca Lake,	11½-222½
To Kanandasagea,	3½-226
To Kanandague,	15½-241½
To Hanneyaye,	13½ 255
To Adjutoh,	12½ 267½
To Gohtsegwarohare,	7½ 275
To Chennesee Castle	5½ 280½

Surveyed by Mr. Lodge—

[Here is a rough sketch "View of Tioga," showing the position of Fort Sullivan and the encampment of the Army].

OCTOBER 8th & 9th Remained at Wyoming—

Do 10th Decamped and left Wyoming about Noon not without much difficulty—a few Waggons going in front of the Army detain'd us and arrived at Bullox House some time in the Evening where we Incamped—this day marched Seven Miles—

Do 11 Decamped and left Bullox's House about 7 oclock in the Morning pass'd the Bare swamp and Shadows of Death and Incamped on the Edge of the great swamp.—This Day march'd 11 Miles

Do 12th Decamped and Entered the great swamp pass'd the Lehi, Tobehannah and Tunkhannah—the Roads very bad and Incamped at Rum Bridge—this day march'd 14 miles—

Do 13—Decamped and marched to Learns where we Refresh'd proceeded on to Brinkers Mills alias Sullivans Stores where we Incamped—This Day March'd 14 Mils—

Do 14 Decamped in the Morning, and in the Evening Incamped at Hillers Tavern—7 Miles distant from last Encampment

Do. 15—Decamped this Morning at ½ past 6 oclock and Arrived at Eastown about 1 oclock—This Day march'd 12 Miles

Do 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, Remained Incamped at Eastown along the Delaware.—

Do 20 Decamped and Cross'd the Delaware and Incamped 4 Miles from Eastown in the Woods—

Do 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, Remain'd at Do—

Do 27th. Decamped and left Eastown and Incamped at Oxford—12 Miles from last Camp

Do 28 Decamped in the Morning and Incamped in the Evening at Log Goal this day 12 oclock pass'd thro Moravian Town where we Refreshed—

Do—29—Incamped at Sussex Court House—

Do. 30—Incamped at Walleus Tavern—

Do 31st Incamped at Warwick

NOVEMBER 1st Incamped at Sterling Iron Works

Do 2 Incamped at Ramepough near Suffrans Tavern

Do 3d, 4th, 5th, & 6th, Remain'd at Do

Do 7. Marched and Incamped at Pumpton Plains—

Do 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd—24th Remained at Pompton

25th Decamped in the Morning and Incamped in the Evening at Rockaway Bridge Here we Remained Incamped until the 5th December when we decamped and March'd to the Ground destined for our Winter quarters about two miles Nearly West from Morris Town and Incamped on the Snow

Do 6th remained at Do—

Do 7 Began to build Hutts and by the Severity of the weather was prohibited from finishing the same until Spring when--

MAY 31st 1780 March'd from Morris Town for Albany & in the Evening Incamped at Pompton Church. the 3rd, 4th & 5th.--Regts March'd the day before 2nd Right detained on account of Waggon--

JUNE 1st Decamped and in the Evening Incamped at Ramepough

JUNE 2d Decamped in the Morning and in the Evening Incamped at Kings Ferry where we found the other Regts of our Brigade Embarking on Board the Sloops

JUNE 3rd the 2nd Regt Embarked and Came too a little above Peaks Kills that night with the next tide up as far as West Point where we found ourselves in the morning by Day Light--

JUNE 4th In the Evening Anchord at New Burgh with the Evening Tide got up as far as Wappings Kreek where we lay until the next morning

JUNE 5th Hoisted Anchor and in the Evening Anchored at Esopus Vley

JUNE 6th Head Wind the Sloop Remained at the Vley until Evening when a fresh Gale of Southerly Wind carried us June 7th in the Evening to Albany Dock. Remained this night on Board Sloop

JUNE 8th Debarkd and Incamped above the City at the Patrons

JUNE 9th Remained in Camp

Do 10th Marched for Fort Edward and in the Evening Incamped at Half Moon The 3rd Regt as an Escort March'd to Fort Schuyler the 4th to--Canojoharry The 5th to (I believe) Schoharry

JUNE 11th Decamped and in the Evening Incamped at Bemesis

JUNE 12th In the Evening Incamped at Fort Miller

JUNE 13th Arrived at Fort Edward--

JUNE 14 6 oclock in the afternoon left Fort Edward and march'd for West Point In the Evening Incamped at Fort Miller

JUNE 15th In the Evening Incamped at Still Water

JUNE 16th about 5 oclock arrived in Albany and Embarked on Board Sloops

JUNE 17 Head Wind Remained at Albany

JUNE 18th Being Sunday we sot Sail from Albany about 2 oclock P. M. and

JUNE 19th by sun rise arrived at West Point. Debark'd about noon and Incamped above the Red House--Here we Remained until the 21 July when I was sent with two men to Saratoga after Deserters--

AUG 12th Returned to the Regt which I then found at Tappan in the Jerseys where we lay untill

AUG 23rd When the Army March'd to Tenack where we Remained untill

SEPT 4th when we marchd to Stone Arabia near Hackkensack--Here we Remained until the

SEPT 20th When we Incamped on our Ground at Tappan. During our Stay at this Place the Villanous Conduct of Genl Arnold was discovered and Major Andree Executed

OCT 8th our Division marchd for West Point and Incampd that night at Haverstraw

OCT 9 Incamped at Fort Montgomery, the Bagage from Kings Ferry going by water

OCTOBER 10th Incamped On West Point Here we Remained until the 15, when we Recd. Orders to hold ourselves in Readiness to march for albany

OCTOBER the 16th In the Evening the 3rd Regt Embarked and Sot sail

OCT 17th the 1st Regt arrived and Joind the Brigade

OCT 18 they debark'd & the 4th Regt Embark'd for Fort Schuyler

OCT 19th Remained In camp

Do 20 The 1st & 5th Regts March'd to their ground for Hutting In rear of No 3. about 2½ Miles from the Point The 2nd Regt marching

OCTOBER 21 to the same Place

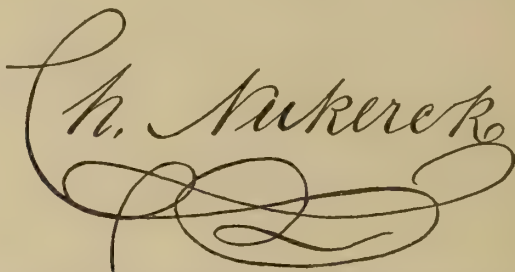
OCT 22d Began to Build Hutts. Here we Remained untill some time In Nov. when the 1st & 5th Regts Embark'd for Albany and Returned in Six Days Incamped on their

old ground Prosecuting the Building of their Hutts Here we Remained in great Suspense expecting to march to Albany having our Hutts nearly finished, and

DECR 4th Embarked for Albany (the 1, 2, & 5 Regts) and proceeded on our way as far as Kinderhook where the large Bodies of Ice Oblidg'd us to Land and from hence proceeded by Land to Albany where we arrived Decr 10th and early Decr 11th Marched for Schenectady where we arrived In the Evening--

NOTE.—The journal thus ends abruptly, the next following leaf of the manuscript being missing. A few letters remain written in some hand and with same ink as the Journal, supposed to have been the Order of March and Order of Battle, found in Vol. II. Stone's Life of Brant and mentioned in the introduction.

On the cover are found many names, mostly belonging to Col. Van Cortlandts Reg.

A large, stylized cursive signature that reads "Ch. Nukerck". The signature is written in a dark ink and features elaborate flourishes, particularly in the lower half where the letters "k" and "e" are intertwined into a complex, looping design.

Fac Simile of the signature of Lieut. Charles Nukerck as found in the release of Lot 29 Virgil to James Fairlie. Oct. 27th, 1791, from the original in Cayuga County Clerk's Office.—J. S. C.

JOURNAL OF MAJOR JAMES NORRIS.

JAMES NORRIS, Captain in the Third New Hampshire Regiment, and afterwards Major. Original manuscript in the archives of the Buffalo Historical Society, N. Y. Published in July, 1879, Vol. I, No. 7, of the publications of that society, by Bigelow Brothers, Buffalo, N. Y.

The following has been carefully revised and corrected by George G. Barnum, Esq., Corresponding Secretary, in accordance with a resolution of the Board of Councilors of the Buffalo Historical Society, which, by a resolution unanimously adopted, authorized the use of the "Norris Journal" in the present publication, together with any other document in its archives.

An imperfect copy of this journal, with several omissions and many important errors, said to have been found among Gen. Sullivan's papers after his death, was printed in *Hill's New Hampshire Patriot*, at Portsmouth, September 16, 1843.

JOURNAL.

(Title Page)

CAPT. JAMES NORRIS
HIS BOOK
TIOGA AUGUST YE 18 1779

(Fly leaf)

A JOURNAL
OF THE
WEST EXPEDITION
COMMANDED BY
THE HON. BLE MAJOR GENERAL SULLIVAN
BEGUN AT
EASTON JUNE 18. 1779.

1779

June 18 Friday Morning June 18 1779. The N Jersey and N Hampshire Brigades with Procters Regt of Artillery, under the command of Major General Sullivan, began to march from Easton on an Expedition to the Western frontiers against the Savages

About 12 o Clock the Troops halted for the day, at Hilliers Tavern 12 Miles from Easton—

19 Marched at 4 o Clock this Morning. & advanced as far as Brinkers Mills 7 Miles, where the Army halted to draw provisions & Refresh themselves, we came through a narrow pass of the blue mountain, calld the Wind-gap, a passage apparently designed by Nature for a Communication; and according to the description given by Cornelius Nepos. pretty much resembles the Straits of Thermopylæ where 300 Greeks under Leonidas checked the progress of 800,000 Persians commanded by Xerxes—After having taken rest and refreshment, the troops marchd 9 Miles farther to Learns's Tavern near Pogono point and encampd, at this place a rattle snake was kildd having 7 Rattles on his tail, and a full grown bird in his Stomach, which would seem to confirm the Notion of Snakes having the power of facinating or charming their prey—The Land thro this days march is mountainous, rocky, barren, & uninhabitable; but well waterd and the Streams abound- ing with Trouts—

20 Marched at 8 oClock & entered an exstensive Forrest, calld the great Swamp into which we advanced 5 Miles, & encamped on a small brook; the Genl gave this the name of Chowder Camp—The House we left this morning is the last of the Inhabitants 'till we reach Wyoming.

21 This days march of 21 Miles was as Severe as it was unnecessary. through a Wilderness, where there had been only an Indian path, till the Troops cut a road this spring for the passage of Sullivans Army—the fatigues of this Day might have been prevented by a longer march yesterday: but after crossing two Considerable Streams calld the Tobehanah & Tanckhannanck, there is no proper ground for an Encampment till we get through the Swamp After we had crossd the Creek, we come to the Lehi, the Western branch of the Delaware, & having passed this we enter a gloomy grove of Cypress, Hemlock, Pine, Spruce &c calld the Shades of Death. the growth of Timber in this swamp is amazing—

22 We moved but 5 Miles to a desolate Farm, the property of one Bullock, who had been driven of with his Familey by the Savages—here we found large meadows & plenty of grass for our horses—

23 Our next place of halting is Wyoming, distant 7 Miles, about 4 Miles from this Town we saw two Monuments set up by the way side in memory of Capt. Davis & Lieut Jones of 11th. Pennsylvania Regt. with the following Inscriptions. "The place where Capt. Davis was murdered by the Savages April 23d 1779 & "The blood of Lt Jones—About 12 oClock we entered the Town of Wyoming. which exhibits a melancholy scene of desolation, in ruin'd Houses, wasted fields & Fatherless Children & Widows. These unhappy people after living in continual alarms, & disputing for many Years their possessions with the Pennsylvanians, at length were attacked by a merciless band of savages, led on by a more savage Tory, the Unnatural monster Butler: their Houses were plunderd and burnt, their cattle and effects conveyd away after they had capitulated; and the poor helpless Women children obliged to Sculk in the Mountains and perish or travel down to the Inhabitants, hungry, naked & unsupported. in a word Language is to weak to paint, & Humanity unable to bear the history of their Sufferings—The Refugees who joind the Indians to cut off this settlement, are said to have given proofs of more wanton and unnatural Barbarity than even the Savages themselves—The following is a deeper Tragedy than has been acted since the Days of Cain. A Young man by the Name of Henry Pensil, who had escaped the Fate of most of his Countrymen, & in the Evening after the battle had taken refuge on a small Island in the River, was discovered by a Tory who fiercely accosted him with the Appellation of a Damnd Rebel: the poor fellow being unarmed began to implore his pity, fell down upon his knees and entreated him not to stain his hands with his Brothers blood, "John, I am your brother, spare my Life and I will serve you:" I know you are my Brother replied the Villian; but you are a damnd Rebel, Henry, and we are of opposite sides and Sentiments in the mean time was loading his gun with great coolness. which after the most moving appeal to his humanity & Justice, with all deliberation he leveled at his breast and shot him! then Tomahawked, &

scalped him ! another young man who lay concealed in the bushes a little way off, & afterwards made his Escape, heard all that passed, and saw the Murderer, who stood up upon a log while he loaded his Gun, and knew him to be the Brother of his unfortunate companion : He also adds that the Savages came up soon after he had finished the bloody deed : and cursed his cruelty in the bitterness of their hearts & said they had a great mind to put him to death the same way—

24 This Evening one of the Centries fired upon a Savage, who had crept up within 2 or 3 Rods of him in order to take him by Surprise but the fellow made his escape—

25 & 26 Nothing happened worthy Notice

27 The 2d & 3d N Hampshire Regts were ordered to move off their ground and pitch upon the plains at Abraham, 3 Miles higher up on the Western bank of the Susquehanna, in order to be more convenient to Cilleys and Courtlandts Regts. who composed part of Poors Brigade ; and had been lying some time on Jacobs plains—The place of our Camp near an old Stockade fort, built by the Inhabitants and call'd Forty Fort from 40 Persons to whom the grant of the Wyoming lands was made by the Government of Connecticut—

28 Genl Sullivan recd a Letter from Genl Clinton, dated Schoharra, advising that he was furnished with 3 Months Provisions, 1700 effective men with him present, & 300 more at another post ready to join him, & was waiting his Commands.—Same Letter adds that he had taken & hanged a British Officer, a Spy, who was going from Butlers Army to N York—by the Same Express we learn from Genl. Clinton that the Oneida tribe of Indians had recd a Letter from Genl. Haldiman, Governor of Quebec, charging them with a breach of faith, & breathing out threatenings against them, if they did not declare in favor of Britain—

30th Cilleys & Courtlandts Regts were mustered—

July 1st. Michael Rosebury & Lawrence Miller, inhabitants of Sussex county of N Jersey being convicted by court Martial, held at East Town 3d June Genl Maxwell president, for enticing Soldiers of the American Army to desert & sentenced to suffer death, were brought on with the Provost & this day led forth to the place of Execution where the former was hanged and the latter reprieved—

2d Rode out this Morning with Genl Poor & Lieut Col Dearborn about 4 Miles from Camp to view the ground where the battle was fought between the Savages and the people of Wyoming under Col Butler, we saw a Stockade fort with a covert Way to a fountain which our guide told us was built for a shew by some of the disaffected Inhabitants & given up to the Enemy immediately upon their Approach, we examined the Trees where the line of Battle was formd ; but found very few marks of an Obstinate Engagement : it appears indeed that the Enemy were superior in numbers to the Militia and soon after the Commencement of the Action turned their left flank, this brought on a retreat, in which the Savages massacred upwards of 200 Men—We saw more or less of bones scattered over the ground for near two miles, & several Skulls brought in at different times, that had been Scalped and inhumanly mangled with the Hatchet A Capts Commission with 17 Continental Dollars was found in the pocket of the Skeleton of a man, who had laid above ground 12 months - Our guide shewed us where 73 Bodies had been buried in one hole this place may with propriety be called Golgotha—All the Houses along this River have been burnt ; and the Gardens and Fields the most fertile I ever beheld, grown over with weeds and Bushes, exhibit a melancholy picture of savage rage and Desolation.

3d. Anniversary of the battle & Destruction of the Settlement of Wyoming—

4 Anniversary of American Independence declared by Congress July 4 1776 at Philadelphia : this Day being Sunday the Celebration was deferred till next day, when Brigadr Genl Poor gave an Entertainment to the Officers of his Brigade 87 of whom were present—

After Dinner the following 13 Patriotic Toasts were drank—

- 1 July 4th. 1776 The memorable Erra of American Independence
- 2 United States
- 3 The grand Council of America

- 4 Genl Washington and the Army
 - 5 Genl Lincoln & the Southern Army
 - 6 Genl Sullivan & Western Expedition
 - 7 King & Queen of France
 - 8 May the Counsellors of America be wise and her Soldiers invincible
 - 9 A Successful & decisive Campaign
 - 10 Civilization or death to all American Savages
 - 11 The Immortal memory of those Heroes that have fallen in the defence of American Liberty
 - 12 May the new World be the last Asylum for Freedom and the Arts
 - 13 May the husbandmans Cottage be blest with peace and his fields with plenty —
- The whole of the entertainment seemd to be conducted with such joy and festivity, as demonstrated an independent elevation of Spirit on this important and interesting Occasion—
- 5th. Advices from Juniatta, the West branch of the Susquehanna, that a party of Indians had set upon and Scalpd 9 of the Inhabitants
- 6 Early this morning one Winslow, a Soldier belonging to the 3d N Hamp Regt. went to bathe and was drown'd—About 8 oClock an uncommon black & heavy cloud arose in the East with uncommon distinct claps of Thunder like the report of a Cannon followed by a severe shower of rain & hail some of the hailstones were as large as hens Eggs—
7. 8. 9. No News—
- 10 A Detachment of 150 Men from 1 & 2d N Hampshire Regimts was sent towards Easton to Escort some Stores and Repair the roads
- 11 Our officers recd their commissions from Congress on the new Arrangement—
- 12 Three Companies of the German Regt. deserted
- 13 We recd a Visit from Col Butler and his Lady & ½ doz Young Ladys from Wyoming with whom we pass an agreeable afternoon: Col Butler shewd us a death Mallet, or war Mallet that the Indians left by a Man that they had knocked on the head: the handle resembles that of a hatchet, with a string drawn thro near the end to hold it by—It is made of the Root of a Tree with a large ball worked on the head of it, & looks not much unlike a four pound Shott in the Bill of an Eagle, with a tuft of feathers on the Crown: the end of the handle shows the face of a Wild-Cat —
- 15 We learn from the Eastward that the main body of the British Army have retired from Kings ferry on Hudsons River, leaving 6 Regts to keep that post—
- 16 Rode out with Genls Sullivan Maxwell & Poor & several other Gentlemen to View the ground where the two Butlers fought
- 17 By advices from Connecticut, the Enemy have made an incursion into that State, and burned Fairfield and plundered New Haven—
- 18 Nothing remarkable
- 19 ————
- 20 ————
- 21 We recd a Letter from Major Gibbs of his Excellencys Guard advising that in the night of the 15 Inst. B. Genl. Wayne with the Light Infantry had Supprized and taken the Fort at Stony point near Kings ferry on Hudson's River, by which important Enterprize upwards of 500 British & new Levies with all their Cannon, War like Stores and Baggage fell into our hands—
- 22d ————
- 23 Made an excursion to Lachawanunch about 8 Miles on a party of pleasure with Lieut Col Dearborn, Capt. Fogg & Revd Mr Evans, staid out all night and returned next day a Guard of 20 men from Poors Brigade was sent up to this place to protect some of the Inhabitants till they mowed their grass and reaped their grain that grew spontaneously from last years crop ungathered wherever we rode the same sad Scene of Ruin and desolation appeared—
- 24 Genl Hand arrived at Wyoming from Sunsbury with 70 boats laden with provisions for our Expedition—

25 Five Soldiers belonging to the German Regt were sentenced by Court Martial to be shot for desertion—

26 The five deserters sentenced to suffer death Yesterday were reprieved

27 Genl Poors Brigade marchd from Forty fort to Wyoming in order to be convenient to fall in with the line of march—

28 Nothing remarkable—

29 Recd Orders to march towards Tioga next day Genl Sullivan recd a Letter from Northumberland—

30 Copy of the Letter

The Enemy yesterday made themselves masters of Freelands fort on the West branch of Susquehanna upon terms of Capitulation Viz. The men to remain prisoners of War ; the whole Garrison to be plundered by the Indians ; the Women to go free—the number of the Enemy appearing before the fort about 250, one third British, the residue were Savages, together with a Corps de Reserve of 100 More at some distance ; the whole under the command of Capt McDonald, we have now at Northumberland about 150 to oppose the Enemy & protect the Women & Children, whom it is impossible to get off—We expect to be attacked every hour as we are the most frontier garrison & fear without some speedy Assistance, must fall a prey to Savage Tyrants—The Enemy have collected all the Cattle & every thing Valuable as they came on—We beg leave to give it as our opinion that a party of men thrown across the Country will retake the plunder and every thing else

Wm. Cooke D Q M. G—

N. B. The number killd in Action were Capt. Hawkins Boon & 40 men, after the Capitulation, who were on a Scout and had not heard of the Surrender of the Garrison—

The Accts. we recd from the Delaware at Minisings on the 29th are more favorable than at first Represented—The Tories & Savages made a descent upon that Settlement & having burned several Houses, Barns & C. were attackd by a Regt. of Militia who repulsed & pursued them a considerable distance—Forty men were killd on our side the Colo & Major included—The Enemy's loss unknown We hear Genl Clinton with the main Body of the British Army is moving up Hudsons river

The Army Under Genl Sullivan recd orders to march to-morrow Morning

31 After a great deal of trouble in fitting and loading the boats & in fixing the Pack Horses for the march, we moved from Wyoming at 1 oClock, in the following order

Genl Hands Brigade a mile in front to act as light Troops Genl Maxwells & Poors, then the Pack Horses about 1200 in Number, followed by about 500 head of Cattle One Regt for rear Guard—200 men as a flank Guard on the Right & 60 men on our left by the River—

Col. Procters Regt of Artillery go by Water with about 120 Boats with provissions and Stores—a Capt & 60 men march on the opposite side of the River to Scour the Shore & prevent Ambuscades being formd—we marchd about 10 Miles and encampd near a Stream calld Lachawanunck which falls into the Susquehanna at this place—The land here is level and exceeding fertile, but now desolated and the houses burnt by the Savages ; the Inhabitants having shared the fate of their Neighbors at Wyoming—

We have had a remarkably wet Season for a Fortnight past which still continues—

August 1st Sunday

We lay still this morning waiting for fair Weather & the Arrival of our boats—Afternoon 4 oClock we Struck Tents (the Weather being favorable & boats arriving) & marchd to Quilutimack 7 Miles the difficulty of the Way along the foot of the Mountain that jutted down upon the River, gave inconceivable Embarrassments to the Troops as well as to the pack horses & Cattle, so that the former did not arrive at the place of Encampment before 9 oClock nor the latter with the Rear guard till next Morning—About 3 Miles from Quilutimack is a romantic fall of Water down a Precipice in the Cliff of a Rock 70 feet high—In this Days march we passd over a large tract of good land—

2d The Army lay Still on this ground to rest and recruit the pack horses & collect the Keggs of flowr, Ammunition and other baggage that was left behind from the perplexity

of the Way and darkness of the Night—The morning shewd us that the ground we encampd on had been inhabited and tilled, tho now over run with Grass and Thistles of a mighty growth—a wild enormous mountain lay close on our front & the River in our Rear—

We drew the Seine at this place and caught a number of fish consisting chiefly of Rock, Pike, 1 Garr, Chubbs & Suckers—next Morning at 7 oClock—

3d We proceeded 12 Miles farther, over a much better Country than we expected and encampd in an old Field, near the Mouth of a Small river that falls here into the Susquehanna calld *Tunkhannuck*—Nothing remarkable happened thro this days march—the Deer seemd to be plenty on this ground—a large Fawn that lay Sulking in the Bushes alarmd with the noise of the Troops attempted to make his escape, but being intirely surrounded was taken without a wound—Affording great amusement to the Soldiers & an agreeable Viand to several of the Officers—

4 The General beat and we struck Tents at 6 oClock this Morning and marchd 13 Miles by Actual Survey—we passd several places that were once the habitations of retirement and domestic peace—but now the solitary haunts of Savages. The *last* stood near a small rapid river calld Meshopping; we encampd 2 or 3 miles beyond this Stream on a desolate Farm, the property of one *Vandelip* who had joind the Savages and gone off—This day several large Rattle Snakes were killd—our little Fleet found great difficulty & Embarrassment from the Shoals & Rapids, so that they did not come up with the Army till to the next day—Immediately upon their Arrival the Troops were put in motion—The land we passd over this day is fine to admiration & the growth of Walnut the Stateliest I ever saw —

5 Our next place of Encampment is Wyalusing, distant 10 miles the Ground rocky and Mountainous, particularly one tremendous ridge, over which our right Flank was. Obliged to pass, that seemd to over look the World & threaten Annihilation to our prostrate Troops—After leaving this place the Scene opened into a fine, clear, extensive piece of Wood land; here the Genl apprehending an attack the Signal was beaten for the Army to close Column this order of march was observed till we left this forrest and gaind the Summit of a verry lofty Mountain; when another Signal was given for marching in files—From the Top of this height we had a grand prospective view of our little Fleet coming up the River at about 3 Miles distance—The green hills as far as the eye could reach rising like the seats of an Amphitheatre and the distance of the prospect gave the River and the boats the beautiful Resemblance of Miniature painting—After marching abt. 2 Miles we descended into the low grounds of Wyalusing where every one was amazed at the luxuriant growth of Timber chiefly Sycamore—few of the Trees being less then 6 feet in Diametre and to close this days march the more agreeably after passing half a mile of a piny barren, the plains of Wyalusing opened to our sight coverd with english grass, the greenest and Richest carpet that Nature ever Spread—There was once an Indian Town at this place consisting of about 80 houses, or hutts built in two parallel right lines forming a Street of 60 or 70 feet wide; with a church or Chapel in the Centre the plan of the Town is still to be seen from the old Ruins that Remain on the ground—The Natives it seems had actually embraced the Christian Religion which was taught them by a Moravian Missionary from Bethlehem for that purpose in the Year 1770 the Connecticut Company having purchased the lands on this River, the Indians retired farther Westward, and left this place in the possession of a few Americans, who have joind the Enemy since the commencement of this War—notwithstanding the Settlement has been over run by the Savages and the Town burnt—The Susquehanna at this place makes nearly a right Angle, and forms a point on which the Town stood, and where Genl Sullivans Army lay two Days encampd—

8th. Sunday Morning 7 oClock moved on towards Tioga, and Encamped on a piece of low ground by the River, where there has been a Settlement & 4 families dwelt in the Year 1775—this place is calld *Standing Stone* Bottom—Capt Spalding who commands the Independent company in Genl Hands light Troops, lived at this place—distance 10 Miles—

9 Marched at 6 this morning & halted to breath near a cold stream calld *Wesawking*

—about $3\frac{1}{2}$ Miles from last encampment—Then pursued our rout without rest or refreshment 12 Miles farther the Weather hot and men much fatigued, this brings us to Sheshukonuck bottom a large meadow of near 150 Acres lying on the Susquehanna, covered with a vast burthen of wild grass—we rested here this Evening and next day and Wednesday Morning—

11 The Army recd orders to march to Tioga, about two Miles from Sheshekonuck plain the troop forded the river where the Stream was rapid and pretty deep, notwithstanding the men all came safe over, except one who was carried down the Current a considerable distance, and saved by Lieut Col Barber Adjt Genl at the hazzard of his own Life—The Cattle and pack Horses were as fortunate as the Troops—After advancing about one mile through a rich bottom covered with strong and stately Timber which shut out the Sun, & shed a cool agreeable twilight ; we unexpectedly were introduced into a Plain as large as that of Sheshekonuck, call'd *Queen Easter's* Plantation—it was on this plain near the bank of the Susquehanna that *Easter* Queen of the Seneca Tribe, dwelt in Retirement and Sullen majesty, detached from all the Subjects of her Nation—The ruins of her Palace are still to be seen ; surrounded with fruit Trees of various kinds—At the East end of the plain, the Tioga River forms a junction with the Susquehanna—At this place the Army forded & encamped about half a mile above on the Susquehanna—We now find ourselves happily arrived at Tioga, with our Army & Fleet, our Troops generally in health and spirits , and fewer accidents happening on the march than could be expected in the same distance, thro a Mountainous, wild, uncultivated Country—It appears by the Number of hides lying on the ground that the Indians have lately had an Encampment at this place By the place of burial seen here, one would be led to think this was once an Indian Town, but there are no Vestiges of Hutts or Wiggwoms—Whether through principle of Avarice or Curiosity, our Soldiers dug up several of their graves and found a good many laughable relicts, as a pipe, Tomahawk & Beads &c—

12th The Genl gave orders for a fort and four Block houses to be built at this place for the Security of the Fleet and Stores which are to be left here under a pretty strong Garrison, after the Army moves into the Indian Country—and this movement will take place as soon as Genl Clinton, who is coming down the Susquehanna, joins us with his Brigade—This afternoon Intelligence came by a small scout sent out yesterday, that the Enemy at Chemoung, an Indian Town 15 Miles distant up the Cayuga branch, were about moving off upon hearing of our Arrival at Tioga—in consequence of which the main body of our Army marched at 8 oClock this Evening in order to be ready by Day break for surprising Chemoung ; our march was attended with difficulty & fatigue, having a thick Swamp and several dangerous defiles to pass,—We arrived however between dawning & Sun rise, but to our no small mortification found the Town abandon'd & two or three Indians only to be seen sculking away—According to the accounts of those who pretend to be acquainted with Indian Citys, this seems to have been a pretty Capital place—It consisted of about 40 Houses built chiefly with split and hewn Timber, covered with bark and some other rough materials, without Chimnies, or floors, there were two larger houses which from some extraordinary rude Decorations, we took to be public Buildings ; there was little Furniture left in the Houses, except Bearskins, some painted feathers, & Knicknacks—in what we supposed to be a Chapple was found indeed an Idol, which might well enough be Worshipd without a breach of the 2d Commandt. on account of its likeness to anything either in heaven or Earth—About Sun rise the Genl gave orders for the Town to be illuminated—& accordingly we had a glorious Bonfire of upwards of 30 Buildings at once : a melancholy & desperate Spectacle to the Savages many of whom must have beheld it from a Neighboring hill, near which we found a party of them had encamped last night—And from appearances the inhabitants had left the Town but a few hours before the Troops arrived—Genl Hand with some light Infantry pursued them about a mile, when they gave him a Shot from the Top of a Ridge, & ran according to their Custom, as soon as the fire was return'd ; but unfortunately for us, the Savages wounded three Officers, killed Six men and wounded seven more—they were pursued but without effect—Our next Object was their fields of Indian Corn—about 40 Acres of which

we cut down and destroyed—In doing this Business, a party of Indians and Tories, fired upon three Regimts across the River, killed one and wounded five—having compleated the Catastrophe of the Towns & fields, we arrived at Tioga about Sun set the same day, verry much fatigued having march'd not less than 34 miles in 24 hours, without rest in the Extreamest heat—

14th. No news to Day

15th. Nine Hundred chosen men under the Command of Brig : Genl Poor are ordered to march Tomorrow morning up the Susquehanna, to meet Genl Clinton, who is on his march to join Sullivans Army with his Brigade and is in some Danger of being Atackted by the Enemy before he can form a Junction with our Main Army ; This afternoon a Small Party of Indian's fired on some of our Men who were without the Guards after some Horse's and Cattle, Killd and Sculped one man and Wounded another, a Party was sent out in pursuit of them but Could not come up with them—

16th General Poor March'd with his Detachment at 10 o'Clock A M. proceeded in two Collam's up the Suscuhannah River Over very rough Ground we Incampd Near the Ruins of an old town Call'd Macktowanuck the Land near the River is very Good—

17th We marchd Early this Morning Proceed 12 Miles to Owagea an Indian Town which was Deserted last Spring, after Planting, About the town is many Fruit Trees and many Plants, and Herbs, that are common in our part of the Country ; Hear is a Learge body of clear Intivale Covered with Grass, Our March to day Very Survear and Fatigueing Esspecially for the Left Collom (to which I belong) as we had to pass Several Steap Hills, and Morasses—

18th We March'd Early this Morning proceeded 14 Miles to Choconant the Remains of a Learge Indian Town which has been likewise Abandoned this Summer, here we found Plenty of Cucumbar's, Squashes, Turnips &c, We found About twenty Houses, Which we burnt our Days March has been More Survear than Yesterday, as we had bad Hills and Swamps, one swamp of about two Miles so Covered with Large Pines, Standing and lying which appeard as tho' Several Haricanes had been busy among since which a Tremendius Groath of Bushes About twenty feet high has sprung up so very thick as to Render the passing through them Inpracticable by any troops but such as Nothing but Death can stop at sunset we were Very agreeably alarm'd by the Report of a Cannon up the River Which was supposed to be General Clintons Evening Gun—

19th Our Troops were put in Motion very early this Morning after Marching about one Mile Genl Poor Received an Exspress from General Clinton Informing him that the Latter expected to be hear by 10 o'Clock A M. this day in Consiquence of which we Return'd to our Old Incampment where General Clinton, Joind us at 10 o'Clock with two Thousand Men—including Officers, Boatsman &c. he has two Hundred and Eight Beaotoes with Provisions Ammunition &c after Mutual Congratulations and Complements the whole Proceeded down the River to Owagea and Incampd this Evening, the town of Owegea was made a burnfire of to Grace our Meating our General Course from Tiago to Choconant is about N. East—

20th We have very heavy Rain to day and no tents but we are obliged to ride it out—

21st We March'd early Proceeded within 10 miles of Tiago—

22d We March at 6 of the Clock and at 11 arrived in Camp where we were Saluted With thirteen Cannon and a tune of Colonel Procters Band of Musick—

23 We are preparing to March with all Possible Exsperdition about five oClock this afternoon a Very shocking acsident hapend in our Camp, a soldier Very accidentally Dischargd a Muskett Chargd with a ball and Several Buck shott, three of Which unfortunately struck Captain Kimbell of Colonel Cilleys Regiment who was standing at some Distance in a tent with several other officers in such a Manner that he Exspired within 10 or 15 Munits—is Universally Lemented as he was assteamed by all who knew him—one of the Shott wounded a soldier, in the leg who was some Distance from the tent that Captain Kimble was in

24th The Remains of the Unfortunate Captain Kimble was Inter'd at 11 oClock with the Honours of War—Attended by General Poor and almost all the officers of the Brigade with Colonel Procter's Band of Musick—the Army is Very busy in Preparing to March—

25th We find Great Difficulty in Gitting Ready to March for want of a Sufficiently Number of Horses to Carry our Provitions Ammunition &c. However we are to Move to Morrow without fail with Twenty Seven Days Flower and live Beef Our whole force that will March from hear is about five Thousand Men officers Included, with nine Pieces of Artillery,—and three of the Anyda Warriors Arrived hear this afternoon who are a going on with ous as Guides—two Runner's Arrived from Colonel Broadhead at four Pitt—Informing that Colonel Broadhead is on his way with about 'Eight Hundred Men against the Western Indians—

26th Our Army March at 12 oClock in the order laïd down in the Plan and Order of March & Battle a Garrison of about three Hundred Men left at this Place under the Command of Colonel Shreve the Army Proceeded about 4 Miles and Incampt—Mr. Lodge a Gentleman who Survey'd Marchd from Easton with us is going on with us in Order to take an Actual Survey of the Country who measured the Road as We go on—

27th The Army Marched at Eight oClock, our March was Very much Impeaded by the Artillery and Ammunition Waggons which we have to Clear a Road for through thick Woods & Difficult Defiles the Army are obligd to Halt Seven Hours to Day at one Defile for the Artillery & Baggage—at 10 oClock we arrived at our Incamping Ground a learge body of Clear Intervale where we found Seventy or Eighty Acres of fine Corn our March has not been more than 6 Miles to Day—

28th As we had the Corn to destroy before we March it was two o'Clock P. M. before we moved off the Ground by Reason of a High Mountain that shutt Down to the River so as to Render Passing with the Artillery Impractable we Wear obligd to foud the River twice before we could git to Shumung with the Artillery Pack Horses and one Brigade the Water was so deep as Rendered fording Very Difficult & Dangerous—A Considerable quantity of lower ammunition and other Baggage was lost in the River at 10 in the evening the Rear of the Army arrived at Shemung where we Incampt, our March to day has not been more than four Miles, a small Scout of ours arrived to day which Inform'd that they Discover'd a large Incampment about 6 Miles from Chemung a small Party of Indians fired on a small Party of our men to day that ware setting fire to some Houses over the River, but did no Damage—

29th The army March'd at Nine o'Clock A. M. proceeded 5 Miles where our light Troops Discovered a line of Brestwork about eighty Rods in their front, which upon Reconitng, was found to extend half a mile in length on very Advantageous Ground, with a large Brook in frunt, the River on their Right, a High Mountain on their left, and a large settlement in their Rear, called Newtown; their works ware very Artfully Mask'd with Green Bushes, so that I think the Discovering them was Accidental as it Fortunate to us, Schurmishing on both sides Commins'd soon after we Discover'd their works which Continued until our Disposition was made which was as follows (viz)—The Artillery to form in frunt of their works, Coverd by General hand Brigade, General Poor's and Rifle-men to turn the Enemys left, and fall in their Rear surported by General Clintons Brigade General Maxwells Brigade to form a Corps Deserve; the left flanking Division and lite Infantry to Persue the Enemy when they left their works at 3 o'Clock P. M. General Poor's began his march by Columns from the right of regt by files we Passd a very thick Swamp so Coverd with bushes for near a mile that we found great difficulty in keeping in order but by Genl Poor's Great Prudence and Good Conduct We Proceeded in Much better order then I Expected we could Possibly have done—after Passing this Swamp we Inclind to the left, crossed the Creek that runs frunt of the Enemys work: on both sides of this was a large Number of New Houses, but no land Cleard; soon after we passd this Creek we began to assen'd the Mountain that coverd the Enemys left, Immediately after we began to assend the Mountain we ware surluted by a brisk fire from a body of the Indians who were posted on this Mountain for the Purpose of Preventing any troops Turning the left of their Works, at the same Instant that they began to fire on us, they rais'd the Indian Vell, or war hoop the Riflemen kept up a Scattering fire while we form'd the line of Battle which was dun Exceeding quick—we then advanced Rapped with fix'd Bayonetts with out firing a Gun till we had gained the Summett of the Hill,

which was half a mile, altho' they kept a stady fire on us all the while ; we then gave them a full Voley which obliged them to take to their heels, Colonel Reeds Regiment whis was on the left of the Brigade, was more servearly Attracted then any other part of the Brigade, with Prevented his advancing as fast as the Rest. as we assended the Mountain Lieut 'Cass of our Regiment Tommahawkd one of the Indians with the Indians own Tommahawk that was slightly wounded, our Regiment being next to Colonel Reed's on the left and the Colonel finding he was still very warmly Engag'd nearly on the same Ground he was first attracted ordered the Regiment to face to the Right about and moved to his assistance, we soon Discoverd a body of Indians, Turning his Right, which he Turned about by a full fire from the Regiment, This was a Very seasonable, Relief to Colonel Reed who was the very moment we fired on them that were turning his right, found himself so Surrounded that he was Reduced to the Necessity of Retreating or Making a Desperate push with the Bayonett : the latter of which he had put in Execution the moment we gave him Relief ; The Enemy now all left the field of Action, with precepitation and in Great Confusion Persued by our Light Infantry above 3 Miles They left a Number of their Packs, Blanketts &c. on the Ground—half an hour before the Action became serious with General Poor's Brigade, the Artillery began to play upon their works—which soon made their works, too warm for them, we found of the Enemy on the field of Action 11 Indians Warriors dead and one Sqaw, took one whiteman & one Negro Prisoners ; from whom we larnt that Butler Commanded hear, that Brant had all the Indians that Could be Mustered in the five Nations that there was about 200 Whites, a few of which were British Regular's Troops, it seem's that their whole force was about 1500.—The Prisoners Inform us that their loss in killd and wounded was Very Great —the most of which they According to Custome carried off—our loss in General Poor's Brigade, killd and Wounded is (vizt)

	Killd	Wounded
Majr	0	1
Capt	0	1
Lieut	0	1
		Died the same night
		Lieut MacCaully
Ensn	0	0
Serjt	1	0
Privates	2	29
	—	—
	3	32

our loss in Killd and Wounded in the whole Army except Genl Poor's Brigade was Killd none wounded 4 Privates at Sunsett the Army Incampt on the Ground lately Occupied by the Enemy—

30th The Army Remained on the Ground to day & Destroyd a vast Quantity of Corn and about 40 Houses—The Army by a Request of General Sullivan Agreed to live on half a Pound of Beef and half a Pound of flower Pr Day, for the future as long as it might found Necessary our Provisions being short—This night the sick and Wounded together with the Ammunition Waggon, and four of our Heaviest Pieces of Artillery, are sent back to Tiago by water, which will Enable the Army to proceed with much Greater ease and Rapidity our Course from Shemung to hear is about N. West—

31st We marchd at 10 o'Clock, The Right Collomn Marchd on the hill some Distance from the River The left Collomn and Artillery Marchd by the River The land we March'd over very fine found and Destroyd Several fields of Corn and Houses, Proceeded five miles to where the Alliganer and Kaiyugea Branches of the River unite—on the Point between these two Streames was a Very Prity town Calld Kannawalohalla, which from appearances was Deserted this morning—some Boats were seen by our advanced Party, going up the Allagana branch, a Number of feather beds were burnt in the Houses, our Soldiers found Several Large Chests Buried which were filld with a Great Variety of household furniture and many other articles : after halting hear an hour we Proceeded

between the two Rivers on a fine Plain about 5 Miles and Incampt a Detachment was sent up the Alagana Branch in Pursuit of the Enemy.

Sept 1st The Detachment that was sent up the River in Pursuite of the Enemy Returnd this Morning, they Could not Overtake the Enemy, but found and Destroy'd Several large field of Corn—The Army Marchd at 10 o'Clock proceeded about 4 miles on a Plain then Came to what is Calld the Beir Swamp Which extends to French Katoreen 9 Miles, the Groth is Pine, Spruc and Hamlock—Exceeding thick. a Small River runs through it which we had to Cross about twenty times on each side of this Swamp is a Ridge of Tremendious hills—which the Colomn were obliged to march on having a rode to open for the Artillery we proceeded very slowly at Dark when we had got within about 3 miles of the town we found ourselves in a Most horrid thick Mirery Swamp which Rendered our Proceeding so Difficult that it was 10 o'Clock in the evening before we arrived at the town where we found fires burning and every other appearance of the Enemys having left the town this afternoon, This town Consists of about 30 Houses's and their is a Number of fruit trees in this town. the streams we Crossed so often to Day runs through this town and into the Seneca Lake, the South end of which is but 3 miles from this town.

2d The Army laying Still to day to Recrute and Destroy the town Corn &c a Very old Squaw was found in the Bushes to day who was not able to go off with the rest, who Informs us that Butler with the Torys went from this Place with all the Boats the day before yesterday, the Indian Warriors Moved off their families and Effects, yesterday Morning, and then Returned and stay'd till sun sett, she says the Squaws and young Indians were very loth to leve the town, but were for giving Themselves up, but the warriors would not agree to it, Several Horses and Cattle were found at this Place, a Party of light troops were sent this morning to Indeavour to over take some of the Indians, who left this place last evening, but Returnd without being able to Effect it—

3d The army March'd, at 8 o'Clock after proceeding 3 Miles over Rough Ground Came oppersit the end of the Lake and then found good marching the land very fine proceeded 9 miles and Incampt at 4 o'Clock P. M. near the side of the Lake This lake is about 40 Miles in Length and from 2 to 5 miles wide and Runs Nearly North, and South—

4th The Army march'd at 10 o'Clock proceeded 4 miles to a Small Village where we found several fine fields of Corn after Destroying the Village and Corn Marchd 8 miles further and Incampt, the land we pass'd over to Day is Exceeding good —

5th The Army Marchd at 10 o'Clock, proceeded 5 miles to and Indian town, Call'd Candaia or Appletown wher is an old orchard of 60 trees and many other fruits. The town Consists of 20 Houses, Very Beautifully situated near the lake, in the town are three Sepulchres which are very Indian fine, where I suppose that some of their Chiefs are Deposited, at this town we found a man by the Name of Luke Sweatland who was taken by the Savages at Wyoming last Summer and was adopted into an Indian family in this town Where has lived or Rather stayd 12 months, he appeard quite overjoyd at Meeting some of his Acquaintance from Wyoming who are in our Army, he says that the Savages were very much stratend for food, from April till the corn was fitt to Rost, that his being kept so short on't for Provisions Prevented his attempting to Desert altho' he had frequent opportunities by being sent 20 miles to the salt Spring to make salt, which spring he says afforded Salt for all the Savages in this part of the Country, he says that the Indians were very much allarm'd, and Dejected at being beat at Newtown they told him they had a Great many wounded which they sent of by Water, we Destroyd Great quantities of Corn here, an Express arrived this afternoon from Tiago by which we had Account that Abner Dearborn was Dead he was wounded at Newtown—

6th The Horses and Cattle were so scatterd this morning that the Army Could not march untill 3 o'Clock P. M. proceeded 3 miles and Incampt oppersit to where we Incampt on the other side of the Lake we Discover'd a Settlement where We could see some Indians driving Horses—

7th We took up our March at 7 o'Clock, proceeded 8 Miles and Came to the end of the Lake, where we Expected the enemy would give us another Battle, as they might have a very great advantage over us as we forded the outlet of the Lake, when we arrived in sight of the ford we halted, and Several Scouts were sent out to Reconitree, the Adjacent wood when we found the Course was Clear, the army passd the ford proceeded 3 Miles by the end of the Lake, and found a small Settlement which we Destroyd—the Village and proceeded 2 Miles from the Lake, and Arrived at a large town Calld Kannadasaga which is Considered as the Capital of the Senecas and is Calld the Senecas Castle. It Consists of about 40 Houses very Irreguallly Situate in the Center of which is the Ruins of a Stockade fort and Blockhouse, here is a Considerable Number of apple trees and other fruit trees and a few Acres of land Covered with English Grass. Their Cornfields which are very large are at some Distance from the town, we found in this town a White Child about three years old which we suppose was a Captive in the Houses was left a Number of things some Corn and many of their Curiosities—

8th The army lay still to day the Riflemen were sent to Destroy a town about 8 miles from hence on the west side of the lake calld Gageonghwa we found a Number of Stacks of hay not far from this town which we set fire to—a scout of ours burnt a town to day about 10 miles from this N. East on the Road to the Kauyuga Settlement Calld Shaiyus or large falls—

9th By Reason of a Rain last night the army did not march till 12 o'Clock, all our sick inverlids were sent back this morning to Tiago under an asscort of 50 men we proceeded 3 miles through old fields Covered with Grass, then Entered a thick swamp, Called the ten mile swamp we proceeded four miles in this swamp, with Great Difficulty Crossd a Considerable stream of Water and Incampt—

10th* The army Marched at 8 o'Clock proceeded through the swamp and pas'd a large body of Clear land March'd one mile and came to a small Lake calld Cannandaquah, we forded the Outlet of this lake, proceeded one mile and came to a Very Pretty Town Called Canandaquah, Consisting of about 30 Houses, Much better built Then any that I have seen before, Near this town Discover'd Large fields of Corn, near which we Incampt—Several Small partys were Orderd out to Destroy the Corn this afternoon—

11th The Army Marched at six o'Clock 14 miles to an Indian Town call Anyayea Situate on a body of Clear Intervale Land Near a Small Lake of the same name This town Consists of 11 Houses near it was Several Corn field, the land we Marchd over to day is very good and a Great part of it very thinly Wooded and Covered with Grass it appears as if it had be Cultivated too before—

12 The weather being fowle the army did not March till 12 o'Clock, a Small fort asstablish'd here, where we leave our Provisions and Ammunition Except what will be Necessary to carry us to Chenesee (about 30 miles) and bring us back hear Again, one piece of Artillery is left hear at this Place, the Army Marchd 11 miles this afternoon over a body of Excellent land.

13 March'd at 7 o'Clock proceeded 2 Miles to a Town Calld Kaneyzas or Yucksea, Consisting of 18 Houses Situate on an Excellent Intervale near a small lake we found a Large quantity of Corn, beans, Squash, Potatoes, Cucumbers, Water Millions &c. &c. in & about this town the Army halted 4 Hour's to Destroy the Town, the Corn & to build a Bridge over a Creek—at this town live a very Great noted Warriar Calld the Great tree who has made great Pretentions of Friendship to us and has been to Philadelphia and to General Washington's head Quarters since the War Commenced, and has Received a Number of presents from General Washington and from the Congress—Yet we suppose that he is with Butler against us, a Party of Riflemen and some others 26 in Number, under the Command of Lieut Boyd of the Rifle Corps was sent out last night to a town 7 miles from here, to make what Discovry he could and to Return at day brake—4 of his men went into the town and found it abandoned, but found 3 or 4 scatering Indians about it one of which they killd & Sculp'd, then Return'd to Lieut Boyd—after sunrise who lay at some Distance from the town—he then sent 4 men to Report to General Sullivan what he had Discover'd and Moved on slowly with his party towards Camp after he had pro-

ceeded about half way to Camp he halted some time expecting the army to meet him. he after halting some time sent 2 men to Camp who Discovered some Scattering Indians and Return'd to Lieut Boyd again he then March'd on his party towards Camp Discovered some scattering Indians one of which they Killd he soon found himself Nearly Surrounded and Attackd by three Hundred Indians and torys he after fighting them some time attempted to Retreat but found it Impracticable 6 or 7 of his Men did Make their Eascape the Remainder finding themselves Compleatly Surrounded ware Determined to sell themselves as dear as possible and bravely fight on till every Man was killd but 2 Whites was taken one of which was Lieut Boyd some of the men that made their esscape came to camp and Inform'd the General of the Matter, upon which General Hand with his light troops was sent to the Place of Action but too late, they left all their Packs, Hatts Baggage &c. When the Action it began which General Hand found after he had finished the Bridge, the Army March on proceeded 7 miles to the before mentioned town and Incampt, this town Consists of twenty two Houses, situate on a small River that falls into the Chenesee River abt 2 miles below here and is called Gaghegualahale.

14 The General Expected to have found the Great Chenesee town within 2 miles of hear on this Side of the River but on Reconiting found that the town is 6 miles from here and on the other side of the River the Army was Employd until 12 o'Clock in Destroying the Corn which we found in Great Plenty—At 12 o'Clock he marchd after fording the small River that the town stands on, and passing through a small Grove of wood we entered upon what is Calld the Great Chenesee Flatts, which is a vast body of Clear Intervale 12 or 14 miles up and down the River and Several miles back from the River on both sides and Coverd with Grass from 5 to 8 feet high, and so thick that a man can get through it but very slowly—our Army appeard to Very Great advantage Moving on in the exact order of March laid down in the Plan—but Very often we that were on Horseback could see nothing but the Mens Guns above the Grass—After Marching about two miles on this flatt we Came to the River, which we forded pass'd over a Body of Flatts on the other side and assended onto Oak land and proceeded 4 Miles and arrived to the town which we found Deserted, here we found the Bodys of Lieut Boyd and one other Man, mangled in a Most Horrid Manner, from appearance it seems that they were tied to two trees near which they lay and first they were survearely whipt, then their Tongues were Cutt out, their finger Nails Pluckt of, their Eyes plucked out, then Speard in Several Places, and after they had Venterd their Hellish spite Cutt off their Heads and Skind them and then left them. This was a most Horried Spectacle to behold—and from which we are taught the Necessity of fighting these more than Devils to the last moment Rather than fall into their hands alive—This is much the Largest town we have met with it Consists of more than 100 Houses, is Situate on an Excellend Piece of Land in a large bow of the River; it appears that the Savages left this town in a Great Hurry and Confusion, as they left large Quantities of Corn Huskd and some in Heeps not huskd and many other signs of Confusion—

15th At 6 o'Clock the whole Army was turnd out to Destroy the Corn in & about this town which we found in great plenty, we were from 6 o'Clock to 2 o'Clock. P. M. in Destroying the Corn & Houses it is Generally thought we have Destroyd 20,000 Bushels of Corn at this place, The Method we took to Destroy it was to make large fires with parts of Houses and other wood and then piling the Corn on the fire which effectually Destroyd the whole of it a Woman with a Child came to us to day who was taken at Wyoming when that Place was Cutt off her Husband and one Child was killd and Sculped in her sight when she was taken, She Informed us that Butler and Brant with the Toryes & Indians left the Place in a Great Hurry the 13th Instant and are gone to Niagara which is 80 miles from hence where they expect that we are going. She says the Indians are very uneasy with Butler and their other leders and are in Great Distress, we have now go to the end of our Rout, and are turning our faces Homeward, at 3 o'Clock we faced to the Right about and Marchd in High Spirits Recrossing the Chenesee River and Incampt on the Chenesee Flatts, this place Lays about North West from Tiago—

16th A Number of fields of Corn was Discovered this Morning at Different places

which Employd the Army until 10 o'Clock in Destroying them At 1 o'Clock P. M. we Recrossed the stream Gaghegwalahale and at 4 o'Clock arrived at Kanigsas or Chocksett and Incampt 14 of Lieut Boyd's Party were found Dead this afternoon near together Sculped, Honyose an Anyder Indian of Considerable note that was with Lieut Boyd's was among the Dead—

17th The Army marched at sunrise and at 10 o'Clock arrived at Anyoye where we found all safe—

18th The army Marchd at 8 o'Clock proceeded to Kannadaquah and Incampt four Onyder Indians one of which is a Schecam met us to day who say that 100 of the Onyders and Tuskororas set out with them to join us but meeting an Indian that Left us at Kannadasaga when we were advancing who told them we Marchd on so Rappadly that they could not Overtake us so as to be of any Service, they all Returned but these four—

19th The Army March'd to Kanadasagea an Exspress arrived from General Washington to day with Letters, by which we are assured that Spain has Declared War with England and that the Grand fleet of France and Spain, have formed a junction at Sea at several towns that our Army has Destroyed, we found Dogs hung up on Poles 12 or 15 feet High which we are told is Done by way of Sacrifice, that when they are unfortunate in war they Sacrifice two Dogs in the Manner above Mentioned to Appease their Amaginary God one of the Dog skins they suppose is Converted into a Jacket & the other into a Tobacco Pouch for their God, the Woman that came to us at Chinese says that the Savages Hung up Dogs Immediately after the Battle of Newtown—

20th Five Hundred Men are Detachd under the Command of Colonel Butler who is to March round the Kaiyuga Lake and Destroy the Kaiyuga Settlement on the East end of the Lake 100 Men under command of Colonel Gannasvorth are ordered to go and Destroy the Mohawk Castle on the Mohawk River and to proceed from thence on to Albany, the army Marchd this afternoon Crossd the Outlet of the Seneca Lake and Incampt

21st Two Hundred men was Ordered under the Comm'd of Colonel Dearborn to Proceed to the West side of the Kieyuga Lake, from thence to the South end, to Destroy what Settlement Corn &c we might find in our way at 8 o'Clock we Marchd and proceeded N East Corse about 8 Miles and found 3 Wigwam's in the woods and some small Paches of Corn Squash Water Millions Cucumbers &c and about 15 Horses which we could not take. After Destroying this Little Village proceeded 4 miles to the Lake where we found a Very Pritty town, of 10 Houses and a Considerable quantity of Corn all which we burnt. We Discovered another town about one Mile above this which we likewise Destroyd, Skannayutenates after Destroying this town we Marchd one mile & came to a New town Consisting of Nine Houses Which we Destroyd and proceed one Mile & found one Large House which we set fire to & march'd on 2 Miles, further and Incampt the Land we March'd through to day is exceeding fine—

22nd We marchd half an Hour before Sunrise proceeded about 5 mile's and came to the Ruins of a town that a Party of our Men when the Army was advancing who missed their way and happend to fall in at this town We found a Large field of Corn and 3 Houses. we Gethered the Corn and burnt it in the Houses, this town is Calld Swanyawanah We March'd from this place five miles and found a Wigwam, with three Squaws and one young Indian who was a Cripple—We took two of the Squaws who ware about 40 years old and Marchd on about three Miles and found one Hutt and a field o Corn, which we Burnt and proceeded about four miles and Incampt—

23rd March'd at Sunrise proceeded without any path or track or any parson who was ever in this part of the Country before to Guide us, and the land is Horridly Rough, and Bushey that it was hardly Possable for us to advance however with Great Difficultie and fatigue we proceeded 9 Miles to the end of a Large Cape which we expected was the end of the Lake but found it was not, from hear we Marchd off two or three Miles from the Lake and then proceeded by a Point of Compass 8 Miles and Came to the end of the Lake and Incampt this Lake is about forty miles long and from two to five miles in Wedth and Runs nearly North and South Parallell with the Seneca Lake and they are from 8 to 18 Miles apart—

24th March'd at Sunrise proceeded about 3 Miles on the high land and Cam to a path which led us to two Hutts and some Corn fields after burning them Hutts and Corn Several Small parties was sent out Different ways to look for a large town we had been inform'd was not Many Miles from the end of the Lake—the parties found 10 or 12 Scattering Houses and a Number of Large Corn fields on and Near the Stream that falls into the Lake—after burning and Destroys Several Houses and Corn fields a Small Party was sent out and Discovered the town about 3 Miles from the End of the Lake on the above mentioned Stream the town and its Sububs Consisted of about 25 Houses and is Call'd Corcargonell and is the Capital of a Small Nation or Tribe Call'd ——— our Party was Employ'd from 9 o'Clock a' m, 'till Sunsett—we Expected to have met Colonel Butler with his Party at this Town—

25th March'd at Sunrise for Katareen's town where we was ordered to Join the Main Army We proceeded a Due West corse over a terrible Rough Mountain's Country about 4 o'Clock P. M. arrived at Katareens, but the army was gone forward, we proceeded six miles in what is Call'd the Bear swamp and Incamp't

26th March'd at Sunrise and at 12 o'Clock Join'd the Main Army at Kannawalohala which is four miles from where we fought the Enemy the 29th of August last, the Army had a Day of Rejoycing here yesterday in Consequence of the News from Spain—

27th Some Detachments were sent out on the Aliagana River to Destroy what Houses and Corn field they might find—

28th The Same party that was Sent Yesterday ware sent again to Day, further up the River to Destroy a tory Settlement—That a Small party Discover'd yesterday and a Large Detachment was sent off to Compleat the Distruction of Corn at and about Newtōwn at 12 o'Clock Butler arrived with his party in Camp, on their Rout the lake they Burnt and Destroyd Several towns and a Vast Quantity of Corn—

29th The Army March'd to Shemung—

30 Arrived at Tiago where we Ware Saluted with 13 Cannon which we Answard with the same Number—Colonel Shreve who Commanded the Garrison made an Entertainment for the General and field Officers this afternoon the afternoon was Spend in festivity and Mirth Joy appear'd in every Countenance, we now have finish'd our Campaign and Gloriously too—

Octr 1st We are Preparing to March to Wyoming

2d General Sullivan Made an Entertainment for all the General and field offs to day This evening we had an Indian Dance at Head Quarters the Anydo Sachem was Master of the Ceremonies

3d The Army is preparing to March for Wyoming—

4th The Army March'd fifteen miles down the River—

5th The Whole Army Imbark on board Boats Except was Necessary to Drive the Pack Horses and Cattle—

7th Arrived at Wyoming in High Spirits During the Whole of this Survear Campaign our Loss in Kill'd, Died, of Wounds & Sickness Did not Exceed fifty men—

8th General Sullivan Received an Exspress This Evening from General Washington Informing him that Count De Easting is on the Coast Near New York with a fleet and Army—In Consequence of Which General Sullivan's is Orderd to March the 16th Instant for Head Quarters—

9th Nothing new to Day—

10th The Army March'd for Easton &c.—

15th Arived their the Army has March'd from Tiago to Easton (156 Miles through a Mountainous Rough Wilderness) in 8 Days with the Artillery, and Baggage, a Most Extraordinary March indeed—

16th, 17th, 18th Remained at Easton, We are Inform'd that Count De Eastaing has taken Several Ships of War. together with all the Transports and Troops, the Enemy had at and Near Georgia, he is Expected Dayly at New York—

25th Our Army is to March the 27th Instant toward Head Quarters—An Exspress arrived this Day from Head Quarters which Informs that the Enemy have evacuated Their port at Kings Ferry and have Retir'd to New York—

General Sullivan's Army at Wyoming Consists of the troops following (Vizt)—Maxwell's Brigade Consisting of Ogdens, Daytons, Shreaves and Spencer's Regiments—

Poor's Brigade Consisting of, Cilleys, Reeds Scammells Courtlands Regiments—Hands Brigade Consisting of the German and Hubleys Regiments, Shots Corps and Spauldings Company—

Wyoming July 31st 1779 This day the Army Marchd for Tiago in the following Order—

Head Quarters Easton May 24th 1779 When the Army shall be fully Assembled the Following Arrangements are to take place ;—

Lite troops Com- manded by Gen- eral Hand	{	Hubleys Regiment
		Shots Corps—
		Six Compy of Rangers
		Butlers Regiment—
Poor's Brigade to Consist of—	{	Morgans Corps
		and all the
		Volatiers that
		may Join the ar- my—
Maxwells Brigade to Consist of—	{	Cilleys, Reeds, Scammills
		& Courtlands Regiments
		to form the Right of the
		first Line
Clinton's Brigade to Consist of	{	Ogden's Daytons
		Shreeves and
		Spencers Regi- ments to form
		the left of the front line
	{	Late Livingston's Du- bois's Garmsworths
		and Oldens Regiment
		to form the second line
		of Reserve—

The Right of the first line to be Covered by 100 Men Draughted from Poor's Brigade—
The left to be Covered by 100 men to be Draughted from Maxwells Brigade ;—

Each flank of the second line to be Covered by 50 Men Draughted from Clintons Brigade—

The flanking Divisions on the Right to Consist of the German Battalion and a Hundred men Draughted from the Whole line—

The left flanking Division to Consist of Hartlies and Daytons Regiment, with a Draught of 100 Men—

The Order of Battle and the Order of March are Represented on the Annex'd Plan—
and are to be attended to at all times when the Situation of the Country will Possibly admit and when a Deviation takes Place it must be Carried no further than the Necessaty of the time Requires Order of March the Light Corps will advance by the Right of Company's in files and keep half a mile in front—

Maxwells Brigade will advance by the Right in files, sections or Platoons as the Country will admit—

Poor's Brigade to advance by its left in the same manner—

Clintons Brigade will Advance by Right of Regiment in Platoons, section's or files as the Country will admit—all the Covering partys and Flanking Divisions on the Right will advance by the Left ; and those on the Left by the Right—The Artillery and Pack Horses will March in the Center—Should the Army be attackt in front while on 'its march—the Light Corps will Immediately form to Repulse the Enemy—

The flanking Division will Indevour to Gain the flank and Rear of the Enemy—While the line is forming the Pack Horses will in all Cases fall into the Position represented on the annexed Plan—Should the Enemy attack either flank, the flanking Division will form a front and sustain the Attack till Reinforced, in which Case a part of the Light Corps is to be

Attachd to Gain the Enemys flank and Rear, the Covering Party of the two lines will Move to Gain the other flank Should the Enemy Attack our Rear the 2 lines will face and form a line frunt to the Enemy--the Covering Parties of the first line will Move to sustain it while the flanking Divisions face about and Endeavour to Gain their flank and Rear Should the Light troops be Driven back they will pass through the Intervale of the Main Army, and form in the Rear. Should the Enemy in an Ingagement with the Army when form'd endanger either flank, the Covering Party, will Move up to Lengthen the line and so Much as may be found Necassary, from the flanking Divisions will Display outwards to prevent the attempt of the Enemy succeeding—

The Light Corps will have their Advances and flank Guard a good Distance from the Main Body--The flanking Divisions will furnish flank Guards and the second line a Rear Guard for the Main Army—

When we find the Light Corps Ingaged with the Enemy in frunt the frunt of the Pack Horses will halt and the Rear Close up—While the Column Moves at a small Distance Closes and Displays Column's which will bring the Horses in the position Represented in the Plan for Order of Battle, should the attack be made on Either flank or Rear the Horses must be kept in the Position they are in at the Comminsment of the attack unless other order's are then Given—

JOURNAL OF SERGEANT THOMAS ROBERTS.

Journal of SERGEANT THOMAS ROBERTS. Grateful acknowledgments are due the New York Historical Society, New York City, for the many favors bestowed in furnishing information and copies of papers, maps and journals from their archives, embracing also the following journal: From entries in the journal, the author, Thomas Roberts, appears to have been a Sergeant in Captain John Burrowes' Company of Colonel Oliver Spencer's Fifth New Jersey regiment. He was a shoemaker by trade and a resident of Middletown Point, Monmouth County, New Jersey. The manuscript was purchased from a book-stall in Nassau street, New York City, by Alexander Campbell, who presented it to the New York Historical Society, February 10, 1886. The writing is much faded and almost illegible. The original manuscript is carefully kept in the archives of the Society.

JOURNAL.

A JOURNAL OF THE MARCH FROM ELEAZABETH TOWN TO THE BACK WOODS.

MAY 29th 1779. Marched to Samptown and theare halted that night

30th Marched throug Quibble town and Bound Brook Middle Brook and quattered at the Braranch of Rariton.

31st. thear lay till wee Got our Clothing Cleane and Drew overhalls and Shoes and Blankets and Armes and accouterements that was Difishent.

JUNE 2d. Incamped in our Hutes at the north Branch

3d. Marched throug Reading town to pitsburgh and Incamped

4th. Marched from thence and incamped at Johnstons forge

5th. Marched from thence and crossed the Delaware River into Easton wich is near as Big as Amboy and thear incamped And Remained for Refreshment and Washing

7th. then Wee was Reviewed By Genele. Sulleven and Genele. Poor and Genele. Maxwell and theare was one Gill Rum for Each

12th. theare was three Solgers hanged for Murder I never saw so many Specttators in my Life I think. According to my opinon theare was 4,000 that night one was taking up again [the Doctor] Cut his arm and Leg and Examined him and the next night then buried him again

14th. then Rejoiced for the good news of the Enemys Being Defeated at Georga and 26 peices of Cannon fiered Six Rigiments drawing up at the same time and fiering 2 Rounds A Man

16th. Resevied orders to march for Wyoming next morning at Day Breake But a Storm prevented it

18th. Marched 12 Milds and Incamped at the Blew mountains

19th. Marched 16 Milds to the Store howes and theare Drew provision and Liber of 3 ourers to Draw the provision and Kook it Whenn the Long Role Beat Wee had our meat half Kooked and Marched.

20th. Marched 5 Milds and incamped at the Brandey Bridg.

21st. Marched 20 Milds through the Grate Swamp wheare theare was not A hous nor fense nothing but Rocks and Mountains and a Grate part of it was as Dark as after Sun down When it was noon Day at times the Sun Was not to Bee Seen that for the timber the Swamp so thick you Cold not see 10 foot. Wee Incamped that Day at the End of the Shades of Death

22d. Marched 5 Milds and In-camped at the Long Meddo

23d. Marched 7 Milds and Arived at Whyomay and theare Incamped on the Side of Suskahannah River Jist below the fort

26th. then one of the artille men was Floged and had one hundred Lashes and one pickeded

29th. One of Colln. Spensers men Run the Ganlet Through 3 Regments and Every man had a whip and one had one hundred Lashes at the post thear Crime was for painting themselves threthnging Two offisers Lives as Indians

JULY 1st theare was Tow men Condemed for to Bee hung tha was Drove to the Galles with theare halters Round theare neckes one was hung and the other Repreived wich Shocked him So he almost Fanted A way

[one leaf of journal missing]

21st. then Marched from Brinkers Mills for Wyoming About 9 o'clock in the Four noon, that Night we Got through the Grate Swamp and Our horsis Gave Out Wich Capt. Burrowes had Left us then I consulted with the Men that I had under my Command to Lay Down and Take our Rest till Day, So wee Did and then marched for Wyoming as Wee was Going through the Shades of Death The woolves mad a wonderfool noys all around us wich Semed Verey Destressed.

22d. I arrived to Wyoming on the Suskahannah

23d. the 2 Rigment Marched Eight Mils Down the River to Guard the Stores to this plase.

24th. the Stores arived With one hundred and Fifty Boates for our Armeey at theare Return theare was 26 Rounds of Cannon fiered 13 from the Boates and 13 from the Camp theas Boates had 4-3 pounders and one howet that threw Bums for thear Security on the River.

JULY 29th. this Day there Came 78 Waggons with the provision for Our Armeey Wich had in Tents, Bookes, provision and all other Camp Nesserres for the Armeey one hundred and 20 Men 2 Capt. 6 Subboltons Left for the Guard at the fort under the Command of Colln. Butler

31st. then Marched from Wyoming 10 Mils up the River and Incamped at Lackenwanney whear the Land is the Best that Ever I see Timmothy as high as my head and the Bildngs all Burnt by the Saviges the Warter is But Poor the Wild turkes wery plenty the young one yelping through the Woods as if it Was inhabbited Ever So thick.

AUGUST 1st. 3 o'clock the Genneral Beat and then Wee Struck Our tents then a Gun fiered from the Commeder for a Signerl to March then Marched 10 Mils at the about Dark Wee incamped for that Night at Willimanack

2d. Lay that Day on the account of the pack horsis and the Cattel not comming up with us and the Boats

3d. Marched at 7 o'clock 14 Miles to Tankannick and incamped theare on the Side of Suskahannah

4th. this Morning the Re love lee Beet at Day Brake and at five O clock the general Beet and we struck our tents Sicks o clock the trupe Beet and wee Marched On our March thear was the Best Black Walnut as Ever I saw for the Mesharin Lengh of one mile.

Colln. Dehart Meshered one and it was 18 feet Round it and as the jugd it was 90 foot high tha are as thick as tha Can Stand one With another is from Sicks to Eighteen Foot Round at 4 O clock in the after noon wee Incamped at Meshawmin Wich was 16 Mils that Day thear Weete and Ry as thick as if it was Soed piggons as plenty as Can Bee turkeys Werey plenty But order against Fiering a Gun By the general Exsept at the Enemy.

5th. the general Beet at 9 O'clock and Wee struck our tents 10 o'clock the gun fiered then Wee marched for Wyalucey on our March We Marched through Extronery Land the Timber Cheafley Black walnut and Rock Mapel and Buttonwood, Buttonwood Trees 22 Foot Round, Mapels 18 Foot Round at 5 o'clock in the Afternoon and incamped the Grase Was the thickest that Ever I saw after wee Arived to the plase in half an Our Sergeant Johnston Died Belonging to the 2 Regiment With the Fiteguge of The march this place is werey peeson On the Side of the River

6th. at 3 o'clock Sergt. Johnstons was Buered at 5 o'clock one of the trupes was Found Dead on the Road and Brought and Bured By the Side of Johnston

7th. One Sergt. 4 Whitemen and one Ingen Marched for Tioga a Ceont of 30 Men Sent out to See What thea Could Discover this Day the Rain Detained Our March

8th 6 o'clock Struck our Tens and Marched struck our Cors about West norwest the mountains Exsesif high But wee past them without Susstaining much Lose the Flats very Good Land the timber Cheafly Black walnut and Buttonwood at three O clock in the afternoon wee halted at a plase Called the Standing Stone wich is 11 mils from Wyalucing theare was Detained By The means of Our Boats Baggeg and Cattel not Cumming up with us 6 o clock wee had Orders to pich our tents

9th. Struck our tents and marched Struck our Cors about North nor west the Road Being Werey Bad onley a foot path all this March no hous nor peopel Within a hundred Mils one Mountain on this Days March thear is a Mountain for one Mild the path was not more than one foot wide and three hundred foot high wheare three of our Cattel fell Down and Killed them Dead the Boats was under the mountain the Boatmen cut theare throats and Cared them to Camp the Land I think Cant Bee Better on the Left hand thear is a piece of Meddo about 200 Acres the timber land as Black as Dung it self timber cheafley whiteoak hickere and ash Wee being in the Rear Guard Detained our Regement till 11 o clock at Night Before we Got up with the army wich is 14 Mils that night wee lay on our tents and it Ranned all night and no provision With us this plase is called Meshokin all theas plases Lays on the East side of Suskahannah River

10th. thear was 3 Regements sent to Reconnite the River Whear to ford the Discovered no Enemy thay Got one Cow from the other side of the River and Brot her in Camp

11th. Struck our tents and Marched 2 Mils then Fordded the River of Suskahannah to the West Side of the River Marched 3 mils and then Fordded the West Branch Boath of theas Rivers Was Werey Dififikil Several men wold Bin Drounded if the horsmen had not helped them Colln. Barber had Like to Bin Drounded and his hors By Riding after A man Down the Falls the Warter about up to our arms and the Streem as Strong as at A Milltail But With a Grate Deal of trobel Wee crossed them Without much Lose Exspt some Knapsak that the men Lost after Crossing the River and the Branch We Incamped at a plase called Tioga Wich is five miles from Meshokin this plase is a plase that has Bin Settled by the Indians But Destroyed Round Whear thear town was tha had Dug holes Four Foot Deep and planted them fool of hasel Bushis So that We cold not preecive them from the other Ground theas holes was Considerabel thick in the afternoon Capt. Cummins was sent out to Reconnite the Way to Shemoung Returned

12th then came orders from General Sulleven for the Torupes to Bee in Readeness to March at a moments Warning, at 8 o clock at night wee marched for Shemong. Wich was very fetugeing Wee Marched all night With 3 Bergades one plase on the Side of the West Branch of Suskehannah was for 9 mils a Solled Rock on the side of a Mountain

13th. about Sun one hour high Wee came to the Beginning of the Indians Town Wheare the Enemy had all Flad from, then the orders came To Fier there Bildings after that Wee Got them on fier Wee heard fiering in the Frunt then Wee Marched the Indians conselled them selves on a hill and made Brestwork with and fiered on Our trupes Wich tha Killed 7 and Wonded 8, Kild one Capt. one Agetent one Drummer one Sergeant three privates, wounded one pilat the Rest Privets, the Enemy then Run of Wich Wee had no Chance With them Wee Returned the fier to the Best advantige then Wee Returned and Brought our Kild and wounded of the Ground then Wee Was Ordered over the South Side of the River to Distroy theare Corn whear Was a Grate number of it Corn punkins Squashes Concombers Warter millens, the last Piece of Corn Wee Got about and had Cut all to about half an acor the Indians Came on the North Side of the River and fiered on our trupes Kild 1 and wounded 4 then wee Returned the fier as fast as posebel But it is not none what nomber Wee Killd for the Enemy Being on the other Side of the River Wee Brought Our Kild and Wounded of, then Returned Down to Our Camp With our Dead and Wounded Wich was 16 Mils Our trupes was Werey much fetuged on the march

14th. 8 o'clock at night Orders came for 900 men to Bee turned out in the morning at 8 o'clock

15th. the Men was parraded and Reviewed By the General their Orders is to take 8 Days Provsin they are under the command of Genl. Poore and General hand, this day at 3 o'clock some of our pack horsmen Was at the Side of the West Branch after thear horses and the Indians through the Bush and fiered on them twelve or fifteen Shot Our Men not having thear arms With them Cold not Stand in thear Defence tha Killed one Dead and Wounded one through the Shoulder, emedatly the first and third Regt. was parraded and Sent of to See if tha cold overtake the Cruel Saviges this Man tha Killd tha Sculped and Run of With an Indian hoop

16th. Then theas 900 Trupes Marched Struck thear Cors up the Suskahannah River Expecting to Meete with General Clinton Wich is on his Way Down the River to us With 12 hundred men 200 and 50 Indians.

17th. The Indians Cume to our Lines and killed some of our Cattel undiscovered to us, Amechately thear Was a Capt, Subbolten 2 Sergets. 2 Col and 50 Men sent after them and Continued out that night the Capt. was Capt. John holmes

18th. a Scout went out this morning With Capt. Brodrick 1 Capt. 1 Subboltren 1 Sergt. 1 Corpl. 48 men, this Day in the Evening the Indians Cume By General hand Bergade and Shot one of the Pack horsemen and sculped him and wounded one Within one hundred yards of the Camp at Retreat Beeting

22d this Day arivid Genl. Clinton With his army and Boats his army Consisted of about two thouson Men and two hundred Boats Came Down the River thay Burnt Considerabel of houses the Enemy Fled Before them wich tha Cold not Git sight of them all theare March, Clinton fiered 6 piess when he got Wethin one Mile of our Camp. When Clintins Boats Got Weth thear Frunt against us Colln. Proctor fiered 7 picees of Cannon For Joy of our armeys Meeting, the number of Boats was 200 and 48 this afternoon thear was three men of the first Regement tried By a Cortmarshel for Steeling the State Rum Colln. De hart president of the Cortmarshel Sentins Was Past on them Sergt. Olbe Redused to the Ranks and the Drum mager to turn his Coat and hung his Canteen Round his neck and Marched him through the Regment Thomas Perrey Striped and Run through our Brigade and Every Man a Whip Corpl. Wilson Redused to the Ranks and Run the Ganlet through the Brigade Wich made me werry Sorry By all accounts he was not Gilty After this one of Generals hands Brigade Brought in one Indian Sculp and his Body also.

23d. Five Oclock this afternoon thear Was one Man Shot through the Body another through the thigh by axedent in General Poors Brigade the Shot Came through our Brigade But hurt nobody Came through one Tent Belong to the Qr. Master Sergt. Gist Back of Min.

26th. at tenn Oclock Struck our tents and marched from Tioga for the Ceneke Cuntry Marched 3 Mils and Incamped at a plase Called the planes of Quein Easter

27th at 9 o clock Struck Our tents and marched 7 Miles thu Beeing Werry Diffekil to pase By the means of the Roades Beeing so Bad Wee Cold not pas weth Our pack Horses Weth Our provision Wich Wee had thirty Days provision for all Our army On the horses about Seven O clock at night Wee Incamped four Mils from Shemong By the Corn feels whear thear Was no End hardley of Corn and Beans Squashes punkins Coucomber Wartermillions Our army Was thought 8 hundred Bushel of Corn and 4 hundred Bushel of Beans Squashes Grate number

28th at three O clock in the afternoon wee struck Our tents and Marched three mils Crossed the three tims in the three mils Fording the Last River wee Discovered two Indians and fiered on them Wich mad them Retreat at Seven Oclock at night Wee incamped at Shemung Ware Wee Burnt when Wee was to Before

29th. at Nine O clock Wee struck Our tents and marched For Newtown Our Roades Being Werrey Difficul to Deterred our March after Marching twoo Mils ther A Mountain about half Mild Long and ten foot wich wee had to pas after pasing the Mountain half Mild about 2 oclock in the afternoon On Sunday Our Rifilmen atacked with the Saviges and Cept them in play for one hour till Our artilerly Got through the Wods then our Bums Began to play on them and Round Shot and Grape Shot our flanks on the Right and Left tok them on Every Quarter thay Stayed in thear Brestworks for 2 hours then thay Retreat On thear Retreat Wee took one tory and Negar tha Gave an account Wee Kild 5 indians and Wounded 2 Witemen thear number was 8 hundred 4 hundred Wicht 4 hundred Indians 12 Britches Solders One Sergeant One Corporal Wich was Colln. Buttlerars Guard wich had the Command the other Offisers Mager Brant Capt Buttlerar Capt. Johns thay took thear Kild and wonded of on thear Retreat By the Appearance of the Blood thay Lost a Grate many men, Som thay was seen to take over the and Drag in the Bushes General poor had Kild in his Brogade 3 men Wonded One Mager One Capt. 2 Sargants 2 Corps. 23 men Wee folloed them 4 mils with our Rifilmen and then Returned 3 mild Whear Wee had Convenency for our horses and Cattel and thear Incamped thear, thear was a vast sight of Corn the plase is called Serretoga

30th. this morning some of our Trupes Went in the Woods Sirching for plunder and found 4 Indians and Sculpd them and Brought them Into Camp one was one of the Cheafs Besides a Grate deel of other phlnder of all Kinds

31st. this morning Our trupes found 2 Indians and Skin thear Legs & Drest them for Leggins this morning Our Elowans was Redused to one half pound per Day at 10 Oclock wee struck our tents and Marched for newtown Wich is 4 mils the Way Being the Worst wee had Sence wee have Bin out after passing the Mountains came to newtown Wich is Extronerory Fine Land all Wightoke Timber werrey fine thear halted One hour our Rifilmen Discovered Some Boats, the 3d Jersey Regiment was Detached from the Bargade an Sent up the River the Rest of the army Marched 5 mils and incamped the Cors from Serratog to Newtown is North nor west from newtown to Ware wee incampt is north the Leavel and all pine timber and werrey Strate an tall pich pine

SEPT 1st. at 10 Oclock Struck our tents and marched for Queon Easters town wich is 12 Mils, 3 Mils Leavel Timber Cheafley Witeoak then came to a Grate Swamp the Worst that ever I See Wee cold not March more then one mild [an hour] On the account & Logs and Brooks, two mountains That was half mild high so Steep wee was obligd to Go on Our hand and faces this Swamp Timber Cheafly White Pine Sprus pine Yellow pine this Swamp Continued for 6 mils then we Came into Land that was Werrey Good the Timber Black walnut & Beach & White oak and Bутtenwood from Serretoger to Queens town Our Cours was North Wee Crossed the Branch 20 times this Day & the night Werry Dark met with Considerable Los with our provision & Lost a Grate many horses the Jersey Brigade Got in at 10 Oclock at night Colln. Butler Left the town about Sundown

2d. This morning wee found one Squa that was so old she cold not Go with them this morning our Baggage came into Camp this Squa Gave an account that the Indians was

not willin to Go But Butler prewaled With them told them that they wold Bee all kild so tha went at 11 oclock one of our soldiers was in the Cornfield and Got wonded By the Enemy Emeadly thear was 500 men Detached and sent out With the Rifilmen sent to see if they cold Discover them, this plase is Wery Butyfull a Vast Sight of Corn and Beans some Clover horses

3d. at 9 oclock Marched an East Cors for three mils then altered our Cors about north and marched 9 mils the Land Werrey Good tha timber Grate pins Black Walnut at Seven Oclock wee Incamped in the Wilderness and a party Detached from the Jersey to Reconite the way to the Enemy thay Discovered them then Returned to Camp Coln. Smith had the command of them

4th. at 10 Oclock wee marched 4 Mils norwest till wee cume to the sicte of the Seneka Lake and thear Burnt several houses and Our trupes Got three horses By Driving them in the River then marched a north Cors Down the Lake and Distroyed all the Corn and Beans Before us Marched 7 Mils then altered our Cors East on the account a Wery Grate folls wich Emtyed in the Lake then marched north Down the Lake again I think the Best Land was the Best that Ever I see the Timber Cheafley ash Black oake wite oake Basswood and hickera y Wee Marched through this Good Land 8 Mils then Incamped about 7 o'clock

5th. marched 2 mil Norwest till wee came to the Lake thear Burnt Several houses and Distroyed Several Fields of Corn then altered our Cors North and marched 5 Mils and incamped in appletoun whear was an Orchard and upward of 20 houses a Butyfull plase it is Sithawated on the Side of the Lake is as Big as our Bay. [Rariton Bay N. J.]

[two leaves of journal missing]

as soon as we Got in the town the [torn] Connagasago this Days march [torn]

8th. lay still in the town gathering Corn and Beans [torn] Detached from the armye to Go 8 mils on the [torn] side of the Seneke Lake to Distroy Graine thay Distroyed about 50 acors of Corn & Beeans and a Grate [number of] appel trees and peach trees and Burnt a toun about 50 or 60 houses in it this Evenning wee had Dredful hard thunder and Litning.

9th. this morning all the sick was sent Down to Tioga under the command of Lieutn. Pre at 12 oclock marched 3 mils a South cors then oltered our Cors Souwest 4 Mils through a Swamp the Land wery Good ash timber and Baswood and wite oak then oltered our Cors and marched West 13 Mils Gist out of the Swamp about, 7 oclock wee Incamped in the Wilderness, this Evening our trupes Returned from Destroying the town one of the party Dyed with the fitige.

10th at 8 o clock marched Seven mils

[Rest of the journal missing.]

A number of memoranda appear on some of the pages, principally accounts against individuals for boots, shoes and repairing. Among them, however, is the following copy of a letter which may prove of interest:—

Whyomey June 29 1771

I now take this oportunity to inform you of this plase and the Sittevation of it On the River the Land is wery Good for weeat Ry Corn Flax Oates Clover Timmothy or any thing that is put in the Ground the Shad Lays in the River and on the shore as thick as mos bunkers at Middletoun shore the Bildings is Distroyed on Boath Sides of the River for 20 Milds the Land from the Side of the River to the mountains is not more than one mild From the Fort wheare wee Lay Down the River to Shawne toun is 3 Milds from the Fort to Fort is 30, from the Fort to Middletown 50, from the Fort to Sunsburrough is 60 Milds, theare wee have to Bring all Our provision with Boats that Carres 12 Barrels. one plase tha Falls is So Bad it takes 2 Days to Go one hundred yardes With a Loade of provision.

JOURNAL OF REV. WILLIAM ROGERS, D. D.

REV. WILLIAM ROGERS, D. D., Chaplain in Hand's Brigade. He was born at Newport, R. I., 22d of July, 1751. In 1771, he was licensed to preach the gospel in the Baptist church at Newport, but soon removed to Philadelphia, where he was settled as Pastor of the Baptist church. In 1776, he was appointed Chaplain to the Battalions raised in Pennsylvania, and in 1778, was made Brigade Chaplain in the Pennsylvania line, which position he held until 1781, when he retired from military service. In 1789, he was appointed a Professor in the College and Academy at Philadelphia, and in 1792, was elected Professor of English and Belles Lettres in the University of Pennsylvania, which position he held until 1812. In 1816 and 17, he was a member of the Legislature. He died at Philadelphia, 7th of April, 1824. His journal, from June 15, to August 29, 1779, was published, with notes and biography, as No. 7 of the Rhode Island Historical Tracts, by Sidney S. Rider, Providence, R. I., 1879, and who has kindly permitted the publication of the journal in this volume. Extracts from the journal were published in Vols., 1 and 2 of the *Universal Magazine*, 1797.

JOURNAL.

JUNE 15th. Left Philadelphia.*

JUNE 17th. About 8 o'clock, crossed Easton ferry. Easton is a pretty village, the capital of Northampton county, Pennsylvania. Here I met with a large circle of my military acquaintances of General Poor's and Maxwell's brigades. At Colonel Barber's marquee I was introduced to Mr. Kirkland, a worthy clergyman who for a number of years past has been stationed as a missionary among the Indians. The place of his residence is Stockbridge, Massachusetts. I am glad to hear Mr. Kirkland is to go with us on the secret expedition. Four Stockbridge Indians are at Easton, who are to act as guides; we expect on our march the Oneidas and friendly Tuscaroras to offer us their assistance.

* This abrupt beginning is accounted for by the fact that all the chaplain's journals previous to this date were burned to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. This statement is made by the editor of the *Philadelphia Gazette*.

JUNE 18th. All the troops in town prepared for marching. Between 5 and 6 o'clock, left the village with all the pack horses, stores, etc. Halted for breakfast. The army reaching the foot of the Blue Mountains, twelve miles from Easton, encamped for the day. Dr. Kirkland, Dr. Evans and myself passed the mountain at a place called Wind Gap. We rode on seven miles from the camp to Brinker's mills, now known as Sullivan's stores, upon account of a large house built here and a great quantity of provisions being stored therein for the use of the forces under Major General Sullivan's command. At the store we met with Captain Luke Broadhead, who with Captain Patterson attends at this post. On the road from Easton to Sullivan's stores nothing is to be seen, but hills, stones, trees and brush, excepting here and there a scattered house and a lake near the mountain, half a mile in length and one-fourth of a mile in breadth, wherein abound a variety of fish.

JUNE 19th. At 7 A. M. the troops reached Sullivan's stores. Halted and drew four days' provisions. Doctors Kirkland, Evans, Hunter and myself rode forward about nine miles to a place called Pokono, lower Smithfield township, and put up for the night at the house of a Mr. Savage, which, exclusive of one, is the last house from Easton to Wyoming, the remainder of the way (thirty odd miles) being uninhabited, except by wild beasts and roving animals. On a mountain between Sullivan's stores and Pokono, we had a fine prospect of nature's works. We discovered the water gap of the Blue Mountains, and hill upon hill surrounding us. The troops encamped at Learn's tavern, Pokono point. Pokono lies from Easton north, about two points west.

SUNDAY, JUNE 20th. Marched this morning in the following order: General Maxwell's brigade in front. Next Colonel Proctor's regiment; then Poor's brigade, afterwards the baggage. Halted at Rum Bridge for the night, six miles from the last inhabited house towards Wyoming. The camp is called Chowder camp, from the commander-in-chief dining this day on chowder made of trout. The artillery soldiers killed two or three rattlesnakes and made, as I understand, a good meal of them. Owing to Pokono mountain and other eminences, found this day's march very fatiguing to the horses belonging to the artillery. Passed a large quantity of pine, poplar, and oak timber, also a quantity of the largest laurel; the ground universally covered with brush by the name of ground oak. No preaching to-day on account of the fatigue of the troops.

MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1779. This day we marched through the Great Swamp and Bear Swamp. The Great Swamp, which is eleven or twelve miles through, contains what is called in our maps the "shades of death," by reason of its darkness; both swamps contain trees of amazing height, viz., hemlock, birch, pine, sugar maple, ash, locust, etc. The roads in some places are tolerable, but in other places exceedingly bad, by reason of which, and a long though necessary march, three of our wagons and the carriages of two field pieces were broken down. This day we proceeded twenty miles and encamped late in the evening at a spot which the commander named Camp Fatigue. The troops were tired and hungry. The road through the Swamps is entirely new, being fitted for the passage of our wagons by Colonels Courtlandt and Spencer at the instance of the commander-in-chief; the way leading to Wyoming, being before only a blind narrow path. The new road does its projectors great credit, and must in a future day be of essential service to the inhabitants of Wyoming and Easton. In the Great Swamp is Locust Hill, where we discovered evident marks of a destroyed Indian village. Tobyhanna and Middle creeks empty into the Tunkhanunk; the Tunkhanunk empties into the head branch of the Lehigh, which, at Easton, empties into the Delaware. The Moosick mountain, through a gap of which we passed in the Great Swamp, is the dividing ridge which separates the Delaware from the Susquehanna.

TUESDAY, JUNE 22. The Army continued at Camp Fatigue until two o'clock, P. M., on account of their great march the preceding day, many of the wagons of the rear guard not getting in until midnight. A bear and a wolf were seen by a New Hampshire sentinel, and several deer by a scouting party, but none were shot. In the forenoon a person arrived who in the month of April last had been taken prisoner near the Minisink by two Tories, two Tuscaroras and seven Delawares; this poor fellow, after being car-

ried through a long tract of country, and experiencing the severest usage in being cruelly tied or bound or otherwise ill treated, had the good fortune when getting within one day's march of Chemung, to make his escape at night when the Indians were asleep; he was obliged, however, to leave his only son and two other boys behind. In relating this circumstance he was greatly affected. For forty days he was almost destitute of provisions, and eighteen or twenty days without seeing a fire. Rattlesnakes and a few small fish were his support till he reached Wyoming. He seemed very sensible of his providential deliverance, and in relating the matter gave God the praise.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 23. The troops prepared themselves for Wyoming, from which we were now distant only seven miles. This day we marched with regularity, and at a distance of three miles came to the place where Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones, with a corporal and four privates were scalped, tomahawked, and speared by the savages, fifteen or twenty in number; two boards are fixed at the spot where Davis and Jones fell, with their names on each, Jones's being besmeared with his own blood. In passing this melancholy vale, an universal gloom appeared on the countenances of both officers and men without distinction, and from the eyes of many, as by a sudden impulse, dropt the sympathizing tear. Colonel Proctor, out of respect to the deceased, ordered the music to play the tune of Roslin Castle, the soft and moving notes of which, together with what so forcibly struck the eye, tended greatly to fill our breasts with pity, and to renew our grief for our worthy departed friends and brethren. The words of the celebrated Young, occurred on this occasion to my mind:

"Life's little stage is a small eminence,
Inch high above the grave, that home of man
Where dwells the multitude."

Getting within two miles of Wyoming, we had from a fine eminence an excellent view of the settlement. It is founded on each side of the eastern branch of the Susquehannah, which with the western branch unite at Northumberland, from which place Wilkes-barre, the county town, is distant sixty-five miles. It lies in a beautiful valley, surrounded by very high ground, the people inhabit up and down the banks of the river and very little back. There were in the settlement last summer a court house, a jail, and many dwelling houses, all of which excepting a few scattered ones were burnt by the savages after the battle of July 3, 1778, which took place near Forty Fort. At present there are a few log houses newly built, a fort, one or two stockaded redoubts and a row of barracks; the settlement consists of six or more small townships. At the battle before spoken of about two hundred and twenty were massacred within the space of an hour and a half, more than one hundred of whom were married men; their widows afterwards had all their property taken from them and several of them with their children were made prisoners. It is said Queen Esther, of the Six Nations, who was with the enemy, scalped and tomahawked with her own hands in cool blood eight or ten persons. The Indian women in general were guilty of the greatest barbarities. Since this dreadful stroke they have visited the settlement several times, each time killing, or rather torturing to death, more or less. Many of their bones continue yet unburied where the main action happened. Wyoming is by Connecticut, styled Westmoreland county, and has for a long time been under the jurisdiction of that state. How the matter will be settled by them and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, must be determined by those who are better acquainted with the dispute than I am.

THURSDAY, JUNE 24. Was introduced to Colonel Zebulon Butler, the gentlemen of whom much has been said on account of his persevering conduct in opposing the savages. Had an interview with Mr. Ludwigg, baker-in-chief for the army, who was sent on from Easton to this post, to prepare bread for the troops; owing to his *activity*, a bake-house was built in eleven days, and a large quantity of bread was in readiness for delivery on our arrival. An inhabitant showed me an Indian weapon called a death mall. The handle was unwieldy, the ball about the bigness of a three pounder, curiously cut out of a maple knot. The use of this instrument is to knock people on the scull with, when overtaken in a chase. Being Saint John's day, a number of Free-masons met at Colonel Proctor's

marquee ; at his request (though not onë of the fraternity myself) read for them the Rev. Dr. Smith's excellent sermon on Masonry.

SATURDAY, JUNE 26. Between ten and eleven o'clock last night there was a small alarm ; two Indians were discovered advancing towards some of our sentries. The sentinels fired on them, but the savages escaped. Captain Jehoiakim with two other Stock-bridge Indians and five soldiers of Colonel Cilley's regiment were sent out on a scout. Dined with the officers of artillery.

A rock (sic) which was caught the preceding evening, on the table, which measured two feet nine inches and weighed twenty-seven pounds.

SUNDAY, JUNE 27. Agreeably to yesterday's orders, preached at ten o'clock, A. M., near the fort to General Hand's brigade and Colonel Proctor's regiment ; General Sullivan with his suite were present. Captain Jehoiakim returned ; he met with no success. This day, with the three preceding, exceedingly sultry.

MONDAY, JUNE 28, P. M. News arrived of a family near Carn's Tavern, between this and Easton, being part of them killed and part of them taken prisoners by the savages.

TUESDAY, JUNE 29. Early this morning the account we had yesterday was confirmed by the arrival of Mr. Steel, D. C. G. of issues, who says that of the family, three women were carried off, and that a son of Dr. Ledlies was scalped and tomahawked. The few scattered inhabitants were in great distress moving for safety to Sullivan's Stores leaving the principal part of their property behind them. Upwards of thirty boats loaded with provisions arrived this day from Sunbury. Orders came out for the execution of Lawrence Miller and Michael Rosebury, in the following words : "The sentence of death passed upon Lawrence Miller and Michael Rosebury by the court martial, whereof Brigadier General Maxwell was president, and approved of by the Commander-in-chief at Easton in the orders of the sixth instant, is directed to be executed upon the said Lawrence Miller and Michael Rosebury, the day after to-morrow in the afternoon, between the hours of two and four o'clock." The orders of the sixth instant referred to, are : "Lawrence Miller and Michael Rosebury, inhabitants of Sussex county, State of New Jersey, being tried by a general court martial, held at Easton, on the third instant, of which Brigadier General Maxwell was president, for enticing soldiers of the American army to desert to the enemy, and engaging their assistance for that purpose, the court are of opinion, they are guilty of the charges exhibited, and do unanimously sentence them to suffer death. The Commander-in-chief approves the sentence of the court, but postpones the execution of it for a few days. He at the same time returns his thanks to Lieutenant McConnell, and the other evidences, for their zeal and address in detecting the offenders. P. M.—Mr. Kirkland accompanied me in paying these two unfortunate men a visit ; found them ignorant and stupid. Our endeavors were upon this occasion to open unto them the nature of man's fall, and the dreadful situation of those who died in a state of impenitency and unbelief.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30. We went to see the prisoners ; Miller appeared much softened, distressed, and anxious about his future state ; Rosebury said but little ; I enlarged particularly at this time on their awful condition by nature and practice, their amazing guilt in the sight of an holy God ; the spirituality of the divine law ; the necessity of an interest in Jesus Christ ; their own inability to obtain salvation, and the great importance of a due preparation for another world.

THURSDAY, JULY 1. Before breakfast visited the convicts ; spoke to them on the realities of heaven and hell, and the justice and mercy of God ; Miller appeared still more penitent, and freely confessed the sentence of death passed against him to be just. The other excused himself and insisted much on the innocence of his life. Mr. Kirkland and myself waited on the Commander-in-chief, in order to recommend Miller to mercy. His Excellency was so obliging as to inform us that it was his purpose, upon account of Miller's wife and numerous family, his decent behavior on trial, the recommendation of the court and former good character, to pardon him under the gallows, fifteen minutes after

the execution of Rosebury ; and requested that it might remain a secret with us until it was publicly known. P. M.—At the hour appointed the prisoners were taken under guard to the place of execution, attended by Messrs. Kirkland, Hunter and myself. In walking to the gallows we of course conversed with them on the most serious subjects. Upon arriving there, the military being under arms, and a number of the inhabitants present, it fell to my lot to address the spectators, after which Mr. Kirkland prayed. Rosebury was then turned off ; he died to all appearance the same stupid man he was at the first of our visiting him. Poor Miller was much agitated at the sight, expecting every moment the same punishment. He was employed in commending himself to God—upon hearing his pardon from the commander-in-chief read, he was greatly affected. On recovering himself he expressed the utmost thankfulness for his great deliverance. The scene throughout was very affecting.

FRIDAY, JULY 2, P. M. An experiment by the General's permission, was made by Colonel Proctor, with a grasshopper on board one of the bateaux, with a view of trying the nature of shot on the water should it be necessary when going up the river. Four rounds of canister and eight of round, were discharged, which fully proved the utility of the plan ; it plainly appearing that the enemy's force, consisting of the greatest number of boats, would be hereby totally frustrated in their design of impeding our progress. The sight was extremely gratifying. Notwithstanding the axletree of the cannon on which the grasshopper was mounted was as wide as the bateau, yet the bateau was not in the least injured by the experiment.

SUNDAY, JULY 4. Ten o'clock. Preached to the brigade and regiment of artillery ; being the anniversary of the declaration of American Independence, took notice of the same in my sermon. Text, Psalm 32 : 10, " But he that trusteth in the Lord, mercy shall encompass him about." The discourse was concluded nearly as follows : Politically as a nation are we exhorted to trust in the Lord. God hath hitherto blessed our arms and smiled on our infant rising states. Recollect, my brethren, the commencement of our bloody contest ; pursue in your minds the difficulties we already have had to encounter. Be not ye afraid of the insolent foe. " Remember Jehovah, who is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, sons and your daughters, your wives and your houses." Provided we fear God and are publicly as well as individually honest ; what have we now to alarm us ? American exertions have hitherto been crowned with success ; let us still under the banners of liberty, and with a Washington for our head, go on from conquering to conquer. Hark ! what voice is that which I hear ? It is the voice of encouragement ; permit me for your animation to repeat it distinctly : " Our fathers trusted and the Lord did deliver them ; they cried unto Him and were delivered ; they trusted in Him and were not confounded." Even so may it be with us, for the sake of Christ Jesus, who came to give Freedom to the world.

MONDAY, JULY 5th. An Express arrived from Sunbury, announcing the destruction of nine persons out of twelve, by the savages at Munsey, as they were working in a field. Took a view of the remains of Forty Fort. At General Poor's, where a large party dined to-day, two skulls were shown us which were picked up near the field of battle, and with a variety of other human bones had lain unburied for twelve months past. From the appearance of the skulls which were most shockingly gashed and bruised, it is evident that the poor creatures must have suffered amazingly. Towards evening two soldiers reported that they saw four Indians about three-quarters of a mile from General Poor's encampment. Two small parties were sent out to make discoveries.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 7th. A soldier of Colonel Shreeve's regiment going out a hunting, after getting about three miles espied an Indian. The Indian being on the opposite side of a deep run fired on him and shot the sleeve of his coat. The soldier having run a small distance, looking behind, and saw two other savages who had joined the first ; he then retreated in haste to the camp and reported the occurrence to the General. In consequence of which three parties were ordered to be in readiness on the ensuing morning to scout different ways.

THURSDAY, JULY 8th, A. M. Generals Hand and Maxwell, Colonels Proctor, Butler

and Shreeve, with the number of other gentlemen, agreeably to proposal, rode up to Colonel Courtlandts, where, being joined by him, General Poor, Major Fisk* and others, and having the benefit of a proper escort of light infantry, we proceeded up the river four miles further to take a view of the noted place where the battle was fought July 3, 1778, between Colonel Butler, with his Tories and savages on one side, five hundred in number, and our Colonel Butler, on the other with three hundred of the inhabitants, who had formed themselves into militia companies, having nothing but bad muskets without bayonets. Our people, sallying out of Forty Fort, proceeded to Wintermute's Fort, where the enemy, forming their left and extending their right quite to a swamp, were prepared to receive the defenders of their country. Our Colonel Butler, having judiciously drawn up his men in line of battle to oppose the barbarians, a severe firing ensued; six or seven rounds were in a few moments discharged on both sides, when the enemy's centre, fallen a few paces back and a part of their right filing off, our people supposing that they had intention of surrounding them, instantly got confused and notwithstanding the spirited exertions of their Colonel, a retreat took place and ended in a general rout, which gave rise to a most horrid scene of butchery. Out of our party only one hundred escaped; among these was Colonel Butler. From many circumstances it appeared Wintermute's Fort proved treacherous, old Mr. Wintermute with all his sons and about twenty-five others who composed the garrison, having on the enemy's approach delivered up the fort, without the least opposition, the major part of whom immediately joined the enemy and took up arms against their friends. Moreover it was alleged that they corresponded with the enemy many-months before. The place where the battle was fought may with propriety be called "a place of skulls," as the bodies of the slain were not buried, their bones were scattered in every direction all around; a great number of which for a few days past having been picked up, were decently interred by our people. We passed a grave where seventy-five skeletons were buried; also a spot where fourteen wretched creatures, who having surrendered upon being promised mercy, were nevertheless made immediately to sit down in a ring, and after the savages had worked themselves up to the extreme of fury in their usual manner, by dancing, singing, halloaing, etc., they proceeded deliberately to tomahawk the poor fellows one after another. Fifteen surrendered and composed the ring. Upon the Indians beginning their work of cruelty, one of them providentially escaped, who reported the matter to Colonel Butler, who upon his return to Wyoming, went to the spot and found the bones of the fourteen lying as human bodies in an exact circle. It is remarkable, that on this spot grows a kind of grass different from all other grass around it. The bones of seven or eight other persons were found nearly consumed, they having been burned to death. Colonel Butler related the following occurrence. On a small island in the Susquehannah below the field of action, Giles Slocum, having reached thus far in safety, concealed himself in the bushes, where he was witness to the meeting of John and Henry Pensell, brothers. John was a Tory and Henry was a whig. Henry, having lost his gun, upon seeing his brother John, fell upon his knees and begged him to spare his life; upon which John called him a damned rebel. John then went deliberately to a log, got on the same, and began to load his piece, while Henry was upon his knees imploring him as a brother not to kill him. "I will," said he, "go with you and serve you as long as I live, if you will spare my life." John loaded his gun. Henry continued, "You won't kill your brother, will you?" "Yes," replied the monster, "I will as soon as look at you, you are a damned rebel." He then shot him and afterwards went up and struck him four or five times with a tomahawk and scalped him. Immediately after one of the enemy coming to him said, "What have you been doing, have you killed your brother?" "Yes," said he, "for he was a damned rebel." The other replied, "I have a great mind to serve you in the same manner." They went off together. In the evening, Slocum made his escape. Slocum is a man of reputation, and his word was never disputed in the neighborhood where he is known. The family of the Pensells came from lower Smithfield on the Delaware, twenty miles above Easton. Henry's widow and seven children are still at Wyoming, in very low circumstances. From the best intelligence collected between seventy and eighty of the butchering foe were killed. Colonel Denison,

* Maj. Fish, probably.

retreated to Forty Fort that night, next day capitulated. The savages, notwithstanding the capitulation, plundered the inhabitants of everything that came in their way; sparing neither woman nor child. Good God! who, after such repeated instances of cruelty, can ever be totally reconciled to that government which divesting itself of the feelings of humanity, has influenced the savage tribes to kill and wretchedly to torture to death, persons of each sex and of every age—the prattling infant, the blooming maid and persons of venerable years, have alike fallen victims to its vindictive rage. On the road to Wintermute's fort, we took notice of very high Timothy grass. The earth in general is very rich, the whole settlement from its appearance is capable of producing the finest wheat, and every other kind of grain.

FRIDAY, JULY 9th. Upwards of fifty boats arrived from Sunbury, loaded with stores and guarded by the Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment, commanded by Colonel Hubley. The small boats, being unloaded, set off again under the directions of Captain Cummings, to proceed down the Susquehannah for further necessities.

SATURDAY, JULY 10th. Early this morning General Hand with his aid-de-camp, escorted by a company of light horse, set out for Harris's ferry, one hundred and thirty miles distant, in order to hurry on provisions, the detention of which, owing to the unaccountable neglect of those who have the superintendence of the same, has occasioned the army to continue at this post for such a length of time, and bids fair, without the spirited exertions of some superior officer, to prevent in a great measure our accomplishing the desirable end in view. Colonel Dayton, returning from New Jersey, brought with him several newspapers, the perusal of which was a great refreshment after such a long political drouth. Colonel Read's regiment of General Poor's Brigade marched to Sullivan's Stores, with a view of mending the roads and escorting the wagons which are to come on from thence and Easton. An experiment was made towards evening on board of a batteau, by discharging several shells from a five and one half inch howitzer. It appeared that great benefit may be derived therefrom, without the least injury befalling the batteau. One of the shells was thrown nine hundred yards, and upon its bursting exhibited to the spectators a pleasing sight.

SUNDAY, JULY 11th. Raining all day, which prevented the chaplains from officiating. A letter was received by express from General Clinton, dated head of Lake Otsego, announcing that twenty-five Oneida warriors had joined him, and that the hostile Indians were collecting together in their own country where they meant to oppose us; also that a detachment of three hundred had been sent out to distress and harass our army as much as possible on the march.

MONDAY, JULY 12th. In consequence of the above intelligence, one hundred and fifty men with a field piece were ordered to reinforce Colonel Read.

TUESDAY, JULY 13th. A letter was received at headquarters the preceding evening from General Hand, requesting that the large batteaux might be sent down the river, as the boats there were not sufficient. They were accordingly sent away this morning under the direction of Major Conway, with a detachment of infantry and Captain Rice, of the artillery, with two field pieces and an howitzer.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 14th. Last night thirty-three of the German regiment deserted under the plea of their time being out. They went off properly armed with drum and fife. Their route being discovered by a friendly Indian, who was dispatched for the purpose, a detachment of fifty soldiers on horseback were ordered to pursue them.

FRIDAY, JULY 16th. News arrived of the detachment having taken all the deserters except four or five.

SATURDAY, JULY 17th. We learnt that the Indians had been committing some outrages on the western branches of the Susquehannah.

SUNDAY, JULY 18th. A scouting party, consisting of a few soldiers and the four Stockbridge Indians, returned. They proceeded as far as Wyoming, discovered many tracks, but saw none of the enemy.

MONDAY, JULY 19th. Colonel Cowperthwaite arrived from Philadelphia. On his way he inspected the provisions at Sullivan's Stores. If those on the way from Sunbury should

not turn out better, of which he was fearful, our expedition must be attended with many inconveniences. Mr. Bond also got in with a number of horses for the army. Likewise a party with twenty-nine of the German deserters, four being yet missing.

TUESDAY, JULY 20th. Accounts are received of the enemy's plundering New Haven, burning Fairfield and committing many other outrages in Connecticut.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 21st. This morning an express arrived with the following glorious intelligence from the main army. That on Thursday night last, General Wayne with part of his light infantry, surprised and took the whole of the garrison of Stony Point, with all their stores, mortars, howitzers, tents, baggage, etc., without the loss of more than four or five privates. The garrison consisting of English, Scotch, and new levies, with two or three companies of grenadiers, besides artillery, in the whole about six hundred men. In the evening a number of wagons from Easton arrived loaded with stores, also an express who had a letter from Colonel Stroud to some militia captain dated this morning, two o'clock, informing that a number of Indians were at Minisink plundering and murdering the inhabitants; the colonel writes to the captain for assistance, as he expected they would in the course of the day be at or near his house, as they were bending their course that way.

SATURDAY, JULY 24th. General Hand arrived with one hundred and twelve loaded boats. On the river they appeared beautiful as they approached the village in proper divisions. Those with field pieces on board discharged several rounds for joy, which in the surrounding woods produced a pleasing echo. The Commander-in-Chief in public orders returned his cordial thanks to General Hand, Major Conway, Captains Rice and Porter, and others for their great exertions in thus bringing forward the stores of the army with such expedition. Also expressed his grateful acknowledgments to Commissary General Steele for his attention and activity in the business. The troops were directed to be in readiness to march on Wednesday morning next. The deserters from the German regiment, having been tried by a general court martial whereof General Poor was President, having been found guilty, were sentenced as follows, viz.: five to be shot, two corporals to be reduced to the ranks, and the remaining twenty-two to run the gauntlet through General Maxwell's and General Hand's brigades and the regiment of artillery; the respective punishments to take place on Monday next at four P. M.

SUNDAY, JULY 25th. No preaching, it being a very rainy day. P. M.—Visited the criminals. The whole appeared attentive to what was said, but very ignorant of those things which appertain to religion. In the orders issued this day is laid down the line of march for the army from this place to Tioga. General Hand's brigade, which is to be considered as the light corps, is to move in three columns and keep something less than a mile in advance of the main body. General Maxwell will advance by his left, then General Poor by his right, the flank guard on the right to consist of a field officer and two hundred men in two divisions, the flank guard on the left to consist of a captain and sixty men in two divisions. The pack horses and cattle to follow in the rear of General Poor's brigade. The rear guard will consist of a regiment complete, taken alternately from Maxwell's and Poor's brigades. Those of Colonel Proctor's regiment who are not required with the artillery in the boats are to march in the rear of Maxwell's brigade and form on his right. The main army will keep as nearly abreast of the boats as possible; the horns in the boats must be frequently sounded to give notice of their situation. A captain and sixty men will advance a mile in front of the boats on the west side of the river to scour the country and give notice of ambushes. In case of their being attacked by a superior force they are to retreat across the river, for which purpose four light boats will keep ahead of the fleet, nearly abreast of the party, to transport them across the river in case of necessity; in these boats there will be a trusty officer and twelve armed soldiers, who are to be answerable for their conduct. Colonel Proctor will take part with his pieces of artillery, which will be fixed in the boats and have the direction of the whole fleet, he will take such officers and men with him as he shall find necessary. When a warm firing commences against the light party on the west side of the river the armed boats will immediately proceed to the place to cover the party by their fire.

Should a firing begin with the main army, Colonel Proctor will wait for orders ; he is also directed to establish signals to notify the fleet how to conduct in case of attack or other emergencies. The brigadiers must see that a covered wagon be filled with ammunition and put into proper boats for their respective brigades.

MONDAY, JULY 26th. Visited the criminals, found them greatly dejected on account of their approaching dissolution ; orders were issued that by reason of the unsettled state of the weather their execution be postponed until to morrow. P. M., 5 o'clock. Read a Philadelphia paper giving a particular account of the enemy's burning Norwalk, the Saw Pitts, etc.

TUESDAY, JULY 27th. Visited the convicts twice ; in discussing with them upon a future state they appeared much affected and very penitent — represented their situation to General Sullivan, who told me that in consequence of a petition received from them he had ordered a board of general officers to sit. On the issuing of this day's orders the following sentence was read with pleasure by myself and the other chaplains : " The Commander-in-Chief having received a petition from the prisoners of the German battalion now under sentence, manifesting their consciousness of the crimes for which they have been condemned, and promising in case of pardon to distinguish themselves in future as brave and obedient soldiers, which petition being laid before a board of general officers in hopes that an act of lenity may have a proper effect on their future conduct as well as that of others, they have unanimously advised a pardon of all the offenders without discrimination. The General, wishing to extend mercy where it can be done without injury to the public service, has accordingly consented to pardon each and every one of the offenders tried and sentenced by a general court martial, whereof Brigadier General Poor was president, and directs that they be immediately released and restored to their duty. Lest this unparalleled act of lenity should be abused, and any soldier take the same unjustifiable measures hereafter, the Commander-in-Chief absolutely declares he will not in future pardon a deserter, or one who, though his time be expired, shall quit his corps without a proper discharge from his commanding officer. " Instantly after the above was made known to the criminals, I called in to see them, and found them calm, composed and thankful ; agreeably to the above order the whole twenty-nine were dismissed the main guard and joined their regiment.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 28th. News arrived of a large body of Indians having drawn about one hundred and forty of our militia stationed on the Delaware, at a place called Lackawack, above the Minisink, into an ambuscade, only eighteen or twenty of the party escaping, all the rest fell a prey to savage barbarity. This unfortunate affair happened on the 22d instant. Two or three field officers, with several captains, lieutenants and ensigns were among the missing. Colonel Read arrived from Sullivan's Stores with his detachment and ninety loaded wagons. P. M.—Walked to the park of artillery, on my way down saw a note from Shawnee directed to Dr. Ellmore, requesting his attendance on a man who, a few miles distant from this place, was shot both in his side and thigh by some Indians or painted Tories, but had the good fortune to get safe to his family ; one he knew to be a white man, an acquaintance of his, who many months ago had joined the enemy.

" Ah, why will kings forget that they are men,
And men that they are brethren—why delight
In human sacrifice ? Why burst the ties
Of nature that should knit their souls together
In one soft bond of unity and love."

THURSDAY, JULY 29th. Agreeably to previous determination, the bodies of Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones were removed from the place of their interment to the proper burying ground. The brotherhood met at five o'clock, and marching by the General's marque, had the pleasure of his company. Colonels Proctor's and Hubley's regiments, with drums, fifes and the band of music, accompanied them. Reaching the graves, an exceedingly heavy shower of rain prevented the delivery of a discourse designed for the occasion, however a short prayer was made, the bodies were interred in Masonic form, and three volleys of small arms fired. This evening General Sullivan received a letter

giving a more favorable account of the Lackawack battle, making the killed and missing between forty and fifty. Orders were this day given for everything to be gotten in readiness for the marching of the army on Saturday morning.

FRIDAY, JULY 30th. A letter was received by the General, dated yesterday at Northumberland, seven o'clock A. M., from Colonel Cook, informing him that the day before the enemy made themselves masters of Freeland's Fort upon terms of capitulation, viz. : "The men to remain prisoners of war, and they with the fort to be plundered by the Indians, the women to go free." The number of the enemy before the fort were two hundred and fifty, one-third of them were British troops, under the command of Captain McDonald, with a *corps de reserve* of one hundred men. At Northumberland, which is only twenty miles distant from the fort, there were only one hundred and fifty men to make a stand for the protection of the women and children, it being impossible to get them off; when the express came away they expected to be attacked every hour; the enemy had collected all the cattle and abundance of plunder of every kind. In an action after the capitulation, Captain Hawkins Boon and fourteen volunteers were killed and scalped and a few wounded.

SATURDAY, JULY 31st. This morning every department of the army was very busy in preparing for a movement. About one o'clock P. M. the whole marched from Wyoming agreeably to the orders of the 25th. The fleet, under the command of Colonel Proctor, consisting of one hundred and twenty boats, appeared most beautifully on the river; in passing the fort there was a mutual salute which gave universal satisfaction. The country we came through to-day, though generally a wilderness, affords a pleasing prospect of great improvement in a future day; we passed several plantations, no houses of any kind standing, being all burnt by the enemy; from the road we occasionally saw the river, which excited agreeable sensations. Crossing Lackawanick creek, which is in breadth about sixty yards and fordable all times of the year; it empties into the Susquehannah; encamped for the night near the same on a beautiful plain at Lackawanick, having marched from Wilkesbarre ten miles, and reaching the plain between the hours of five and six. Our course this day N. N. E. The light corps, which agreeably to general orders were to march in three columns, were by General Hand arranged as follows:—Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment and Captain Spalding's independent company advanced by platoons from the centre of a line formed by them, and constituted a column to proceed on the main road. The German regiment and Captain Schott's independent corps from the right of the said regiment, formed a column and marched on the right of the Eleventh, having their right flank covered by one-third of the light infantry of the Eleventh and Schott's riflemen in Indian file. Two-thirds of the light infantry of the Eleventh and Captain Spalding's riflemen marched in Indian file on the left flank, and answer the purpose of a third column; each column and flanking party had proportioned to their strength respectively a small party advanced in front, the same to be observed if possible until our arrival at Tioga.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1st. The preceding night very rainy and at times uncommonly heavy, felt very cold and uncomfortable, which may be attributed in a great measure to sleeping on the ground and getting a great deal wet. General Hand this morning issued directions to be strictly observed by the light corps under his command in case of being attacked on the march, concluding with the following expressive language: "The Brigadier begs leave to assure the light troops that experience has taught him that maintaining a good countenance and a little perseverance, which from their known valor, he has every reason to expect will ensure success against the kind of enemy they have to oppose, and that turning their backs, let them be pressed ever so closely, will end in their utter ruin." Between the hours of two and three P. M. the fleet arrived, which, owing to many unforeseen difficulties, could not reach the Lackawanick sooner; two boats, one loaded with ammunition, the other with provisions, were sunk; the ammunition and provisions were saved. At three o'clock P. M. our line of march recommenced, which, as we had all our horses and cattle collected, must have exhibited a grand spectacle had there been any disposed to take a view of the whole. The army being obliged to proceed in Indian file,

and the pack horses only, judged to be about two thousand in number, must have formed, according to the opinion of many of the officers, a line of at least six miles. This day we marched seven miles, and arriving about dusk at Quialutimunck, we pitched our tents for the night, contiguous to several fine springs on a considerably level spot surrounded by mountains and close by the river. Our course this day principally N. The road we marched over was exceedingly bad ; we passed two places called the Narrows, previous to our reaching the first (which are one mile in length) ; a very great curiosity presented itself to view, viz., a cascade or falling spring. The water descended in great abundance and amazingly rapid down a rock, interspersed with chasms, about eighty feet high ; the ear was agreeably stricken by the constant sound created by the descending water ; the distance between the first and second Narrows is three miles, which are one and a half miles long. The riding was much better than at the first Narrows, which was very stony and in several places so sloping as to have rendered it unsafe to keep on horseback. The soil of this country in general is loose and rich, abounding in trees of almost every kind, which, together with the high and thick brush, rendered our journeying rather tedious. In casting my eyes upon hills and mountains, some of which were imagined to be two, three and four hundred feet in height, my thoughts were agreeably led from nature's works to contemplate on nature's God. May it be my constant wish and aim to devote myself to the service of Him whose wisdom, power and goodness shine so conspicuous amidst all created objects. The fleet generally kept abreast of us, and our course being mostly on the water's edge, we had frequently the opportunity of exchanging words. They all arrived timely without any detriment at Quialutimunck. At Quialutimunck there was a few years ago an Indian town. The pasture ground at this encampment is very excellent, consisting of the highest Timothy grass I ever saw.

MONDAY, AUGUST 2d. Orders were this day issued for a continuance on the present ground, by reason of many of the pack horses not arriving till this morning. Colonel Cilley's regiment being in the rear to protect and bring on everything, did not arrive till two hours after sunrise ; he gave an account of his having had a very tedious night ; several horses gave out, the packs kept continually giving way and a considerable number of flour kegs burst, and the flour was lost. These with other reasons induced the General to prevent a movement until to-morrow morning. This being the anniversary of my nativity, grant, O God, that as my moments fly apace, I may by the assistance of thy Holy Spirit double my diligence to make my calling and election sure.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 3rd. The light troops began their march at six o'clock in the morning, the main body at seven. The major part of the way we met with trifling difficulties ; we had to encounter a few bad places, such as swamps, steep hills and thickets ; however in comparison with Sunday's march, it deserves the appellation of excellent. On an exceedingly high spot we had the pleasure of viewing many adjacent mountains ; in two or three places for a considerable way the woods were open, the earth in general fine, trees stately and of various sorts ; among the rest are interspersed the sugar maple and birch. We crossed several beautiful purling streams or creeks, viz. : Buttermilk Run, Tunkhunnunk, and a few smaller ones. Buttermilk Run, about forty yards below where we crossed it, falls off a rock or rocks fifty feet in height, which goes by the name of Buttermilk Falls ; so called on account of the water in its rapid descent appearing as white as the whitest buttermilk. Tunkhunnunk is a beautiful creek eight poles in breadth. The place where we crossed it, about three-quarters of a mile from the Susquehannah, into which it empties, was very rapid. The path along which we came and on each side of it as far as we could see, wild grass had grown in abundance. Some places, owing to the herbage, emitted a most fragrant smell, and we frequently had the pleasure of viewing flowers of various hues. Hazelnuts were ripening for a long tract of country in amazing quantities, and beyond a doubt nature has been equally kind in causing these wilds to abound with other things delicious to the taste. Several deer were seen, both by the officers and men ; one came running close by us ; none dared to fire, it being contrary to orders. Two privates in the right column, having each shot a fawn were put under guard as it occasioned a small alarm, and might if not prevented be attended with bad

consequences. The country all along abounds with snakes, particularly the rattlesnake and blacksnake. At two o'clock P. M., we arrived at Tunkhunnunk, and encamped on the banks of the Susquehannah, about a mile from where we crossed the creek of the same name. The fleet got up between the hours of three and four. This day we marched twelve miles, course N. N. W.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4th. The light troops marched at five o'clock in the morning, and the main body at six. Soon after we set out we entered upon the third place since we left Wyoming called the Narrows, a mile and a half in length, a very bad, stony passage. These Narrows or defiles are on the west bounded by the river, which upon that account when the water is very high cannot well be travelled over. On the east they are bounded by exceedingly lofty and seemingly impassable mountains. Getting clear of this defile we had to rise a monstrous hill, very steep, with a narrow pathway, for in case a horse should miss his step he must fall at least one hundred and fifty feet; the spectacle was horrid. Having surmounted this difficulty we had the pleasure of marching through a good deal of open wood, though one or two disagreeable swamps opposed us in our passage; in fine, many of yesterday's observations are applicable to this. Eight miles from Tunkhunnunk is a delightful creek called Masshappen or Massappe, in breadth seven rods; we crossed it near its mouth. The wilderness thereabouts goes by its name. For two miles after we passed this creek we marched over a fine level tract, and then entered upon another defile not near so tedious as the former. Arriving at a place called Black Walnut Bottom, our tents were pitched for the night on the river bank. The main body encamped on a tract formerly improved by one Vanderlip; the light troops farther on, where one Williamson held a plantation. A creek, viz., Machapendaarre, ran between the two encampments. Our march this day was thirteen miles. Our course in general, northwest. At the bottom of the steep hill was an excellent stream of water. On this, as well as on the preceding days, we had several flying reports concerning the enemy though no real discoveries were made. Towards evening our fisherman Hansell returned from his flanking manœuvre and introduced himself with a good string of fish, on which having refreshed ourselves we retired soldierlike to our hard beds and devoted the night to invigorating sleep. "A contented mind and a good conscience will make a man happy in all conditions."

Hail universal Lord! be bounteous still
To give us only good; and if the night
Have gathered ought of evil or concealed
Disperse it, as now light dispels the dark."

THURSDAY, AUGUST 5th. By reason of the boats not arriving till late this morning the light troops did not march till half past eight o'clock, the main body their usual time after. We soon entered another defile or narrows three-quarters of a mile in length, bounded as the other defiles, though the mountains on the east appeared rather more perpendicular and lofty. Leaving the narrows we ascended a steep but short hill and travelled over a considerable open part of the country, the land in some places very indifferent, in others rich and fit for meadow. About two miles from Black Walnut Bottom, we crossed a small run or creek named Tuscaroge, took a particular view of the two places where the enemy last fall attacked Colonel Hartley's regiment on its return from Tioga. Both of them were as favorable for action as the regiment could have wished. We passed by a skull of one of our men who was then killed, hanging on a small tree. After we left this height, having marched over a low and swampy piece of ground we came to Wyalusing mountain. The ascent was gradual, at the top we had a pleasing view of the Susquehannah; its form is rather more than semi-circular, flowing around a large tract or wilderness called the Horse Shoe, which every one who sees it will confess to be rightly named.

From the top of the mountain the plains of Wyalusing settlement are also visible, the descent of the mountain is not nearly so gradual as the ascent. The mountain is two miles over; on reaching the foot we entered a thicket containing the largest trees my eyes

ever beheld of the sycamore or button wood kind, being in circumference, take one with another, between twenty and thirty feet, and in diameter between nine and twelve feet. Notwithstanding these trees, the bottom is called Sugar Bottom, on account of the Sugar Maple. Along this bottom there grows plenty of a root called sweet Sicily, of a similar taste with anise-seed and very useful. On the mountain and in the bottom we saw several spots where the Indians had encamped; fresh Indian tracks were discovered and one of their canoes was taken up by Mr. Lodge, also, by some of our soldiers, a raft with a pair of moccasins. An engagement was expected throughout the day, but granting that the enemy had a fair view of us, of which we had not the least doubt, they suffered us to pass unmolested, notwithstanding the many advantageous posts they might have occupied in annoying us. From the foot of the mountain to Wyalusing, the distance is one and a half miles. Wyalusing, which we reached in good season, consists of about one thousand acres of clear land, amazingly fertile and containing beds of extraordinary fine English grass. Since the present contest the town, which was inhabited by Moravian Indians, has been partly destroyed by our people and partly by the Indians. It contains upwards of eighty good square log houses, and a fine ornamented Moravian church in the centre with a bell. The minister resided in the town, there was also a tavern and other public buildings; all of which without exception were demolished or rafted down the Susquehannah. No sign of even the smallest hut was left standing. These Indians moved off with their families towards the Ohio. On this fine open plain, like a bed of down, the main army encamped. The light troops marched a mile further on, contiguous to an excellent spring, the place abounding with good pasture and distant from the river about half a mile where we made our fires and took up our abode for the night. This day's march was nine miles, course north, 80° west, or northwest by west. Wyalusing plains are exactly fifty miles from Wyoming, agreeably to the actual survey of Mr. Lodge. The country hereabouts is excellent for hunting.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 6th. This day the army halted, a party of thirty men from the light corps with a commissioned officer were sent out on a scout and returned without making any discoveries. Towards evening I rode to headquarters, where information had been received of four hundred and fifty British troops from Canada having joined the Indians, also a great body of savages from that quarter having been implored so to do by Colonel Brant, a devoted servant of the man who bears the title of the "Defender of the Faith." May the Lord give him that faith which worketh by love. Visited Colonel Proctor on board the "Adventure," and felt happy in finding all the fleet safely arrived and moored along the shore of Wyalusing plains. The evening rainy, which continued almost the whole night. Through the country the nights and mornings are generally foggy; when we were in Wyoming, and since we left it I scarcely remember seeing any clear sunshine until considerably late in the day.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 7th. By reason of the rain the army continued at Wyalusing. We hear that Indians had been doing mischief on the west branch of the Susquehannah near Northumberland. Nothing new occurred among us except that one or two scouting parties were sent out who returned without making any discoveries. Wyalusing belonged to one Job Childeway an Indian, a friend of our cause. Indian Job died last winter. Many handsome things are spoken of him, which make his manners to be

"By strangers honored, and by strangers mourned."

SUNDAY, AUGUST 8th. The light troops marched at five o'clock in the morning and the main body at six. We crossed Wyalusing creek, a fine stream, where it is eighty feet wide in batteaux. Having soon afterwards ascended a long and high mountain, which consisted of a good deal of miserable but some rich land, we found our march tolerably agreeably as the woods were not as thick as common. The descent of the mountain was very rough and steep. We then passed along a short defile, leaving which our course was for a considerable distance along the banks of the river through a gloomy thicket. Having waded through the creek and descended another steep place, we entered upon another defile rather longer and more tedious than the former one. After this we soon arrived at

Standing Stone Flats, distant from Wyalusing ten miles. Here is plenty of good land, fit for meadow and for raising wheat and other grain. It was formerly settled by a few families, some of whom have since been so villainous as to join the savages. Just upon entering these flats, I saw the stone from which they take their name. It is upon the opposite shore, on the cap of the water with which it is usually surrounded. Its height is twenty feet. Its breadth fourteen feet. Its thickness two and a half feet. At the back of it is a large rock forming more than a semicircle upon which it is supposed a considerable tenement might be erected. Passing then through another thicket, we came to a third defile, the worst narrow Passage, on account of stone and roughness, which we have met with since we left Wyoming. Surmounting this difficulty and passing over a tract of exceedingly fine bottom, we arrived at Weesauking or Rush Meadow Creek, a stream both narrow and shallow. Not far from this, on the banks of the Susquehannah, we encamped for the night. The ground was level and very good, but we could find no spring water. Distance to-day thirteen and a half miles, our course northwest. Captain Bush having gathered a few wild gooseberries, gave me one to taste; they are exactly similar to the tame kind. I plucked some wild pinks, and saw a wild tulip, and also plenty of crab apples. Across the river, and upon an island, we had the pleasure of viewing a large flock of wild ducks; contrary to orders to fire, or we might have had an excellent supper. This country abounds also in turkeys, which, in their flight near us make us often wish for a repeal of the general orders. General Sullivan being ill, took passage on board the fleet, which arrived at Standing Stone Flat, where the main body of the army tarried during the night. On this day's march we saw one or two places where the savages had lately encamped, also an Indian paddle floating down the river, and a canoe lying on the beach. A scouting party which had gone forward many miles, returning informed us that they had seen three tracks of Indians, and a spot where they had lately set down. They were undoubtedly spying our progress though as yet we have met with no impediment from them.

MONDAY, AUGUST 9th. The main army not reaching Weesauking till ten o'clock, A. M., the light troops did not leave it until one-quarter of an hour afterwards. Considering our advanced position, we were under some expectation of a visit from our tawney neighbors. However, we passed the night without being disturbed. Soon after we set out, we were a little obstructed by a swamp. Afterwards, as usual, our time was employed in rising and descending mountains; sometimes marching by the river, but mostly at a considerable distance from it. The land was without exception rich; but none of the timber, though of various kinds, by any means nigh as large as that which may be seen between Wyoming and Easton. Between four and five miles from Weesauking we came to a hill called Break-neck Hill. It is an exceeding narrow and sidelong path along a very high mountain, about a quarter of a mile long, with scarcely room for man and horse to walk in, and in case of a misstep nothing seemingly could preserve from instant death, as the fall must be at least one hundred and eighty feet perpendicular down rocks into the river. We got safe over this shocking passage. The army marched with orders to stop one mile ahead of the first plains of Shesecunnunk, opposite to which on the other shore had been an Indian settlement, consisting of a few houses. They were destroyed last fall by Colonel Hartley's detachment. Owing to the mistake of the guides or some other cause the first plains were passed. It was then judged proper to proceed through the woods to the upper plains of Shesecunnunk, which we reached at five o'clock, P. M. Near these plains and on them, we plainly discovered many fresh tracks of the enemy; and we doubt not of their having been here but a short time before our arrival. March of the light troops to-day from Weesauking Upper Plains eleven miles. Our general course north by northwest. On this as well as on some of the preceding days, we saw several of the bows on which the Indians dry the scalps they take." Two or three canoes were taken up opposite our encamping ground. This day's march was very fatiguing and several of the men gave out. A good deal of the ground we passed over was covered with pea vines. May apples were also plenty.

TUESDAY AUGUST 10th. Captain Gifford who commanded the detachment of the army

on the west side of the river, gave us a little history of his march and observations, differing not much from that of the army on the east side. The fleet arrived between eight and nine o'clock this morning after a tedious passage from Weesauking. Yesterday about four o'clock, P. M., they burned an Indian town on the west bank of the river, and containing about twenty-eight wigwams. One of the boats was sunk on the passage; but a party being sent down for the purpose, saved all the flour but two barrels. By this day's general orders the quantum of rations was diminished; several reasons manifested the propriety of this measure. General Sullivan, with the brigadiers, and a regiment from each brigade who went out to reconnoitre, returned without making discovery of any savages.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 11th. The light troops marched from Upper Sheshecunk at half past seven, the main body at eight o'clock, A. M. Proceeding about one mile and a half we arrived at a fording place on the Susquehannah, unknown to any of our guides, but found out on the preceding day by the general officers. The troops pursuant to orders, taking off their overalls and tying them about their necks, crossed in platoons under cover of the fleet, each soldier grasping the hand of his comrade next to him for support. The current being strong and the water for a considerable distance coming up to the middle of the men, some considerable difficulties were encountered, but notwithstanding every impediment the whole body got over without suffering any peculiar disadvantage. General Hand in order to animate his brigade, dismounted and marched through on foot at the head of his soldiers. Such an army crossing a river with so much regularity at a place so rapid and in width three hundred and thirty yards, affords the spectator a pleasing sight, and must have struck our enemies with awe. I must doubt whether the army of Alexander the Great encountered as many difficulties with as much good humor as ours has evinced. The river being forded we entered upon what is properly called the Indian country, or that part of the wilderness claimed by the six nations, the boundary on the west side is the Tawandee Creek, emptying into the Susquehannah, about three miles above Weesauking. The army being formed as usual we proceeded sometimes in single files, and then in double, through a thicket till we entered those beautiful plains where the Tioga branch unites itself with the main river. On this level spot stood Queen Esther's palace, burned by Colonel Hartley last fall. Over those plains the army marched towards the mouth of the Tioga, in order of battle, the light troops being joined by two three-pounders from the regiment of artillery. The view of this was grand beyond description, as the ground for a great circuit was level and the grass high and green. Drums were beating, fifes playing, colors flying. Getting to the mouth of the Tioga, we found it in width one hundred and forty-two yards, and the water much deeper than had been imagined. Verdant plains in our rear, the flowing Susquehannah on our right. Ourselves in the Tioga or Cayuga stream, with a fine neck of land in our front and mountains surrounding the whole, afforded pleasant reflections though separated from friends and in an enemy's country. Surely a soil like this is worth contending for. Possessing ourselves of the north side of the Tioga, and passing through a swampy piece of ground we entered upon other plains, pleasing to the eye, though not so grand as those on the south. Here the main body encamped; the light troops proceeded farther on, one column on the banks of the Susquehannah, and another on those of the Tioga banks. The land in general very fine. Having advanced a mile and better, our tents were pitched from river to river, judged to be two hundred yards. Just below our encampment we took a view of the Indians' carrying place, thirteen yards across, so called from their carrying or dragging their canoes from river to river to save themselves the trouble of paddling round the neck.

On the west side of the Tioga is a most beautiful tract of level and fine country, terminated by a mountain. On this tract an Indian town formerly stood; it was destroyed by themselves. This day we marched five miles, course due north. Saw Captain Jehoiakim, who with four men had come thus far forward the day before. He picked up one or two horses that had been left behind by the savages. Captain Jehoiakim's three Stockbridge Indians left us at Wyoming.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 12th. Rode to the other encampment. The scouting party which

went out the evening before with Captain Cummins, returned about three o'clock, P. M. The accounts brought by them of Chemung and the seeming security of the Indians there as well as of some white persons, together with their fields of corn, etc., induced the General after holding a council to determine to surprise the village if possible. Accordingly between nine and ten o'clock at night, the major part of the army marched with the utmost silence for the place with the Commander-in-Chief, his family consisting of Generals Poor, Hand and others. General Maxwell being unwell, tarried behind. To have been of the party myself was my fervent desire, but I could not petition for it to be granted, after being requested by General Hand to stay and take charge of our family baggage and stores, which, among such domestics as we are blessed with, was the necessary duty of some one. Captain Cummins's party brought in with them two fresh scalps lately taken by the Indians, the crowns of each only cut out. One, from the thinness of the skin, must have been an infant's. In this day's general orders appeared in substance the following: "As the army will soon be called upon to march against an enemy whose savage barbarity to our fellow citizens, has rendered them proper subjects of our resentment, the General assures them that though their number should even be equal, which he is sensible cannot be the case, yet it is his firm opinion they cannot withstand the bravery and discipline of the troops he has the honor to command. Nevertheless it ought to be remembered that they are a secret, desultory and rapid foe, seizing every advantage and availing themselves of every defeat on our part. Should we be so inattentive to our own safety as to give way before them, they become the most dangerous and most destructive enemy that can possibly be conceived. They follow the unhappy fugitives with all the cruel and unrelenting hate of prevailing cowards, and are not satisfied with slaughter until they have totally destroyed their opponents. It therefore becomes every officer and soldier to resolve never to fly before such an enemy, but determine either to conquer or perish, which will ever insure success. Should they thus determine and thus act, nothing but an uncommon frown of Providence can prevent us from obtaining that which will insure peace and security to our frontiers, and afford lasting honor to all concerned.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 13th. That part of our army which marched for Chemung the evening before returned at dusk. The particulars relative to this enterprise as collected from several friends, particularly Major Edwards, are as following: Owing to many inconveniences attending a march by night in a wilderness, they did not arrive at Chemung till after daylight; nevertheless the morning being very foggy, favored their undertaking. Having surrounded the town, to their great sorrow they found it abandoned. Its situation was beautiful, being on the banks of the Tioga branch. The houses in general were good, some built of logs, others of hewed slabs, in numbers, upwards of thirty with a council house. The whole was immediately set fire to, and the place totally destroyed. The infantry then moved on towards another Indian village called Newtown, distant from Chemung seven or eight miles, in pursuit of the savages, who with their cattle were supposed to have taken that route. Proceeding about one mile, they came to the place where the savages had passed the night, but being apprized of our approach they made their escape, leaving behind their blankets, fires burning and dogs asleep by them. General Hand having by Major Edwards, requested General Sullivan to allow him to go on to Newtown, General Sullivan consented, provided General Hand would engage to return next morning to Tioga. General Hand then determined instantly to push forward. Captain Bush's infantry being on the right flank, and the advance party but a little in front, the light corps thus moving forward soon came to a very high hill or rather ridge, which ran along on their right. The Indians, who had fixed themselves there for the purpose, immediately discharged a very sharp volley upon our advanced party, which wounded Captain Franklin, their guide, Adjutant Hinton, and a few others, killed a sergeant and some privates. The 11th Pennsylvania regiment hereupon, in a moment, pushed up the hill with an astonishing rapidity. The savages as they were advancing gave them another well directed fire, but seeing the determined spirit of our troops, suddenly fled. The light corps pursued them some distance and were pushing for Newtown, but General Sullivan arriving, thought it best for them to return in order to destroy their

fields of corn which were very fine indeed and supposed to be in the whole nearly a hundred acres. From the quantity of corn and potatoes stored there Chemung was judged to be designated for a magazine to supply their future wants. As General Poor's brigade were destroying an upper field they were fired upon by the Indians. He had one man killed and two or three more wounded. The whole business of laying waste their ground and burning their villages was completed before one o'clock, P. M., the detachment having marched, going and returning, above thirty miles. The 11th Pennsylvania regiment had six killed, viz., one sergeant, one drummer and four privates. Two officers badly wounded, viz., Captain Carberry and Adjutant Huston. Slightly wounded six privates. The main army had one man killed and a few wounded. The dead bodies were brought to camp on horses, and all the wounded got in safe. Several Indian curiosities were picked up by the soldiery and some of the officers, such as painted scalps, etc. Tarried for my own part in my quarters all day and felt very lonesome.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 14th. Attended to the grave the bodies of the six killed of Hubley's regiment. They were all as decently as possible interred together. Pronounced a funeral oration and went to prayer; the regiment very solemn and attentive. The scene was exceedingly affecting. Informed Mr. Kilpatrick of the enemy's leaving Northumberland county, after ruining all the settlements on the West Branch.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 15th. The forenoon being very cloudy, this, together with parading the troops, and cooking, prevented preaching to the respective brigades. Early in the afternoon as a number of gentlemen were sitting with General Hand, we heard the discharge of several guns across the Tioga, and immediately afterwards the Indian scalp warhoop. Upon our repairing to the banks several savages were by different persons discovered retreating along the mountains, taking with them four or five horses. A detachment from the light troops in the upper and two Jersey regiments from the lower encampments went in pursuit of them. But agreeably to the old adage it was similar to looking for needles in a hay stack. Their footsteps were plainly seen but their persons were invisible. They killed and scalped one of our men, a lad employed as a driver; his body was brought over soon afterwards. One of our soldiers was wounded and a bullock was shot. The Indians are enemies fruitful in stratagem, secret in their designs, and capable of taking every advantage which the situation of the ground or our own inattention may give them. I forgot to mention the supposed loss of the enemy in the battle on Friday. A jacket of one of them was picked up bloody and shot through. Also a hat. One or two were seen to fall and afterwards to be carried off by the others. From these circumstances it is imagined that they had seven or eight killed and wounded.

MONDAY, AUGUST 16th. This morning agreeably to orders of the 14th, nine hundred picked men, with a suitable number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers under the command of Generals Poor and Hand marched off the ground in order to proceed upon the main branch, to meet the troops and boats, which, under the command of General Clinton, were to leave Lake Otsego, on the 9th instant. The detachment took with it eight day's provisions. The light troops being much reduced by draughts from them upon account of this expedition, were by reason of our advanced and dangerous situation joined by two pieces of artillery from the park under the command of Captains Craig and Ernes. Visited the sick and wounded in the general hospital. By this day's orders the soldiery were positively forbidden to go out of the lines of the encampment under any pretext whatever. A captain and fifty men were posted on the west side of the Cayuga, to guard the horses and cattle and secure the camp. The troops were forbidden to imitate the Indian whoop, as also to discharge their guns wantonly. A single gun is to be considered as an alarm. P. M.—An express arrived, also a person from Philadelphia. The person from Philadelphia, mentioned that Count d'Estaing had obtained a victory over the British fleet off the Island of St. Vincents. By a letter from General Clinton to General Sullivan, the latter was informed that the 16th of August (this day), he should leave Onohocassage, about sixty miles up the river from Tioga. The block houses, (which were directed to be built a little in the rear of the infantry encampment, for the security of the peninsula, and where a garrison with the flying hospital on the army's marching

from this are to be left, are going on with a good deal of rapidity), were this evening called by the name of Fort Sullivan, out of respect to the illustrious character who with his army first took possession of this post on behalf of the United States.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 17th. Last night the light corps were several times alarmed by the sentries. Twice I got up. Small parties were sent out by Colonel Hubley to reconnoitre the environs of the camp, and returned each time with an account of the sentries mistaking either horses or some other moving objects for Indians. Two guns were discharged by the party on the west side of the Cayuga, and one by the advanced front guard of infantry. In the country of so lurking an enemy, we cannot but expect frequent mistakes of this kind. P. M.—Six soldiers of the German regiment having obtained leave to go a small distance to search for some of their missing horses, were, between two and three hundred yards from our advanced sentries, fired upon by about twelve secreted savages. They returned the fire; four got into camp safe. A party being sent out by Colonel Hubley, met one returning to the regiment shot through the arm and all the bones above his elbow shattered. I went immediately to see him, and found the poor fellow, though full of pain, very patient; the sixth was killed by three or four balls through the body and head, and scalped. His body was found and brought in. He formerly lived in Fifth street, near Market street, Philadelphia. His name was Philip Helter, by trade a biscuit baker.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 18th. Very early this morning by reason of yesterday's occurrence, several small parties with certain directions were sent out different ways under enterprising officers to bring in if possible or kill some of the dastardly cruel lurking foe. Last night a sentry discharged his musket at an imaginary Indian which caused the infantry to appear under arms; got up myself, soon retired again to my tent and slept very sound till sunrise. At eleven o'clock, A. M., preached a sermon at our encampment in commemoration of the death of Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones, vide observations of Thursday, July 29th. Present, General Sullivan and family; General Maxwell and family; the 11th Pennsylvania regiment, artillery; members of Lodge No. 19, with many other gentlemen of the army. A short time after sermon attended to the grave the body of Philip Helter, addressed the soldiery and went to prayer; the day being very sultry, was, after so much preaching, a good deal overcome. The parties sent out in the morning returned without doing anything material. This night one gun was fired which occasioned a small alarm.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 19th. Parties, as yesterday, sent out; returned towards evening in *eodem modo*. This night a musket discharged at some fancied enemy. Rainy all night.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 20th. Early this morning, arrived Lieutenant Boyd, of the rifle corps with a letter from General Clinton to General Sullivan. Lieutenant Boyd informs us that their army and our detachment met the day before at ten o'clock A. M., eight miles this side of Chenango. The same evening Owego, an Indian village twenty miles from hence was by the army laid in ashes. Lieutenant Boyd left them at Owego, eleven o'clock, P. M., they resolving to be here the next, viz., this day. However, the day being throughout very stormy, without doubt prevented their proceeding. Lieutenant Boyd spent the day with Major Sproat, and purposes tarrying with us till General Clinton gets in. General Clinton's troops had met with no opposition on their march, when Mr. Boyd came away. They burnt every house they came across, without exception, and destroyed all the corn and grain.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 21st. No new occurrence.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 22nd. This morning arrived General Clinton with his army and our detachment. The majority of General Clinton with his army and our detachment. The majority of General Clinton's troops came down in batteaux, in number, two hundred and seven, and they of the small kind; upon their passing by the light corps encampment they were saluted by the discharge of thirteen rounds from two six pounders. As our detachment with Colonel William Butler's command marched through, they were received by the remaining part of General Hand's brigade under arms and welcomed by the band of music and drums and fifes, playing alternately. At twelve o'clock rode to the lower

camp, and to my great satisfaction saw Mr. Gano ; found him hearty and well. The provisions brought by General Clinton, did not as to quantity turn out so much as we expected, owing to their necessary consumption of the same at Lake Otsego, where they were obliged to continue idle about a month as we were unprepared to meet them sooner at Tioga. The consequences which must result may be easily supposed. The first grand design of the expedition must in a great measure prevail (fail). No preaching to-day by reason of the troops arriving and preparations making for speedy departure. With General Clinton came only two of the Oneidas.

MONDAY, AUGUST 23rd, A. M. Visited the sick and wounded. Dined at home. Colonel Butler and other gentlemen being with us. P. M., spent with Dr. Gano at General Clinton's Marquee. About five o'clock in General Poor's brigade, a soldier flashing his gun, it went off, and at a considerable distance shot an officer, as he was standing at a tent door ; he instantly expired ; upon calling to look at the body, was informed that he was a married man, his wife and five children residing in New Hampshire ; a sad misfortune. By this day's orders the 4th Pennsylvania regiment and Rifle Corps are annexed to General Hand's brigade. Two hundred and fifty men properly officered, exclusive of boatmen to be left as a garrison at this place, Colonel Shreve appointed to command. Myself ordered to officiate as chaplain to the garrison at Wyoming. This is in consequence of the dispersed state of the 3rd Pennsylvania brigade and the majority of those who are together, being attached to the light corps, whose duty, after they leave Tioga, will be such as to render my presence unnecessary, as no opportunity for preaching can possibly occur. These considerations caused me to comply without much hesitation.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 24th. This day nothing material occurred except the universal hurry throughout the whole in preparing for a march. Accordingly, P. M., tents were struck, horses loaded, and every movement necessary for the new movement took place. Owing to the numbers of the pack horses being lost or otherwise missing, General Clinton's brigade was poorly supplied.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 25th. The troops which were this forenoon to march agreeably to yesterday's directions, were by reason of their not being properly equipped, ordered to hold themselves in perfect readiness to proceed at all events. At eleven o'clock arrived three Oneidas, one a Lieutenant commissioned by Congress ; upon their advancing to the infantry encampment a sentry presented his firelock ; the Oneidas clubbed theirs and ventured in by making signs of good faith. Upon their marching through the several brigades many officers and soldiers, laboring under the same belief with the sentry, particularly as they were escorted by a guard, gathered around them ; they informed us that one of their young warriors was lately killed in Canada, by the British, and that a number of their tribe had since gone to revenge his death. P. M.—Heavy rain. In the evening an express arrived ; intelligence by him received that Colonel Broadhead, from Fort Pitt, had marched with a number of troops and friendly Indians with an intention of forming a junction with General Sullivan, near Genesee. He also brought several newspapers, which announced the victory obtained by the French fleet over the British off Grenada, and that Island, together with Tobago, was in possession of our allies.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 26th. Early this morning rode to the lower encampment ; they appeared in great hurry and confusion ; soon returned to my quarters. Late in the forenoon the whole, exclusive of the garrison, marched. Many articles went up the Tioga in boats ; as they set out under great and divers inconveniences, their return must be so sudden as will in all probability prevent effecting much. Twenty-seven days provisions only. Artillery passing through an uncultivated country, etc. However ardent my wishes are, yet my fears more than counterbalance. The Rifle and Light Corps moving off with the sound of the horn, appeared highly pleasing, the main body following in their rear about one mile, added a peculiar grace. Would to God they were better supplied. Captain Bush, Dr. Kinnersley and myself erected our living abode within the lines of Fort Sullivan, proposing to spend our time as comfortably as possible together, until some of the boats set off for Wyoming. The command of the garrison being committed to so vigilant and worthy an officer as Colonel Shreve, affords much confidence and good hu-

mor in all those who are to continue with him, although their sufferings may be great and duty must be hard. Captain Wool has charge of the two garrison six pounders. Colonel Dubois and Lieutenant Colonel Reignier commanded the flanking division on the right of the army. Colonel Ogden and Lieutenant-Colonel Willett, that on the left.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 27th. The Army yesterday moved but three miles ; marched again this morning about seven o'clock. The great parade and regularity which is observed, must unavoidably in the end, letting alone all other obstacles, greatly defeat the purpose of the expedition, considering the coyness and subtilty of the Indians. The garrison at Fort Sullivan is very short of provisions, the salted beef much tainted. Divers cattle which since our arrival at this post have strayed away, were this day discovered by a scouting party sent out by the commandant. The party could bring none in, as they were apparently as wild as deer. The past night very cold, this morning, till late, exceedingly foggy ; and from about eleven o'clock, A. M., till four, P. M., very sultry.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 28th. A party which was directed to search after strayed horses and cattle, early this morning drove into the fort twenty-four of the latter. A great blessing indeed, as there are in the garrison about twelve hundred souls, men, women and children included, and previous to the twenty-four cattle being drove in, but five were left and those but poor. About dusk, sixty boats, most of them having many of the garrison on board, set off for Wyoming for provisions and other necessities ; took passage myself with Captain Bush, on board the " Adventure," where were fixed as conveniently as circumstances would permit Captain Carberry and Adjutant Huston, who owing to their wounds and much pain were exceedingly uneasy ; spent a very disagreeable night, as I had to sit or stand in a cramped posture.

Note. Rev Dr. Rogers left the army to return to Philadelphia during the night of August 28, 1779, an account of his return journey being in his journal which ends Sept. 6, and which is here omitted as not being pertinent to this publication.

JOURNAL OF SERGEANT WILLIAM ROGERS.

WILLIAM ROGERS, Quartermaster Sergeant in Malcolm's N. Y. Regiment in 1777, but in 1779 appears to have belonged to the Second New York. His diary, from April 5 to September 14, 1779, contains names of places, dates and distances. The original manuscript is in the hands of Mr. B. L. Rogers, Newark, N. J., who kindly furnished Gen. John S. Clark of Auburn, N. Y., a copy, from which the following is taken :

JOURNAL.

Embarked from Haverstraw the fifth of April 1779, and went to White Plains, the Regt to Newburgh. Went to Litchfield and returned. Overtook the Regiment at Minisink after	
297 miles travel	Miles 297
Marcht from Minisink the 25th of April to Eastown.....	50
Continued there untill the 14 of May set out for Wiony.....	65
Arrived there the 14 of June after one months fatigue in the Great Swamp.	
The 31st of June we marched to Lackawany.....	10
The 2d of August marched from Laccowany to Wilutimink.....	7
The 3 to Tunkhanack.....	12
The 4th to Nicodepen.....	13
The 5th to Wilucy Continued there two days.....	8
The 8th to Standing Stone	10
The 9th to Meshopping, there the 10th.....	14
The 11th to Teogy.....	5
The 12th in morning marcht for Shimmung in hopes to surprise it, But found it Deserted. Burnt it But was fired upon By the Enemy above. Returned to Teogy the Same Day after a march of.....	28
The 20 of August set out from Teogy and in two Days after arrived at Shimmung and came to Newtown where we were smartly opposed But obtained the victory, Reduced it to Ashes and Destroyed their crops. The 31 marched from Newtown, Destroyed Knowahole, and encamped after march.....	13
The 1st of September arrived at Catherines town.....	14
The 3d encamped By the Seneca Lake.....	10
The 4th Destroyed a Small Settlement By the Lake.....	13
The 5th came to Kendaia, Destroyed it.....	8
The 6th marched in from that.....	3
The 7th Crossed the Outlet to the Seneca Lake and came to Canandaigue.....	14
9th to Run.....	8
10th to Kanandague.....	12
11th to Hannayaye.....	16
13th [12th] to Kaneghsaws.....	12
13th to Squatehokus.....	8
14th to Chinesee.....	7

JOURNAL OF LIEUT. SAMUEL M. SHUTE.

Journal of SAMUEL MOORE SHUTE, Lieutenant in Second New Jersey Regiment. The original manuscript has been in the Elmer family since the death of Dr. Shute, in 1816, and was accidentally discovered during the centennial year, by a relative. It is now in possession of William E. Potters, Esq., of Princeton, N. J.

The journal of the expedition, with the exception of a very little, is complete and contains some incidents which are nowhere else to be found. Although some of it is very indistinct, having apparently been wet by exposure, yet it has been accurately deciphered by General John S. Clark, Auburn, N. Y., who, with the assistance of Judge A. S. Thurston, Elmira, N. Y., carefully compared his copy with the original, August 25, 1879.

The following is taken from the literal copy made by General Clark, who says, that the reference notes were evidently made at about the same time as the journal, and could very properly be incorporated with it. In one or two instances, some doubt appeared as to the proper reference, but on a careful examination he reached the conclusion that they referred to the subjects as herein indicated.

JOURNAL.

1779. THE 29th MAY, at 11 o'clock A. M. we left Elizabeth Town, being escorted by the first inhabitants* of that place and Newark and encamped that night at Samptown† 14 miles.

MAY 30. Marched to the forks of Raritan‡ 16 miles and quartered in the neighboring houses Captn Cummings and I with our company Quartered at the widow Vrooms and were very hospitably entertained where we remained until the third of June, when we marched to Pitts Town§ 20 miles.

* Pear-tree Smith, Yackamiah Smith & Robt. Neil &c.

† A small village containing 6 houses and a small creek running through it.

‡ Beautiful and fertile country Lying upon Raritan river inhabited chiefly by Low Dutch, abound-
ing with every kind of grain & fruit common to other rivers in this country.

§ Pitt's Town took its name from Wm. Pitt, Earl of Chatham for his spiritual efforts in obtaining the refusal of the Stamp Act—It consists of ten buildings, two good Grist, one Saw, and a fulling Mill the Property of Moore Forman D. A. N. G of the State of New Jersey.

JUNE 4th. marched to Masquenecunk * and encamped I quartered at Capt. Chambers, and was very genteelly entertained Gratis.

JUNE 5th. Marched on through a stony country 8 miles, when, after crossing the Delaware, arrived at Easton † where we encamped

JUNE 6th. This morning I had no appetite for Breakfast but with Capt. Cummings crossed the river and walked a mile to Biddlemans Mill ‡ and took Breakfast which was very good

JUNE 7th. All quiet

JUNE 8th. was reviewed and received the Generals approbation. Nothing material until the

JUNE 12th. There were executed three soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line for murdering a man who refused to sell them more drink.

13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, & 17. Spent in Bowling [? moulding] bullets and playing fives.

JUNE 18th. The gun fired at 3 A. M. the General half an hour afterward, the Assembly at four, immediately after the gun the troops began their march for Wyoming.§ That day marched to Hillard's Tavern near the Blue Mountain, 12 miles

JUNE 19. Marched at four & till seven through the wind Gap of Blue Mountain then halted and drew provision then proceeded to Pokono point 16 miles

[Some leaves of the original are gone; this page begins]

place Michael Rosebrugh of Sussex county New Jersey for enticing soldiers to desert to the enemy Laurence Miller was under sentence of death likewise for the same, but was relieved.

JULY 6th. Attended divine service.

JULY 7th. was spent in fishing and had extraordinary luck.

JULY 8th. went to the field ¶ where the two Butlers fought last summer. There were about four hundred men Killed, and most of them Scalped, and received the tomahawk

JULY 9th. Spent the day with mirth and sociability & dined with Justice Barnes on turtle soup which was exceedingly good. The same day Capt. Cummings¶ Lieuts. Halfay & Peck went on command to Middletown, 120 miles down the river, to escort some boats and provisions up, until the 22nd. the time was spent in playing Shinny & Ball.

JULY 23d. One Regt. was ordered to artichoak [nanticoke] falls so to escort provisions to this place. We marched to Shawney flats,** got a little dinner, took a sociable buck dance, then proceeded on to the falls, arrived there about four P. M. where we met

* Masquenecunk is situate on a creek of that name A few fine houses and a mill—Some remains left of an old - - - - From the Hill you have a most extensive and beautiful prospect.

† Easton consists of about 150 houses. There are but three elegant buildings in it, and about as many inhabitants that are any ways agreeable. Take them in general they are a very inhospitable set—all High Dutch & Jew

‡ Biddleman being a Relation, I made very free, more so than I otherwise should.

[No's 8 and 9 are notes of missing part of journal]

§ Chowder Camp took its name on account of the General's dining on chowder

¶ The greatest part of the way from Learned's Tavern to Wyoming is inhabitable

REMARKS.

§ Wyoming has been a very beautiful place. It was situate on the banks of the Susquehanna in a valley of about four miles long & one broad, the land exceeding good & level, but is surrounded by large mountains. The town was burned last fall by the infernal Tories and Savages who likewise put to death every male inhabitant and Scalped them.

¶ There are a great many Men's Skulls to be picked up on the field, some with part of their hair on—the other part taken off with the Scalps—Others with bullet holes in, or the Skull Split with the tomahawk which was a very affecting scene.

¶ Capt Cummings &c. Returned 24th with one hundred and twelve boats of Provision—two hundred and eighty head of Cattle &c.

** Remarks—Shawney flats is situate on Susquehanna about four miles from Wyoming contains about 500 acres of exceeding good land, the best bottom in the world & only wants a little cultivation to make it the best land in this part—It was but lately inhabited by New England people, they were all killed about a year ago. There is now a family of Yankeys whose names are as follows—mens—Almarin & Lloyd—Females Artemisia, Dustimona, Alethica, Sereptica all belonging to the tribe of Gad & the household of Mary.

Gen'l Hand with the stores. At 8 P. M. took a bite of beef & bread a drink of grog and retired to rest. Colo. DeHart, Genl. Hand & myself slept together in the open air, but with a canteen of spirits at our head.

JULY 24. Returned and got to Shawney flats about (two) ten P. M. when we got two fine pigs barbecued, eat them, took another buck dance & retired to camp about four

JULY 25. Attended divine service and had the pleasure to inform the public that Colo. De Hart attended

JULY 26th. 27, 28th. 29 & 30th. although it rained every day I spent in writing to my friends &c &c &c.

SATURDAY JULY 31st. 8 o'clock A. M. marched from Wyoming for Tioga marched ten miles, through a country ravaged and burned by the savages to Lackawanunck creek

SUNDAY 1st. AUGUST three o'clock P. M. proceeded again towards Tioga, marched two miles in a tolerably good road, came to a very remarkable spring which issues out of a rock on top of a mountain runs about half a mile and falls off about one hundred feet. The water is exceedingly good. Marched five miles further in a narrow path on the bank of the river & arrived at Quilutimac & encamped. Staid at Quilutimac* one day and two nights.

†TUESDAY AUG. 3. Marched at 6 o'clock A. M. through a mountainous country 12 miles & encamped at Tunkaanunck

WEDNESDAY AUG. 4 The General beat at 5 A. M. the Assembly at ½ after & marched at six. The army marched seven miles, halted, refreshed themselves & proceeded six miles farther to Vanderlips‡ farm & encamped the night.

THURSDAY AUG. 5. Marched at 8 o'clock§ A. M. ten miles to Wyolusing|| & encamped until the 8th. then marched to Long Standing Stone¶ bottom end encamped ten miles

**AUG. 9th Marched at Six o'clock towards Tioga—marched six miles and halted to refresh ourselves, about an hour, & then proceeded nine miles further & encamped at Sheshequenunk three miles from Tioga. ††Sheshequenunk is a large extensive plain surrounded by the most fertile land we have seen in this part. The whole contains about 3,000 acres

TUESDAY AUG. 10. Lay at Shesequenunk

WEDNESDAY AUG. 11th. Marched at 8 A. M. for Tioga the main army crossed the river about a mile from Shesequenunk. The 2nd York Regt. and 2d Jersey Regt. crossed at Sheshequenunk to cover the army the two Regts. after crossing the river marched up the west side about three miles, entered a large flat on Tioga creek of about 500 acres without an inch of wood on it—but the Indian grave very thick & about 4 feet high—after crossing the plain came to Tioga creek, forded it, & entered Queen Hesters plains, found it naked of every thing, every cow and horse having been driven off. We encamped near the middle of the plain about 2 P. M. at 7 P. M. Capt. Cumming was sent by Genl. Sullivan with six men to reconnoitre Chemong an Indian Town called 12 miles from

* From Wyoming to Quilutimac the land is most excellent & in the wild woods bears timothy five feet high

† This day, was ordered with a party of men to see the cattle all forward, as the General was suspicious the commissary intended to leave some behind, to drive back to Wyoming.

Crossed a fall called Buttermilk falls which issued from a mountain & fell about seventy feet.

‡ Vanderlip was the first settler on the river above Wyoming and has joined Sago

§ Marched on a very large mountain—The valley below it was very good land. Several walnut trees in it 7 1-2 feet diameter & buttonwood 9 1-2 ditto.

|| Wyolusing is a large flat of about 1000 acres, the land very rich & bears as good grass as any land possibly can.

¶ Standing Stone bottom is a large flat on the bank of the river about two miles long and one broad.

** This day marched on the side of a mountain about 300 feet from the bottom in a narrow path, when if we were to step one foot to our left we would be gone & on our right the mountain was about 400 feet high. N. B. 3 cows fell down and broke every bone in their bodies.

†† Called Tioga plain, where, the town formerly stood & was last fall burned by Col. Hartley, who was up with his Regt. It consisted of about 20 houses.

Tioga, but I think 15 at least. After viewing the town he returned about ten in the morning of the 12th. & made report to General Sullivan in consequence of which the army was put in readiness to march, & was put in motion at 8 P. M. (or part of it) toward Chemong; Genl. Hand in front with the light troops to form on the right, Genl. Poor in the centre to form on the back of the town; Gen'l Maxwell in the rear to form on the left; Col. Reid with two Regiments to cross the creek & march in front of the town. The town to have been surprised at day break but Gen'l Hands guide, not being fully acquainted with the place, missed the road & Gen'l Maxwell's Brigade having difficult defiles to pass, the army did not enter the town until sunrise, when they found it deserted by the inhabitants* (but 2 or three "Sagos" skulking about it who had left two or three hundred Deer and Bear Skins with several other things) Gen'l Hand pursued the Indians with an expectation of overtaking them. After marching two miles, he was fired upon by a party of Indians about 40 in number who had secreted themselves on a hill and killed six and wounded nine. Hand returned the fire and charged them with the bayonet but they fled so fast our troops could not overtake them but wounded 2 or three. Hand then returned to the Town, which was then in flames. * After burning the town five Regiments were ordered to cross the creek to cut down their corn, which was effected with the loss of one man killed & 2 or 3 wounded. After cutting their corn returned to town, then proceeded back towards Tioga & arrived in Camp about 8 P. M. 13th.

SATURDAY AUG. 14th. Lay still

SUNDAY AUG. 15th. 3 P. M. a party of about 10 Indians† were discovered on the west side of the Tioga Branch a party of men was sent from Genl. Hands Brigade & two Jersey Reg'ts but was not able to overtake them.

AUG. 16th. One thousand men under the command of Gen'l Poor marched this day to meet and conduct Gen'l Clinton to this place.

AUG 17th.‡ & 18th. Spent in writing to my friends

AUG 19th. Still quiet

AUG. 20. An express from Genl Clinton which informed he was within twenty miles.

AUG 21st. Went to see a Blockhouse § (alias Fort Sullivan) which Captain Hollinshead & Gifford have the superintendency of

AUG 22nd. General Clinton with his Brigade|| arrived at this place

AUG 23 Had orders to get in readiness to march the 24th at 3 o'clock P. M.

TUESDAY 24th. AUG. The Gun fired at 3 P. M. at which time the tents were struck & the baggage loaded. The army joined in order of march. Continued under arms until five and pitched our tents with orders to march the 25th. but rain prevented.

* Queen Hesters Plains is bounded on the west side by Tioga creek on the east side by Susquehanna River—it runs about two miles up the river & is one mile broad and the river and creek crooks & runs within 300 yards of each other. The land is exceedingly good & with little cultivation would be good for any use necessary to appropriate it to. N. B. Queen Hester was with Butler last fall at Wyoming & behaved with Barbarity unparalleled in former ages after taking the men prisoners and tying them to trees, the old infernal Savage brute would go with her knife cut their throats with it and scalp them at the same time repeating "She should never be tired of killing rebels."

* A mark here indicating a reference note, which probably has reference to what follows included in the parenthesis.—Copyist.

REMARKS.

* The town consisted of about thirty houses, a chapel and Queen Hesters cabin, which was a tolerably good building? N. B. The land from Tioga to Chemong is good & greater part level.

† They killed & Scalped one man & wounded another, likewise killed one bullock and pushed their boats.

‡ One of Genl Hand's Brigade was killed & Scalped who was driving in some horses.

§ Captain Hendry & myself began the work.

|| It consisted of Col. Dubois's, Cortlandts, Gansevoorts, Butler's & weisenfels Regiments 1 piece of artillery and one month's provisions for his troops. N. B. His Brigade destroyed - - - - Towns the names of which are as follows

THURSDAY 26th. The army* began its march at 2 P. M. marched 4 miles and encamped.

FRIDAY AUG. 27. Marched at 8 A. M. 5 miles and encamped by a cornfield of about 100 acres which was destroyed that night. I myself ate 10 ears, one quart of beans & 7 Squashes.

SATURDAY AUG. 28—marched to Chemong† 3 miles

AUG. 29th. Marched at 10 A. M. at 11 the advanced corps discovered the Indians in a brush work when they exchanged a few shots. The artillery was ordered up to begin a fire upon their Right, while Genl Poor & Col: Dubois moved upon their left in order to surprise them, but the artillery drove them before the whole could get round, that only a detachment fell in with them, a smart firing ensued‡.

MONDAY AUG 30th. This morning was brought in 5 Scalps by a Scout. The army was employed the whole day in cutting corn.

TUESDAY AUG 31st. Marched at 8 A. M. 5 miles through a rough country to Newtown, burned it & proceeded 5 miles farther & encamped in a flat country.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT 1st. Marched 3 miles and entered a swamp 9 miles wide very muddy and thick After getting through the Swamp & crossing the creek 16 times (which by continued windings empties into Seneca Lake) arrived at Catharines Town or Shugh-quago, the first town in the Seneca Nation, which Butler with his Tories and Indians had left the day preceding our arrival. This information we had from a very old squaw who was left, and who, after she was informed that we would not kill her manifested the greatest degree of gratitude to us and her good angel

THURSDAY SEPT 2nd. Remained in Camp.

FRIDAY SEPT 3d. Marched early, found the soil good & march easy 11 miles§ [A mark here to which note 31 appears to belong]

SATURDAY SEPT. 4. Marched at 10 A. M. 12 miles through a fertile country & encamped at 5 P. M.

SUNDAY SEPT. 5th. Marched at 9 A. M. five miles to Appletown or Candai & encamped at 12.¶

MONDAY, SEPT. 6th. Marched at 2 P. M. 3 miles and encamped.

TUESDAY SEPT. 7th. Marched at 8 A. M. 9 miles to the end of Seneca Lake, crossed it, marched two miles farther to Canadaasago or Seneca Castle¶¶ & encamped & found a considerable number of deer and bear Skins & a white male child whom they had taken

* It consisted of Clintons, Maxwells, Poores & Hand's Brigades, with Col. Proctors Regt of artillery 4. 6 pounders —4,—3. 1-8 inch Howitzer — 1 — 5 1-2 (inch) & 1 Cohorn Genl Hands Brigade being light troops marched by its left in 6 columns & formed the front; with a Captain and 30 men from the line on each flank—Major Pratt with 100 Riflemen advanced in front of Hand, Maxwells & Poores marched by their left & formed two columns Poor the right and Maxwell the left—Clinton's marched in two columns by its left and formed the rear of the army—Col. Dubois & 200 men the right flank; Col. Ogden & 200 men the left, Col. Conway & 100 men covering party for the whole. The provision, ammunition, Baggage, artillery &c. in the centre.

† We found much difficulty in crossing and re-crossing the River, several men and horses were carried down the Stream but I believe none were lost.

‡ A Major Titcomb, Capt. Claus, & Lieut McColly & 30 men were wounded. We took two prisoners & six Scalps with a quantity of plunder, at 5 encamped 5 miles at Middletown, country rough.

§ This day the Lieut (McCaulay) died of his wounds

¶ This day found a tree marked 1779 Thandagana the English of which is Brant, 12 men marked on it with arrows pierced through them, signifying the number they had lost in the action of the 29th ultimo—a small tree was twisted round like a rope & bent down, which signified that if we drove and distressed them yet we would not conquer them.

¶ Candia consisted of about 30 houses the best buildings we found, the situation exceeding pleasant

¶ The town consisted of about 60 houses chiefly good buildings with a chapel or council House. This is the town they used to hold all the councils of the Six Nations. It is situate 2 miles from the Seneca Lake which is thirty five miles long and in some places 10 broad & the most rich and fertile country all round it—We found 200 acres of exceedingly good corn intermixed with beans, & squashes pumpions & a few potatoes.

prisoner at Wyoming It was about Starved to death It talked the Mohawk and Seneca language.

You must think that cornfields was a noble acquisition for troops who had been on allowance for 8 days.

REMARKS—[This appears to belong to date of Sept. 3d, at which place it is inserted as a note.]—

WEDNESDAY SEPT 8. The main army continued in Camp. A party of riflemen were sent to burn a small town on the west side of Seneca Lake.

THURSDAY SEPT 9th. The army marched at 11 A. M. 8 miles through a low piece of ground & encamped by a pleasant brook.

FRIDAY SEPT 10th. Marched at 8 A. M. 7 miles through a fertile country crossed the end of the Canandague Lake marched $\frac{1}{2}$ mile farther to the Chosen Town or Canandague * & encamped.

SATURDAY SEPT. 11. Marched at 5 A. M. 13 miles through a rough country to Hanneyaye † & encamped at 4 P. M.

SUNDAY SEPT. 12th. Marched at 12 o'clock 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles & encamped. ‡

MONDAY SEPT. 13. Marched at 3 A. M. 2 miles to Kanieghsaas § & halted 4 hours whilst a bridge was erected over a small creek. At 12 the army moved in regular order over the bridge 3 miles & found an Indian and 6 of our men killed and Scalped. Marched $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile farther and found where the enemy amounting to about 200 had formed an ambuscade but were gone & had left seventy three packs & a number of guns &c. after marching 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles farther arrived at Gacheguarahere || about 7 P. M. where we expected to find Mr. Sago but as usual had fled. We encamped at 8 with orders to parade at gun firing in the morning.

TUESDAY SEPT 14th. The army marched at 12: after crossing a small creek, entered a large extensive plain of about 15000 acres, which lay on the Chineasira River. We crossed one end of the flat of the river 3 miles & entered a rough woody country; 3 miles. took us to Chineasira. ¶

REMARKS [See Note 37]

WEDNESDAY SEPT 15th. The army was employed in destroying corn, which was not less than 200 acres intermixed with beans &c the best I ever saw At 3 P. M. the army began its march for Tioga in the same order it advanced, with this alteration. The different columns marched by their right, but in advance by the left: they marched in their old tracks, recrossed the Cheniasira river to the creek running before Gacheguarahere & encamped at 7 P. M.

THURSDAY SEPT. 16th. Marched at 11 A. M. in our old tracks 4 miles and found 13 more of Boyd's party killed and scalped—2 miles further brought us to Kaneighsaas where we encamped the night.

* Canandague consisted of about 30 houses exceedingly good buildings. A great quantity of corn & beans was destroyed—It abounded with corn, beans, squashes &c.—The town was situated by the side of a very small lake.

† Capt. Cummings & 100 men were left at Hanneyaye with all the supernumerary baggage of the army & part of the provision, while the army moved to Chiniyasira

‡ Lieut. Boyd with Jehoiakim a Stockbridge Indian warrior was sent to reconnoitre Kanieghsaas & Gacheguarahere (?) two Indian towns & with orders to return the next morning

§ Four of Lieut Boyd's party and Jahoiakim returned & informed us that Lieut Boyd & the rest of the party after killing & Scalping an Indian, were either killed or taken by the Indians who had ambuscaded them 3 miles from the Town.

|| It consisted of about 20 houses and a beautiful situation. Two more of Lieut Boyds party came to camp. corn, beans & squashes plenty.

¶ Chineasira is a Capital Indian Settlement 135 miles from Tioga & 80 from Niagara & consists of about 135 houses & is the most compact of any town we have seen. We found lying on the ground at Chineasira Lt. Boyd & one man dead, who had been put to death in the most barbarous manner. The Indians in the first place tied them up & whipped them prodigiously, pulled out their finger and toe nails, cut out their tongues, stuck spears and darts through them & set the Lieuts head on a log with the mouth open: we could not find the other head, but the dogs had eaten of the flesh of the man's neck.

FRIDAY SEPT. 17th. Marched at 6 A. M. 12½ miles to Hannayay & encamped. To our great joy we found Capt. Cummings with his party safe.

SATURDAY SEPT. 18. Marched at 8 A. M. 15 miles & recrossed the Kanandague Lake & encamped.

SUNDAY SEPT. 19. Marched at 8 A. M. 15 miles through a swampy country to Kanadosago & encamped at 6 P. M.

MONDAY SEPT 20th * Marched at 3 P. M. recrossed the Lake and encamped 5 miles.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 21st. † Marched at 6 A. M. 13 miles through Candia & encamped at 4 P. M.

WEDNESDAY SEPT. 22d Marched at 5 A. M. 18 miles & encamped at 4

THURSDAY SEPT. 23d Marched at 7 A. M. 9 miles to Catharines Town ‡ & halted an hour and a half. The army marched 3 miles farther and encamped in the swamp.

FRIDAY SEPT. 24th Marched 15 miles to Newtown or Fort Reid & encamped where half allowance passed as we had provision from Tioga by Lt Read

SATURDAY SEPT. 25th. at 5 P. M. Fired a *feu de joie* and Spent the evening with the greatest sociability & mirth Buck & Indian dances throughout the camp.

SUNDAY SEPT 26th Lay Still

MONDAY, SEPT 27th. Col. Dearborns party returned to camp with Squaws whom they had made prisoners with an old warrior & Squaw but they being old and infirm thought proper to leave them. They had burned towns & a great quantity of corn &c.

TUESDAY SEPT 28th §Col. Butler with his party returned to camp after destroying quantities of corn &c and several Towns

WEDNESDAY SEPT 29th Began to burn corn by sunrise & continued until 2 P. M. & recrossed the river 5 miles above Chemong: burned about 200 acres more and marched to join the army who had marched this day 3 miles below Chemong.

THURSDAY SEPT. 30. The army marched at 10 A. M. 9 miles to Tioga or Fort Sullivan & encamped on our old ground. At 2 went to the fort and found an elegant dinner cooked and several small Bulls ready to roar at any time [Note || probably belongs here]

FRIDAY OCT 1st. Common occurrences

SATURDAY OCT 2nd. Lay quiet

SUNDAY OCT 3d Still in camp

MONDAY OCT 4th. Marched at 7 A. M. recrossed the Tioga Branch and Susquehanna river 15 miles & encamped on creek

TUESDAY OCT 5—The whole of the army embarked on board the boats with baggage &c except a few to take charge of the horses & cattle who Col. DeHart ¶ commanded. Marched at 8 o'clock 14 miles to Wyolusing & encamped.

WEDNESDAY OCT. 6th. Marched at 4 A. M. 24 miles to Tunkaannock & encamped.

THURSDAY OCT. 7th Marched at 6 A M to Wyoming 27 miles and encamped.

FRIDAY OCT. 8. Spent in eating, drinking & sleeping.

* Previous to the army's march Col. Butler with a detachment of 500 men was sent round the Cayuga lake to march down the east side of it & with orders to destroy all that came in his way. Likewise Col. Smith was sent 10 miles down the west side of Seneca lake to burn a town.

† Before we marched Col. Dearborn was sent with 250 men to march down the west side of Cayuga Lake.

‡ We found the Old Squaw in the place we had left her—her provision & wood was exhausted & she in tears & was not able to get more, but was much rejoiced at the sight of the army—"her friends" as she called us. We found likewise a younger squaw at some distance shot and thrown into a ditch & half covered with mud. The old Squaw said that she did not know of the other one. The General left her about 100 lbs of flour & 50 lbs of Beef.

§ This day went out with a party of 300 men under the command of Col. Dayton to burn corn on the west side of Tioga River from Newtown to Chemung—marched 3 miles & burned 300 acres of corn and encamped.

|| In the evening we had Col. Proctor & his corps of officers with the corps of 2nd Jersey to sup & drink grog with us; the evening was Spent with the greatest sociability.

¶ Major Hollinshead, Capt. Cummings, Capt Cox, Capt Ballard, Mr. Blair & myself & a number more came as aids to Col DeHart.

SATURDAY OCT. 9th. Still incamp and preparing for march.

SUNDAY OCT. 10th. Marched at 5 P. M. for Easton Clinton's & Poor's Brigades marched 7 miles to Bullocks Tavern ; Maxwell's & Hands being in the rear of the wagons & they being heavy laden, they marched but 3 miles and encamped in the woods.

MONDAY OCT 11th. Marched at Sunrise to Bullocks, eat breakfast and proceeded (after leaving the wagons with a proper guard) 9 miles & encamped

TUESDAY OCT 12th. Marched to Chowder Camp

WEDNESDAY OCT 13th Marched to Brinkers Mills

THURSDAY OCT. 14th Marched to Hillards Tavern

FRIDAY OCT 15—Marched to Easton *

SATURDAY OCT 16 Resting ourselves

SUNDAY OCT 17th. attended divine service had an excellent sermon.

MONDAY OCT 18th. Still in camp

TUESDAY OCT 21st. General Clinton with his Brigade crossed the river into Jersey & encamped 3 miles up the river.

SATURDAY OCT. 23d. Poor's Brigade crossed the river & encamped with Clinton

SUNDAY OCT 24. attended divine service.

TUESDAY OCT. 26th. Maxwell's & Hands Brigades crossed into Jersey & encamped.†

WEDNESDAY OCT. 27th.‡ Our Brigade with Hand's & the artillery who had crossed previous to our march, marched at 9 A. M. 3 miles & overtook Clinton & Poor who were upon their march ; marched 10 miles further & encamped at Oxford

THURSDAY OCT 28th. Marched at 8, 14 miles through a stony country & encamped at Log Jail

FRIDAY OCT. 29. Marched through a tolerably good country 10 miles to Sussex Court House & encamped

SATURDAY OCT 30. Marched 14 miles to Wallins Tavern & encamped.

SUNDAY OCT 31st. 13 miles to Warrick

MONDAY NOV. 1. Our Brigade received orders to march to Westfield—Marched 11 miles to Stirling Separated from the army marched 2 miles further and encamped between Ringwood and Stirling 2 miles from each.

TUESDAY NOV. 2nd. Marched 17 miles to Pompton & encamped

WEDNESDAY NOV. 3d 17 miles to Morris Town

THURSDAY NOV 4 Marched within one mile of Springfield 10 miles

FRIDAY NOV. 5th. 8 miles to Scotch Plains

SATURDAY NOV 9th Still

☞ Here a number of leaves are missing and the record ceases.

* Previous to our entering the town [Easton] the officers entered into a resolve not to eat or drink a penny's worth in a Tavern on the march to Head Quarters—as they had frequently been heard to say when buying liquors at high prices, that the western army was coming down, and the men were starved for victuals & drink & would give any price for the same & that they would make as much money as they pleased

† After encamping the officers of our Regt collected took a sociable drink of grog & after taking a few Buck dances marched through camp and 1-2 a mile through Phillips Burgh retired to rest

‡ The land tolerably good but stony & passed vast quantities of Buckwheat, Capt. Hendry, L. Rhea Lane &c arrived in camp & informed us of Capt. Voorheas being killed by the British Dragoons.

JOURNAL OF LIEUT. RUDOLPHUS VAN HOVENBURGH

RUDOLPHUS VAN HOVENBURGH, Lieutenant in Lieutenant Colonel Weissenfels' 4th N. Y. Regiment. He was an original member of the New York Society of Cincinnati. He died about 1824 or 1825.

From an entry in his journal, June 24th, "one of our Regt. was shot," and the fact that the person thus mentioned was James Titus, of the 5th New York, some have supposed that Van Hovenburgh was of that regiment; but that the above entry is an inadvertance is evident from the entry next day, "Col. Debois Reg't past ours on their March for Otsago." The name of Rand. Van Hovenburgh appears in the United States Register, as a Lieutenant of the 4th New York. This is evidently an error in copying or in printing, as his name was not Randolph, but Rudolph or Rudolphus. He was ensign in 3d Co., 4th New York Regiment Nov. 21, 1776. Lieut. Jan. 9, 1778, mustered Jan. 1782. It must be remembered, however, that in 1780, the five New York regiments were consolidated into two, and therefore, although a Lieutenant in the 4th New York during the Sullivan Campaign, he was afterwards and at the close of the war, a Lieutenant in the 2d New York.

Rev. David Craft received a certified copy of this journal from the late Franklin B. Hough, M. D., from which the following is taken. Dr. Hough had tracings of the signature of Van Hovenburgh, but could tell nothing more about him. The name still occurs in Ulster county, and he probably lived near Kingston, N. Y. This journal has never before been published.

JOURNAL.

STONE RAPID JUNE 16th. 1779 Received orders for to march on the 17 and Marcht at about six in the Morning the Troops crost the Mohawk River at Walcoats ferry, and our Baggage crost at Major freys and our party joined the Reg't at Cannijoharry flats and Marcht about fife miles on the cherry Valley Road and Incamped there that night

JUNE 18 Decamped and Marcht about four miles To Dunn's place and Incamped.

JUNE 19 Escorted Stores to Spring-field the 4th Pensyl Regt Marcht by us and the Rifel Core who were posted at Springfield to Escort the Stores to Lake otsego to the Late Aulden's Reg't.

JUNE 20. Lieut. Hair of Indian Butler's Reg't was Hanged as Spy Near the Mohawk River. A continual transporting of Provisions and Bataux from the River to the Lake

JUNE 21 Nothing Remarkable

JUNE 22 _____

JUNE 23 _____

24 One of our Reg't was shot by the sentence of Court Martial for Desertion

JUNE 25 A Constant Transporting of Stores to the Lake. Col. Debois Reg't past ours on their March for Lake otsago

JUNE 26 Nothing Remarkable

27 Nothing Remarkable

28 A Spy Executed on the Mohawk River In Col. Ganseworths camp.

JUNE 29th. Received Intelligence that one of the Rifel Core was taken by the Indians. and Escorts going with Stores and the chief of the stores were carried to the Lake

JUNE 30 Col Gansworths Regt Marched for Lake otsago.

JULY 1st. Nothing Remarkable

JULY 2d. Col Weisenfels Regt Marched for Lake Otsago and arrived there at 4 P. M. and Incamped there that night

JULY 3d Decampd and Loaded our Baggage on Board of the Bataux and Embarked our Regt on board and Moved to the South End of the Lake which is Nine Miles and twenty Nine from the River to the South End of the lake

LAKE OTSAGO JULY 4th 1779 Gen Orders for all the Troops at this place or Post to assemble at 3 o'clock in the afternoon in the fudie joy being the expiration of the third year of our Independence Now Enterd on the fourth, the troops paraded on the bank at the South end of the Lake A running fire from Right to Left with the Artillery. Also afterwards attend Divine Service and Returned to Camp.

We officers in Gen'l were invited by Col. Regnies To wait on him and take a drink of Grogg.

JULY 5 Col Auldens Regt cross'd the lake and Incampd. with the Bregade and a number of Indians Joined us at Lake otsago.

JULY 6th. Nothing

7 The second line was excused from duty To be inspected by the Sub Inspectors of the western Department

JULY 8th The first line was of duty for Inspection

9 Nothing Remarkable

10 do do

11 Surveyor went up to the North End of the Lake to take a plan of the Lake and the ground near it.

12 Nothing Remarkable

13 Nothing

JULY 14th. Capt Sacket of the 4th N. York Reg't left camp to recover his Health. Orders came to turn out 100 Men properly officer'd as a piquit Guard in the camp to be Ready at any Alarm, about 12 o'clock at night, the Reg't was alarmd. by firing of centinels, they Lay on their arms all that night.

15 Thoms. Sible Surgeon's mate to the fourth N. Y. Regt. was Discharged from the army.

16. Nothing Remarkable

17. the sick were sent to the genl Hospital under the Direction Doct. McCrea

JULY 18 Nothing Remarkable

19 Colo Gansworth arrived here from Albany Informs us of an Excruiation the Enemy had made into Westchester County they being attacked by col Sheldon's Regt. of Horse they Destroyed some Buildings there Loss Not known, our Loss but two or three taken prisoners.

20 Two Deserters was Brought into camp in Irons Belonging to the York Brigade Taken at Albany who deserted from us.

JULY 21st. Nothing Remarkable

22 Nothing Remarkable.

23 Lay waiting orders to join Genl. Sulvin.

24 Nothing Remarkable.

25. Received Intelgence of the capture of 500 of the Enemy at Stony point and taken the Redoubt with the Enemy were in Posesion of.

26 The whole army was ordered to attend the Execution of three criminals who were sentenced to suffer Death convictd for Desertion but on their petitions were Repreveid for a few days untill the 28th.

27 Express arived at Camp that the enemy were on the Frontiers, that they had Killd and taken 36 of Col. V. Scaick's Men a Scout Being Immediately Ordered out consisting of 300 men to take Bataux and to cross the Lake they Being under the comd of Colo. Ganseworth and Crosd. the Lake Immediately and Took their Quarters at Law's Landing

JULY 28. Marchd to Fort Plank at Cannojoharry where they Laid hat night.

29 Marchd. for the German Flatts, arived at Fort Herkerman about seven at Night and took Quarters there and expectd. by the intelligence that we had colectd that Fort Dayton would be attackd. in the Morning But was not, we sent out a scout to Cannaday Creek they made some discovery of the Indians tracks that they had drove some cattle. We tarryd. at the fort.

30 Nothing Remarkable

31 Set out marcht. to andreston toun and from thence to the Lake and crossed over to camp

AUGUST 1st Captn Davis & Titus joined us.

2 & 3 Nothing Remarkable very

4 Sum punishment Inflictd. in the Regt.

AUGUST 5 Nothing Remarkable

AUGUST THE 6 The carpenters was Impld. In Repairing the Battaux to be ready and the army to be Ready to march at a moments warning and orders for the Light Infantry companys To be filled up to be draftd. From the Regiment to complete Each compy. with three Sergeants and three corporals and fifty Privates to be under the command of Colo. Butler.

AUGUST 7 Nothing Remark

AUGUST 8 The Bregade under the comd. of Gen. Clinton was ordered to March on the day following.

CAMP LAKE OTSAGO AUGUST 9. The army under the comd. of Genl. Clinton Struck camp and Loaded our baggage on board of the Battaux and proceeded down the Susquehannah River as far as Burris Farms. The Troops Marchd. all except 3 men to each boat we had 250 boats and Quartered there that night and remained there the greater part of the next day on account of the rain which is 15 miles

BURRIS FARMS, AUGUST 10, 1779. Decampd. at about three P. M. and Loaded our Bagge. and proceeded on our march about 5 miles to Joachim Valkenburgh Place and Incamped there that night—Ratel Snakes plenty, very good soil.

SISQUEHANNAH RIVER, VALKENBURGH PLACE AUGST. 11. Decamped and Loaded our Baggage and procedd. on our March as far as two miles below an Indian Place called otago which was computed to twenty miles.

SISQUEHANNAH RIVER, OTAGO, AUGUST 12th. We decampt at about fife in the morning and procedd. on our march as far as Unedelly and Incamped on the South East side of the River and Most Extraordinary Good Land and most beautiful situation

AUGUST 13 UNEDELLY. We Decampd in the Morning Early and Marcht at about 5 o'clock as far as a beautiful Island called Gunna Gunter and Incampd. there which was about twelve miles there were apples plenty at this place Gd. [Good?]

AUGUST 14 GUNNE HUNTER. We Decamp and Proceed on our March at about 5 in the Morning [to] Acquagau and arrived there at 4 P. M. which was eight miles.

AUGUST 15 ACQUAGAU. Halted this day and waitd. for Colo Pauling to join us with a party of Militia and a sermon Delivered to us by the Reverent Garoe this day was Sunday at The place that Col. Butler Destroyd in seventy eight a very Pretty place

ACQUAGAU, AUGUST 16, MONDAY. Remain'd on our Ground. The Pensylvania Regiment was orderd out to meet the Meletia, but Returnd without them and Receivd orders to March Early Next Morning

ACQUAGAU AUGUST 17th TUESDAY. We decampd and Marcht at about 5 in the morning and proceedd on our march to a place formerly occupyd By the Tuskarories tribe and incampd there that night which was about twelve miles by land and twenty by water

TUSKARORA AUGUST 18 WEDNESDAY. We Decamp'd and marcht at 6 in the morning as far as Shenengo which is about 16 miles and incampd. about four miles below the Shenengo River where it empties itself into the Sisquehannah River.

SHENENGO AUGUST 19 THURSDAY. We Decampd and Proceedd on our march at 6 in the Morning as far as Chuckenugh were met with a tachment from Sulvin's Army under the Comd of Gen'l Poor, which was about 6 miles were we Halted for about two Hours and Proceeded on our march in Comp'y with Gen'l Poor, and crossed the Defile without The least interception of the Enemy and Proceedd on our March as far as Owaygo, and Incampd there which was about twenty two miles.

OWAYGO, AUGUST 20 FRIDAY. We had Receiv'd orders to march Next morning at the beating of the Genl. It Raining very much all Day we continued on our ground until next day. Ve. G. Gd. [very good ground]

OWAYGO, AUGUST 21st 1779 SATURDAY 21st. We Decamp'd at about 5 in the morning and Proceed'd on our march Immediately as far as Fits Garel's farms, which was computed about twenty miles and two battaux over Setd. this day Load'd with ammunition coming Down a rift But Got them up and Recover'd all the stores.

FITZ GERRELS FARMS AUGUST 22 SUNDAY. Decamp'd and Load'd our Bage and Proceeded on our March for Teauga, were arrivd at about two o'clock were we was Receiv'd at the Light camp with the Salute of 13 cannon, and Grand camp by seven pieces of cannon more and we returning the same compliment.

TEAUGAU AUGUST 23 MONDAY Gen'l orders for the army to Decamp at the Firing of one cannon and to incamp at the Same Signal and for the 2 New York Regiment to Join Clinton's Brigd and the late Col Aulden's Regt to Join Poor's Brigd. and Col. Butler to join Gen'l Hand's Brigd and each Brigd to form to Comps of Infantry, who were under the comd of Col. Butler. This day was Capt Kemble Pay. M. to Col. Scamels Reg't Killed by Exedent and a soldier Slightly woundd. The Garrison was left under the com'd of Col. Shreve consisting of two hundred and fifty Men properly officerd and the Invelade & the weomen were also Left.

TEAUGA AUGUST 24th TUESDAY. Lt Grey was orderd to Remain with the Garrison also Receivd orders to March Next morning at 5 o'clock with 30 days provisions for the whole army that were going Forward on the Expedition.

AUGUST 25 WEDNESDAY Could not Proceed on our march for the want of Horses which we had to collect that Day and the cattle also were straying about true the carelessness of the Genl Comsy and he conducts of the Horses.

TEAUGA AUGUST 26 THURSDAY. The army Decampd and Loadd their Bage, and Provisions and formed in order of March Gen'l Hands Brigd. in front, Gen'l Poor's on the Right Gen. Maxwell on the Left and Gen'l Clinton in the Rear and Marched at about two o'clock, and Proceedd. on our March about four miles and Incamp'd there that Night Cortlants with his Reg't Remained on our old Ground to collect all the Horses and cattle they could.

AUGUST 27th—SATURDAY. [Friday]. Remain'd on our Ground till Colo. Courtlandt came up with us and we Decampd and Proceedd. on our march two miles where we had a defile to cross. the army all cross'd but Clinton's Brigd. and we retired about a half a mile and Incampd there that night.

AUGUST 28th. SUNDAY [Saturday]. Decamp'd at about eight and proceedd on our march about seven miles and came up with the front of our army and Halt'd about half

an Hour were we received Orders to gather corn as much as wolud last them for one day as bread and Received a few shot from the Enemy at this

AUGUST 29th. MONDAY [Sunday.] Decamp'd at about six in the mornng. and Proceedd. on our march at seven and came up with the enemy in about 5 miles. The enemy having formed works and an Aubuscade but our active and Brave Rifle men Discover'd their Plan. Gen. Poors Brigd & Clinton's Brigd. were ordered to March off by their Right and to Gain their Rear if Possible they could the Musketry Playd, Pretty Brisk we had not Proceedd. on far before our artillery tame up and Play in among them which Causd a Great Deal of Hoping and Shouting among them, and we Proceedd on our march with as much speed as possible we could but They Retreating in so Great a hurry we were unable to Gain their Rear, Gen'l Poor's Brigd forced a hill From them with the Loss of one Killd and nineteen Wounded. Major Nickem [Titcomb ?] Capt. and Lieut McColly were among the woundd and wee [took] two Prisoners who Informed us that Colo. Butler, young Butler with some of the Rangers about 300 and Brant with about 600 Indians and they had tryd. to collect all the Indians but there were many who would not join him for they were afraid we would beat them, and he told them that he could beat us with his Rangers, and the Brethren that war with Brant. I think we had but a poor Story to tell them. we burnt Newton this evening, which was about twelve miles this days march and Incamp'd near Newton that night.

NEAR NEWTOWN, AUGUST 30th. TUESDAY [Monday]. Remaind. on our Ground and Parties were sent to Destroy their corn and all vegitables and also a party sent to collect the Dead 19, was the Number was found on the ground. Sm. Skn. by our S. fr. Bts.*—one woundd. The sick & woundd were sent to Fort Sulvin. Lieut. McColly Died of his wound after his Leg was taken off the Gen. Comdr. of this Department Requestd. that they would content themselves with half allowance and told them Necessity of it and the whole army consentd with three cheerful Huzaus through out the whole of the army and acquiest'd with his request and all the gaurads about the camp and in the camp in the Like manner.

NEAR NEWTON AUGUST 31st. WEDNESDAY [Tuesday]. Decamp'd and marcht about seven and proceedd. on our march about Nine and Destroy'd sum corn and Burnt many of their buildings and march'd about seven miles further and incamp'd on a pine plain a Great Deal of plunder was collectd, this by the part of the army this days march was about 16 miles and most Excellent land.

PINE PLAINS SEPT 1st. THURSDAY [Wednesday]. Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march about 9 in the morning. and march'd about 5 miles and Enterd. into a very bad swamp and we Expect'd have got through it before Night our front got there before night and Part of the Stores but the Rear in great confusion, the cattle straying and sum of the pack Horses Give out and died in the moras and many of the army Layd. in the swamp that night. I doe suppose we marcht about seven miles this day, the covering party to which I did belong Incamp'd at Catharine Toun about Sun Set the enemy Left the toun in Great Haste for they left Kittels on the fire and Left an old Squaw Behind in the town.

THE SWAMP SEPT. 2nd. FRIDAY [Thursday] The Rear Decamp'd and march'd about four Miles and came up with the front of our army, and incamp'd Near French Catharines Town and Remain'd there that day colect'd our Stray cattle We lost two men in the swamp, one of our Reg't.

T. M.. C... atd. W. B. C.

CATHARINES TOWN SEPT. 3d. SATURDAY [Friday] Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march at 7 in the morning and March'd Eleven miles and Incamp'd near a Small Settlement In the woods.

SEPT. 4th. SUNDAY [Saturday]. Decamp'd and Proceeded on our March at Eight in the morning and passd. the Settlement all on fire in Sight of the Sinnekic Lake as pretty a Lake as ever I Beheld and most beautiful Land and it appeared to be very good Land on the other side of the Lake * * * * * and march'd about 10 miles and Incamp'd in the woods.

* Some skinned by our own soldiers for boots.—J. S. C.

SEPT. 5th. Decamp'd and proceed'd on our march at about Eight in the morning and March'd about Eight miles and Incamp'd at Appietown and took Sum of the Enemys Horses, and also a deserter came in from the Enemy who they had taken at Weriwonung (?) [Wyoming] who give us the following Intelligence that the Enemy had Left that place Friday last and that they attend'd to make a stand at the outlet of the Sinnike Lake which is about Eighteen miles from this place. A most Excellent part of the Country most Beautiful Timber chiefly black walnut. corn in Great Plenty.

SEPT 6th Decamp'd and proceed'd on our march about three miles and Incamp'd in the woods Near the Lake and Remain'd there that Night and sent off parties to collect sum of our cattle which stray'd away the Night Before and found them.

SEPT. 7th Decamp'd and proceed'd on our march about seven in the morning and pass'd the Defile and cross'd the outlet of the Lake without the Least Interception of the enemy and Proceed'd on our [way] to Cannadasago which was about Eighteen miles but the Enemy had left the town and Left a white child of about three years in the town we found many fires Burning, this place was the Sennekees Gand Castle contains about Sixty Houses and great quantities of corn and Beans and other Vegetables at this place and about it.

SEPT. 8th. Remained on our Guard and Detach'd parties were sent off to Destroy the Neighboring Villiges and their corn, beans and vegetables, we collect'd many Horses at this place the enemy flying before us and carrying of chief of their effects and cattle with them.

SEPT 9th Received orders for a party to Retire to fort Sulvin to order up Sum Provisions To meet us on our return and Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march at Eleven and March'd about six miles and Incamp'd in the woods on the way to the Junisie Flats and a most Beautiful Country Court'y No Stones and scarce a hill to be seen and there our Detached parties Joined us.

SEPT. 10th. HAUNADAUGUE. Decamp'd and proceed'd on our march at seven and march'd about 13 miles and cross'd an outlet of a Lake in sight and Incamp'd Near the town—all the town on fire

SEPT. 11th Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march at 6 in the morning and march'd about 16 miles and Incamped in a most Beautiful Tract of Low land about one mile from the Lake called Hanauyue

SEPT. 12 We Received orders to leave our stores with a Guard and Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march about 12 o'clock and marcht about 10 miles and Incamp'd In the woods that night.

SEPT. 13th Decamped and proceed'd on our march at six in the morning and march'd about three miles and came to an Indian Farm called Canough we Halt'd for we had a defile to cross where the Indians had found an ambuscade and fired on our advanced party and wounded one of our men and Run off I was then informed that Lieut. Boyd with twelve Riflemen and six musketmen and six volunteers went of the last night at 11 o'clock to and Reconoitre the old Junisie Town and discovered more of the enemy and sent off a party to Inform the Gen'l of his Proceedings and he and the Remainder of his party Remained in the Town Short after they discovered two Indians on Horse Back Entering the town fired on them Killed one of them and wound'd the other who made his Escape He then dispatched two more of his party with the intelligence of the Gen'l who Discover'd 5 Indians on the road they came the night before and Returned to Lieut. Boyd. He then Returned with his party to meet us fell on the rear of the Enemy about 600 who had formed an Embuscade to cut off our Front. Lieut. Boyd fell on them at a surprise But heard his party because a Surprise to the Enemy they killed 14 of his men in the field, himself and a sergent they took prisoners, 5 of the men made their escape only. We made all the expedition we could to Reinforce him, but the completed Their work before we could come to his assistance. The Riflemen overtook them, the cowards Run of and left all their Baggage on the ground and never stood to exchange a shot with our Brave Soldiers we Proceed'd on Briefly expecting that they would make a stand at the Town, But they had not (?) Left it just before we came their and cross'd the River and Incamp'd about the town that night and Burnt it the Morning which was about 14 miles.

SEPT. 14. Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our March for the upper Junisie Castle and arriv'd their about 5 in the afternoon were Lieut. Boyd and the Sergeant who were taken prisoners the day before most cruelly Butchered, his hed Skin'd his nails pull'd out by the Roots, his hed cut off from his body his private parts skin'd his body speared most inhumanly. A woman who was prisoner among them came in to us who informed us that the Squaws did not like to leave their place and persuaded the warrior to make peace with us but Butler would not hear to that and order'd them to goe to Niagra and also Says that the Indians Brought the Prisoners to Col. Butler, But he Gave them over to the Indians for Satisfaction for the damages we had done to them, we incamp'd their that night which was about 12 miles and receivd orders to Destroy all the corn, Beans and all vegetables and burn the whole [which] was done to perfect'n and likewise the town and Destroy'd all the Fruit Trees and then to face right about.

SEPT. 15. We compleat'd the orders and Decamp't and Retired about 8 miles and Incamp'd on the Junisee Flats.

SEPT. 16 J. FLATS. Decamp'd and the Baggage and stores Proceed'd on our retreat and the army was ordered out to destroy corn and all other vegetables and we did a Great quantity and proceeded on our march as far as Adjuster and Incamp'd there and Destroy'd corn there also, which was about 12 Miles and buried our dead of the 13 Instant

ADJUSTER SEPT. 17th Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march to Hannyouyie were we found our Stores and Incamp'd there that night with 12 miles and a half.

HANNAYAUVEE SEPT. 18. Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march and kill'd a number pack Horses which were out, And march'd about 15 miles and Incamp'd at Haundaque Lake.

HAUNDAQUE LAKE SEPT. 19. Decamp'd and on our Retreat as far as Canasadaque and Incamp'd on our old Ground which was 15 miles.

CANNISDAGUA SEPT. 20th Different com'ds were sent sum to Burn the corn that we cut Down In our advancing, which received no damages as yet one com'd was sent by the way of Schuyler from Clintons Brigd. consisting of one hundred men properly officer'd under the com'd of Col. Gansevort, to bring on the Baggage of the Brigd. Col. Butler with a com'd to destroy the Kaugau Nation, and the covering parties were ordered to join their respective Regts. We Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march about four miles and Incamp'd there that Night in the woods.

SEPT. 21st. Decamp'd and proceed'd on our march and marchd about 14 miles and incamp'd in the woods.

SEPT. 22nd. Decamp'd and proceed'd on our march about 16 miles and Encamped on the South East Side of the Cinnakie Lake. a com'd was then sent of under the comd of Col. Derburn.

SEPT. 23d Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our Retreat about twelve miles and Pass'd a defile and Encamp'd there that Night in the Edge of the Laus Swamp.

SEPT. 24th. Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march about 14 miles and we arivd. and Newtown where we had a small fort and stores we was saluted by discharging 13 pieces of cannon and we Returned the same compliment and was received with Great joy and Encamp'd.

SEPT. 25th. Remained on Guard and Rec'd orders for the whole army to parade Half after 5 in the afternoon for a futuie joy for our New Allience with the King of Spain 13 pieces of cannon to be fired and a Running fire throughout the whole line of the army beginning on the Right. the Gen'l made a present of a fat ox to each Brigd of the army and five Gall's of whiskey and after the futu uoy the officers from Each Brigd. assembled and Eat to Gather and Drank to the following toasts.

1st. Congress. 2nd. The United States. 3d The King of Spain, and three cheers for each throughout the whole army.

FORT REED, SEPT. 26th Dined on the Remainder of our ox.

FORT REED, SEPT 27th Remained on our ground. a detachment under the comd. of Col. Cortlandt went up the Teaugau River to Destroy corn and burn it. They returned the Same Evening.

SEPT. THE 23th Remained on our Ground. The same com'd was ordered to goe up the river about twelve miles to destroy corn.

SEPT. 29th Decamp'd and proceed'd on our march to Shamong and Incamp'd there that night the com'd joined us this day.

SHAMONG SEPT 30. Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march to Teaugau and arrived at the fort about 3 o'clock where we was Received by the Discharging 13 pieces of cannon and the Army Returned the Same Number and March'd down to the point and Encamp'd on our old Ground an entertainment was for all the officers of the army and all Dined at Fort Sulvin and in the even'g Returned to our camp. So ends the month and we at Teaugau.

TEAUGAU OCT 1st. We Lay waiting for orders to march

TEAUGAU OCT 2nd. 1779. The army was Preparing for to Proceed on our march a fatigue party was to Demolish the Fort and the Block House and another party to Load the Batause.

TEAUGAU OCT 3. Received Orders to be ready to march the next day.

TEAUGAU OCT. 4. Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march Down the Sisquehannah River about 16 miles and Incamp at Ysocking Creek * *

WAYSOCKING CREEK OCT. 5th Decamp'd and Load'd our Baggage, and all the army Embark'd on board of the Boats Excepting a number who had to take Down the Horses & cattle. I went in the boats and proceed'd Down the river about 16 miles and Encamp'd.

OCT 6th Decamp'd and Load'd our Baggage and Proceed'd Down the River all this day and Incamped that night

OCT 7th Decamp'd and proceed'd down the River and arrived at Weyoming about 3 o'clock where we were received by the discharging of 13 cannon from the Fort and we returned the like compliment and the army Land'd and Incamp'd which is called 80 miles from Teaugau.

CAMP WEYOMING OCT 8th. Preparation was making for the army to march collecting of Horses and waggons.

OCT 9th A Detachment was ordered to Easton to Repair the Roads so that the army might Not be Detained. I came of with the party and found most exceeding bad, [roads] and proceed on our march about 14 miles and incamp'd

OCT 10th Proceed'd on and Repairing the Roads and halt and Incamp'd. at Locust Hill

OCT 11th. Proceeded on our way as far as the inhabitants

OCT. 12. Proceed'd on our March and cross'd the Wind Gap this day and found the Roads Good and lodged at a Tavern about twelve miles from Eastown.

OCT. 13th Arrived at Eastown and took my Lodgings at the ferry house who kept a tavern which is 65 miles from Weyoming.

OCT. 14. The army arrived in Eastown at 6 o'clock in the afternoon Encamp'd.

OCT. 15. Waiting orders for to march.

" 17. The army attend'd Divine Service by order of Gen'l Sulvin on our Return from the western Expedition.

OCT. 18th Nothing Remarkable this day.

OCT. 19. Remained on our ground.

OCT. 20. Gen'l Clinton's Brigd. cross'd the Delleware and march'd out 3 Miles and Incamp'd in the woods

CAMP NEAR EASTOWN OCT 21st. Gen. Sulivin went into the Country to Recover his health the like of musick went with him and Clinton took the command

GRINGGE, OCT 22nd. Nothing.

OCT. 23d * Gen. Poor's Brigd. cross'd the River and encamp'd on our Left.

OCT. 24. Col. Weisenfels set out for the State of New York to wait on the Governor and council with a memorale.

OCT. 25th Nothing Remarkable.

OCT. 26th The army received orders to be ready to march the day following the march to begin on the Left.

OCT. 27th Decamped and Proceed'd on our march To Oxford which is 13 miles and Encamped.

OCT. 28th Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march to Log Gaol which is 16 miles. Encamp'd

OCT. 29. Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march to Sussex which is 10 miles.

OCT. 30. Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march to Willins Tavern and Encamp'd which is 14 miles.

OCT. 31st Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march to Warwick and Encamp'd there which is 15 miles.

WARRICK NOV. 1st. Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march to Stirling Iron Works which is 10 miles and encamp'd there.

NOV. 2d. Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march about 13 miles and encamp'd at Sovereignce.

NOV. 3d Orders for the army to exercise twice From 10 to 12 and from 3 to 4 in the afternoon

NOV. 4. Rammerpo. Nothing remarkable. G. C. C. W. G. W.

NOV. 5th Received orders to be Ready to march the following day

NOV. 6th Could not march for the want of waggons and Teams.

NOV. 7th Decamp'd and Proceed'd on our march to Pumpton and Encamp'd in the woods.

CAMP PUMPTON NOV 8th. Remained on our ground and Poor's Brigd. arriv'd there and Encamp'd with us.

NOV. 9th The Troops from the western were This day Review'd by his Excellency George Washington, Comd. in Chief. I was very unwell.

NOV. 10th Nothing Remarkable

NOV. 11th We Remain'd on Ground Col Aldens Reg't & the Rifel we were order'd to march to West Point were detained for want of waggons.

NOV. 12th Gen'l Clinton's and Gen'l Poor's Brigd. Remov'd from there Encampment about two Miles and Encamp'd into the woods Col. Alden's Reg't and the Rifel Cour March'd to West Point.

CAMP NEAR PUMPTON NOV. 13. Nothing Remarkable.

NOV. 14th On the 13th Instant our Express arrived from Carlina with the following Intelligence of the Defeat of our army at that Post.

CAMP NEAR PUMPTON NOV. 15th Patrols were ordered to Patrol from 7 o'clock in the Evening untill Daylight to Prevent the Soldiers from committing any access to the Inhabitants

NOV. 16th. Nothing Remarkable.

NOV. 17. Gen'l Green the Quarter Master Gen'l came to our Camp on his way to Lay the Hutting grounds and Col. Gansvort Reg't was order'd to escort him. I was on Gen'l Court Martial

NOV. 18. Col. Gansworth Regt was detained for the want of waggons.

19. Marched on for the Ground to Hutt on.

20. Nothing Remarkable.

21. Col Dubois's Reg't Rec'd orders to March.

22. Col. Dubois's Reg't March'd and Gen'l Sinclair's Devison March'd by us.

23. The Remainder Part of the Brigd. Received orders to be Ready to March and Poor's Brigd. also.

24. Gen. Poor's Brigd. March'd for winter Q's to Danbury.

25th. The remainder of the Brigd March'd to Rockway Bridge and Encamped there on the Left M. G. Sinclaires Devison.

26. Nothing Remarkable

27. Nothing Remarkable

28. ——— do

29. ——— do

30. Gen. Huntington and Parsons Brigd come up to us and Encamp'd about one Mile From our Camp.

1st. DEC'R. His Excellency Washington Past by our Camp on his way to Morristown.

2. Received orders for a detachment to go and take Possession of the Hunting Ground
 - 3d. I Proceed'd on for the Hunting Ground and Proceed'd on as far as Morristown and Lay'd there very Great Storm of snow and Rain
 - 4th March'd in to the Ground waiting for the Brigade.
 - 5th. The Brigd. arriv'd on the Ground In a bed Snow Storm and Incamp'd In the woods the [snow] six inches deep.
 - 6th. Nothing Remarkable
 - 7th. Genl. Clinton's Brigd. began to Build their Hutts for their winter Quarters.
 8. Gen'l Orders for furlows to be Grant'd to all officers so as to leave one officer in each camp until April 1st.
 9. The army very busy in Building
 10. Nothing Remarkable
 11. Nothing Remarkable
 12. Nothing
 13. Nothing
 14. Nothing
 15. The men of the Regt. Moved into their Hutts. The Officers Hutts were not yet finished for the Gen'l orders were for the officers to see their men Hutt'd first.
 16. Nothing Remarkable
 17. Nothing Remarkable
 18. Nothing
 19. Nothing
 20. Nothing
 21. The Baron Stuben began to Inspect the army.
 22. Nothing Remarkable 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.
 28. Provisions very scant. 28. 30. 31. And so the year ends.
- The Journal continues until Nov 24 1780.

The following Table of distances is found at the close of the Journal.——

The Rout of Gen. Clinton's Brigd. on the Western Expedition from Mohawk River Caniajoharry

To Lake Otsago is	21 miles
To the south end of lake is.....	9
To. Valkenburgh place is.....	20
To Otague is.....	12
To. Unedelly is.....	20
To Aunequagan is.....	25
To Cohaunaquaga by water is.....	50
by land is... ..	18
To Cohaunaquagan is....	8
To Oquegan is.....	15
To Teaugau is.....	27

by land 175 by water 207

Where we joined Gen'l Sulvin

From Teaugau to Chemung is.....	12 miles
From Chemung to fort at Newtown is... ..	8½
Newtown Fort to French Catherine town.....	18
From Cathn. town to Kanedaugue is.....	27½
From Kanedaugue to the outlet of Seneca Lake is.....	11½
From the outlet of Seneca Lake to Caundasauque Grand Castle is.....	3½
From Caundasauque to Kannadauqua, is.....	15½
From Kannadauque to Hannaquaquie is.....	13½
From Hannaquaquie to Adjuster is.....	12½
From Adjuster to Kasawaughoughley is.....	7
From Kasawaughoughley to Junise Castle.....	5½

JOURNAL OF SERGEANT NATHANIEL WEBB.

NATHANIEL WEBB, was Sergeant Major in the Second N. Y. Regiment. The original journal was in possession of his son, Dr. Ezekiel Webb in 1855, at which time a part of it was published in the *Elmira Republican*, September 11th and 12th. No trace of the original can be found, and as no files of the paper are in existence, that part published on the 12th of September, cannot be found.

The following is taken from a copy furnished General John S. Clark, by Lyman C. Draper, Esq., Corresponding Secretary of the State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin :

FROM THE ELMIRA DAILY REPUBLICAN, SEPT. 11th, 1855.

RELICS OF THE OLDEN TIME.

Dr. Ezekiel Webb has placed in my hands a journal kept by his father, Nathaniel Webb, who was an officer in Colonel Van Cortlandt's regiment, Mc.Dougal's Brigade, having entered the service in April, 1777. He was present at the surrender of Burgoyne, at the battles of Germantown, Monmouth and several other engagements, notes of which appear in this Journal.

In April, 1779, Van Cortlandt's regiment was ordered from Albany to accompany Sullivan's Expedition against the Indians. The journal states the details of the expedition, from day to day, until it reaches Wyoming where the regiment to which he belonged (Van Cortlandt's) arrived the 14th of June. The Journal proceeds :—

JOURNAL.

JUNE 17.—Decamped at 10 A. M. The three regiments marched up to Jacob's Plains—Encamped near the bank of the river on the east shore, about four miles above the garrison.

23.—Gen. Sullivan arrived with two Brigades—Maxwell's and Poor's. They encamped below the garrison.

27.—Gen. Poor, with his Brigade, left Wyoming, and encamped at Forty Fort on the West Shore.

JULY 4.—Col. Cilley's Regiment and ours joined Gen. Poor at Forty Fort.

20.—300* boats arrived with provision for Sunbury.

21.—800† head of cattle, 500 horses, 500 wagons arrived.

24.—200 boats arrived with stores, at which time 30 cannon were fired from the park.

31.—The army decamped at 10 A. M. Encamped that night at Lackawana.

AUGUST 3.—Decamped at 7 A. M. Fleet and army moved off. The army crossed Tunkhannock, and encamped near the same.

4.—7 A. M., fleet and army got under way. Encamped that night at Vanderlip's desolated farm, 42 miles from Wyoming.

5.—Half past 8 A. M. got under way: At 5 P. M. reached Wyalusing, and encamped on the flats

7.—Sergeant Shoecraft of our regiment, with three men and an Indian, set out to reconnoitre the country between this and Tioga.

8.—Decamped at 5 A. M. Marched this day as far as Standing Stone.

9.—Decamped at 5 A. M. Marched this day through some bad defiles and mountains and encamped on the Flats, Six miles from Tioga.

10.—Lay in encampment—drew provisions, &c. A regiment from each Brigade went as an escort to the Commander in Chief. They brought in a milk cow from Tioga.

11.—Decamped 8 A. M. Our regiment and the New Jersey regiment crossed "Siskohano" and Shoved up the river to Tioga. At 3 P. M., the fleet and arrived, and pitched tents between the North and West Branches of the river.

12.—Turned out a fatigue party to build block-houses. At 2 P. M., a lieutenant and 8 men returned from a Scout to Chemung. Met with no opposition—Saw a number of Indians in the town who appeared to be in great confusion. The party found two fresh scalps which they brought into camp. At 8 P. M. the whole army off duty, marched off to Chemung.

13.—At 5 A. M. we approached the town. The enemy had all left it some hours before we arrived. We burnt the town, and destroyed most of the corn in and about it. Several "Scrimmages" happened between our troops and the enemy during our stay at Chemung. We lost fourteen killed and wounded. At 4 P. M. left Chemung and returned to Tioga.

15.—One thousand men detached under command of General Poor, to march up the North Branch to meet Gen. Clinton. They were ordered to march the next morning. At 2 P. M. a party of the enemy came down upon the Flats, killed one of the drovers and wounded another—took off seven horses. Killed one bullock but did not get him off. Our troops pursued but did not come up with them.

16.—At 10 A. M. the party under Gen. Poor marched up the river. A Sergeant, Corporal and 12 men from each Brigade were detached in order to scout round about the mountains to ambuscade the Savages lurking in the vicinity of the camp. 4 P. M. a Captain and 60 men mounted as a guard to prevent the cattle and horses from straying to the mountains.

17.—Some lurking Savages killed one Soldier and wounded another about 20 miles from camp.

20.—Ten riflemen came in from Gen. Clinton—left him about 22 miles from this place.

22.—Gen. Clinton arrived, and also the detachment under Gen. Poor. One of our scouting parties killed and scalped an Indian about five miles up the West Branch [Chemung]

26.—A signal gun fired for striking the camp. At 1 P. M. the army got under way. Our Regiment remained on the ground to collect cattle and horses.

27.—Our regiment left Tioga and joined the army before they marched. The army

* The first figure is somewhat indistinct and may be an 8.

† This may be 300.

marched within four miles of Chemung. Our Brigade encamped about three miles in rear of the army that night.

28.—At 8 A. M. our Brigade joined the army, which, immediately upon our arrival, struck their tents, after destroying some fine fields of corn. Army all crossed the river and marched up to Chemung, except our Brigade, on the east side of the river. This night the whole army encamped on the flats of Chemung.

29.—The army at 8 A. M. moved about four miles up the river. The General discovered a fortification of the enemy on the flats. Gen's. Poor and Clinton's Brigades were ordered to march around, in order to gain the rear of the enemy. Several large mountains and defiles occasioned our not advancing far enough up the river in season, before our cannon began to play, which occasioned them to retire. A smart scattering fire happened between Gens. Poor and Clinton and the enemy, upon the Mountain, which made our friend Butler to mend his pace. Several of the enemy were found dead. We had 5 officers and men killed, and several slightly wounded. We encamped that night upon the ground that Butler did the night before. We took two prisoners.

30.—8 A. M., 400 men were ordered out to destroy corn, &c. Several Indians and Tories were found dead ; some of which they had hove into the river—also the body of Queen Esther, who murdered many of the inhabitants of Wyoming last summer.

31.—Several boats, with wounded men and heavy artillery, Set out for Tioga. 9 A. M. the army moved—burnt Newtown ; left some fine fields of corn standing about Newtown. We left the river, and followed up a small branch. Encamped that night upon a fine plain about ten miles from Newtown.

MAP AND LETTER OF CAPT. WILLIAM GRAY.

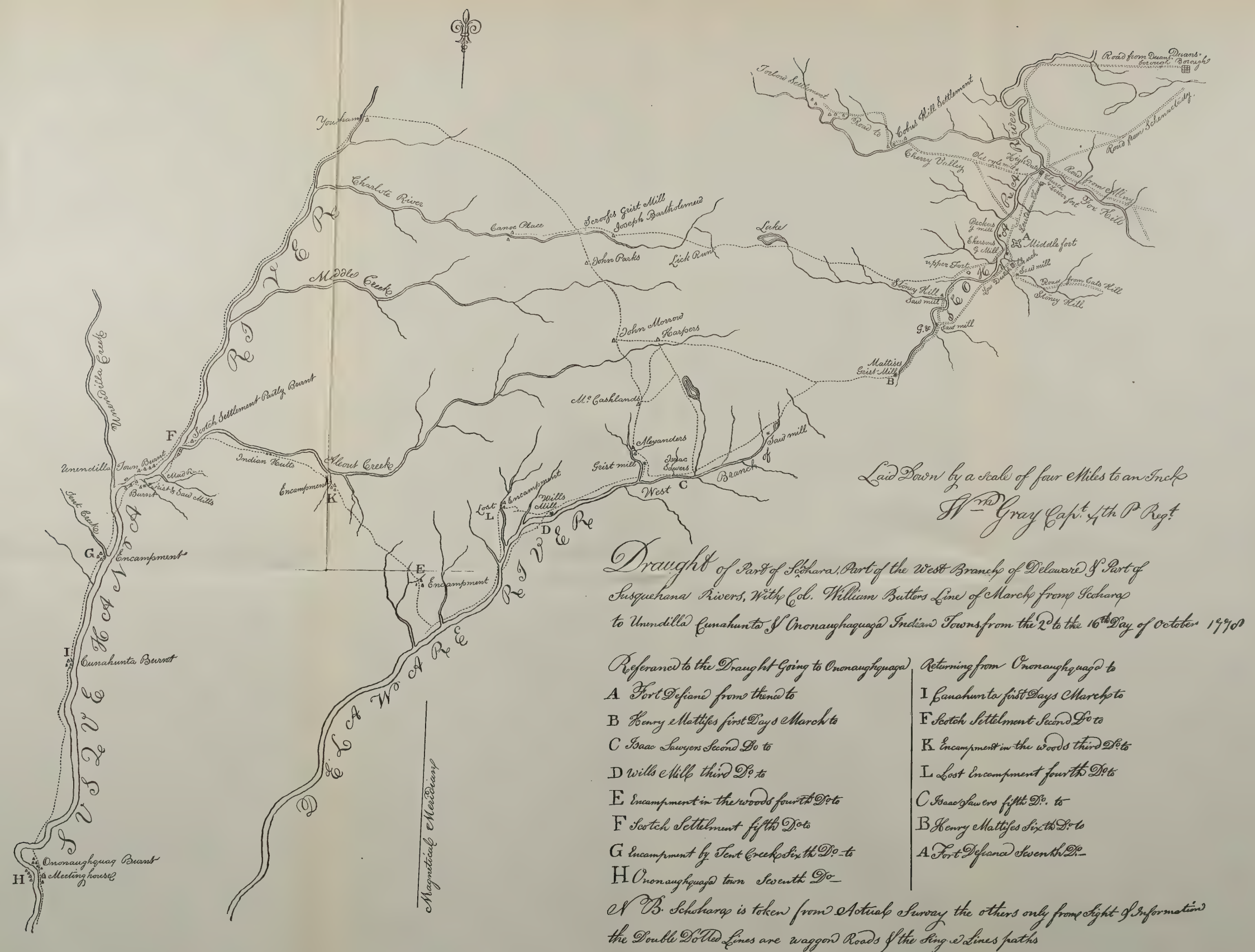
SCHOHARA OCT 28th 1778

SR.

I Recd yours of the 20th Inst & understand the Contents & have Accordingly Sent you a Draught of Part of Schoara, Part of the west Branch of Delaware & Part of Susquehana which is all that I Can Collect. I shewed your Leter to Col Butler who has Promised to Let me Have Leave & men to Asist me to Survay the Roads you mentioned If possible, which I Doubt not but it will. If so I shall write to you as soon as I begin I had Neither pencil or Indian Ink to shade the Hills which are Very Numerous as there is nothing Else after you Quite the waggon Road. too you Can Reach Unendilla the Road or path from thence Ononaughquaga is much Better as it gos all the way along the River.

As to my finding out the Varyation at this place I imagine that it will be very Difficult as sun is not to be scene for at least one hour after he Rises & an hour before he sets However I will try my Best

I shall now give you an Acct. of our March & Expedition to the Indian towns as well as I Can. We Marched from Fort Defiance on friday 2d ult with a Party of men Consisting of the 4th Pennsy.. a Regt. Part of the Rifel Chore & some Malitia in Number about 260—Officers Included, along the Line you see Marked on the Draught, without anything worthy Notice till we Came to Unendilla which we found Evacuated, from thence we Marched Down the River Susquehana for Ononaughquaga the Chief Indian town where we thought to Start a Party of Savages & torys By Surprise, but we Happened Unluckily to be Discovered by Some Scouting Savages who made the best of their way & as they knew the path Better than we Did & had Got the start So far we Could not Come up with them though our Scoting Party traveled





all Night, to no purpos, we Got to Ononaughquaga on Thursday the 8th Ult. About 10 o Clock at Night which we found Evacuated Also in the Greatest Disorder Every thing Seemed as if the had fled in the Greates Haste. Nex Morning we set the town (which Consisted of About 30 or forty good Houses in) in flames Destroying therein Great Quantitys of Household Furniture & Indian Corn, After the Burning of the town two men of our party went out to Sarch for some Horses that were Lost, & not minding to take their Arins with them were fired on from a thicket by some Lurking Indians who wounded one of them (that is Since Dead of the wound) on which Col. Butler ordered Capt Parr with a party of Rifel Men to Go in Sarch of them but they Could not Come up with them though they Marched five or six miles Down the River Seting fier to a very Large Indian Council house in their Return. the same Day About 2. o. Clock we marched from Ononaughquaga up the River too another Town Called Cunahunta (burning Some Indian Houses & Corn on the Road) from thence we Marched Next morning Early Leaving it in flames, but that Night & the Day Raining so terrably that it Rendred Every small Run both Difficualt & Dangerous in Crossing but when we Came to the River below Unendilla (as Pr Draught) it was Dreadful to see so Large a stream to the Mens Breast & very Rappid & Rising at the Rate of one Inch P Minet, but by the Pressing Desire of the men to Get over & the Deligence of the officers with their owne & the Pack Horses they were all Got over Safe which if we had been but one houre Longer we Could not have Crossed & God only knows what would have been the Dreadfull Consequences

We Marched that Evening up the East side of the River as far as the Scotch Settlement burning all as we went along that Could be of any use to the Enimy. We Could not March thence on Sunday by Reason of the Great Rains on Munday we Marched burning some Tory Houses before we Set out & Encamped in the wood that Night. Marched Early Next Morning but when we Came to Delaware we Could not Cross it but was obliged to March up the N. W. Side of the River & the Pilot not Knowing the Road & Night Coming on we Lost our Road about five or six miles & had to March over two very Large Hills Before we Could Get to the River again However the Party Got Home on Saturday the 16th. Ult in Good spirits After a march of Near 300 Miles in Such Ter-
rable Weather Almost bairfooted & Naked, we suffered a good Deal for want of Bread as we had not any of that very usefull Articles for four Days. you Doubtles May see a more Particular Acet of this at Head Quarters but I have Endeavored to Give it as True as I Could. Present

My Best Compliments to Capt Scull & the Rest of the Party & Let them
See this. &

I am Sr. your

very Hul. Servt.

WM. GRAY

P. S. If you see Col. Stewart Shew him this my Compliments to
him & I Desire that he may Leave My Accts. with you as I hope to see
you My self soon

To

ROBERT ERSKINE

Head Quarters

favored by

ye

Rev'd Dr Jones

On public Service

A true copy from the original in the Simeon De Witt collection of maps in the archives of the
New York Historical Society, made Sept. 8, 1886. See also reference to this map on page 294 hereof.

JOHN S. CLARK.

MAPS IN THE DeWITT COLLECTION.

M A P S .

The following list has been kindly furnished by Jacob B. Moore, Esq., Librarian of the New York Historical Society :

DE WITT MAPS—Mss. Surveys by Robert Erskine, Geographer to the American Army—In the Library of the New York Historical Society,—

EXPEDITION OF 1778.

Surveyed by Capt. Wm. Gray of the 4th Pa. Reg't.

- No. 52. A. Road from Albany to Schoharie,
double route.....63 inches x 26 inches.
No. 52. B. Schoharie River, Cobus Kill, etc.....19½ x 24 inches.
“ “ C. Albany to Man's Grist Mill, double route.....33x15 in.
“ “ E. Butler's route to Cherry Valley, Onananaghqua-
go, etc.....16x13 in.

Draft of a part of Schohara and West bank of the Delaware with Col. Wm. Butler's line of march, Oct 2'd to 16th 1778, 19x14 in, with a letter from Capt. Gray to Erskine giving an account of the expedition, dated Schohara Oct. 28, 1778.

EXPEDITION OF 1779.

- No. 91 A. Road from Easton to Wyoming, 2 miles to an
inch.....27x21 in.
“ “ B. Northumberland, Pa. to Wyoming.....29x13 in.
“ 92. A. From Wyoming towards Tioga, across the Lacka-
wana towards Tunhannunk, 1 mile to an inch.....13x16 in.
“ “ B. Ditto—Tunkhanunk and Meshoppen creek.....13x16 in.
“ “ C. (missing)

No.92. D.	Ditto, past Learn's Tavern.....	13x14 in.
" " E.	Ditto, past Toby Hana creek.....	12x15½ in.
" " F.	Ditto.	16x13 in.
" " G.	Ditto, to Bullock's House.....	16x12 in.
" " H.	Ditto; comes to Wyoming.....	7½x12 in.
" " I. K.	(missing)	
" " L.	Ditto, towards Tioga, past Wialusing.....	13x16 in.
" " M.	Ditto, from Wialusing to Sheshekemunk Flats where the army encamped.....	13x16 in
" 95 A.	From the forks of the Susquehanna (at Sunbury) towards Wyoming.....	12x15½ in.
" " B.	Ditto, continued.....	15x12 in.
" " C.	Ditto, "	15x12 in.
" " D.	" "	15x13 in
" " E.	" "	7x13 in.
" " F.	" "	16x13 in.
" " G.	" "	8x13 in.
" " H.	" " past Shickohinna.....	8x13 in.
" " I.	" " " Nanticoke Falls	
" " K.	" concluded to Wyoming.....	16x13 in.
" 96. A.	From Fort Sullivan past Chemung.....	13½x16 in.
" " B.	past Newton to Catharines town.....	13½x16½ in.
" " B 2'd.	Fort Reed to Cayuga Branch.....	13x16 in.
" " C.	From Catharines Town down Seneca Lake.....	13x16½ in.
" " D.	Down Seneca Lake past Appletown.....	13x16½ in.
" " E.	to the outlet of Seneca Lake.....	9x8½ in.
" " F.	Road across the outlet of Cayuga Lake.....	11x8 in.
" " G.	up the Cayuga Lake past Chonodote.....	9x16 in.
" " H.	to the upper end of Cayuga Lake.....	12x16 in.
" " I.	from the head of the lake towards Newton.....	13x17 in.
" " K.	to the place adjoining Newton.....	7x8½ in
" 97 A.	through Cannadisago towards Chinnissee past Kan- andogue.....	16x8 in.
" " B.	ditto through Haunyauna.....	16½x11½ in
" " C.	ditto to Chinnissee Castle.....	16x7½ in.
" 103.	Sheet 1. Route of the Western Army, General con- traction, Albany to Seneca Lake, rough draft unin- ished.....	21½x29 in.
" " "	Sheet 2. Ditto,.... [general contraction 16 miles to an inch, Albany to Chinnissee Castle, unfinished]	14½x20

- No. 103 A. Route of the Western Army under Gen. Sullivan,
1779—2 miles to an inch [Lehigh to Wyoming and 21
miles above].....20x29½ in.
[Lehigh to Butter Milk Creek]
- " " A 2'd. Ditto [Sunbury to Wyoming].....20x29½ in.
- " " B. Ditto [From 21 miles above Wyoming to Che-
mung].....20x29½ in.
- " " C. Ditto [Chemung to north end of Seneca and
Cayuga lakes].....*20x34
- " " D. Ditto. Kanadasago to Chinnissee Castle.....20x29½

At the request of the Secretary of State, the above mentioned maps were examined by General John S. Clark of Auburn, N. Y., who reported thereon as follows:—

AUBURN, N. Y. Aug. 2, 1886.

DEAR SIR:

I have the honor to report, that on Thursday last I visited the rooms of the New York Historical Society, and examined carefully the four volumes of maps relating to the revolutionary period, known as the De Witt and Erskine maps, several of which related to General Sullivan's campaign of 1779. Five of these were by Lieutenant Lodge who, with compass and chain, surveyed the route of the army from Easton over the mountains to Wyoming, and from present Sunbury Pa., along the Susquehanna to Wyoming and thence to the Genesee river, including the return route of Col. William Butler along the east shore of Cayuga lake. As illustrating the routes of the several detachments of Gen'l Sullivan's army, these maps are exceedingly interesting and valuable. The following is a brief description of each.

103. A. Route of the Western Army under Gen'l Sullivan in 1779 from Easton over the mountains to Wyoming—20x29½ inches—2 miles to an inch.
103. A 2nd. ditto. Sunbury to Nanticoke creek—20x29½ inches—2 miles to an inch.
103. B. ditto. Nanticoke creek to Chemung—20x29½ inches—2 miles to an inch.
103. C. ditto. Chemung to Kanadasaga including Seneca and Cayuga Lakes—20x34 inches—2 miles to an inch.
103. D. ditto. Kanadasago to Chinnissee castle—20x29½ inches—2 miles to an inch.

This series is complete and includes all the routes of which regular surveys were made by Lieut. Lodge. Genl. Dearborn's route on the west side of Cayuga lake, and Genl. Clinton's descent of the N. E. branch of the Susquehanna from Canajoharie to Tioga Point, do not appear to have been surveyed.

The route of Gen'l Clinton is well illustrated by a map entitled "Draft of a part of Schoharie and the west bank of the Delaware with Col. William Butler's line of march Oct. 2 to Nov. 16, 1778, 19x14 inches, with a letter from Capt. William Gray of the 4th Pa. Reg't to Robert Erskine, giving an account of the expedition."

This map, with the five previously mentioned will be almost invaluable as illustrating the several journals to be printed by the State.

Besides these there are 40 other maps generally of a larger scale and apparently the first draughts from the original notes, but covering the same ground as the five first mentioned. These should be carefully examined, to ascertain if any material facts have been omitted

* A copy of this was found among the papers of Capt. Machin and is now in the library of the Waterloo Historical Society. It has been sometimes referred to as the Machin Map.

from the more perfect copies. The writing on most of these maps is so much faded that they cannot be photographed, copies should be made by tracing, from which lithographic or photo-lithographic copies could be made.

Very respectfully

Your obedient servant,

JOHN S. CLARK.

HON. FREDERICK COOK,
Secretary of State,
Albany, N. Y.

AUBURN, N. Y., Nov. 18th, 1886.

DEAR SIR :—

I send to-day six maps for the forthcoming volume relating to the Sullivan campaign of 1779, about to be published by the State. They were copied from what is known as the "Simeon De Witt collection" in the archives of the New York Historical Society, but are in fact, the manuscript maps and surveys of Robert Erskine Geographer to the American Army, and his assistants, made during the period of the revolutionary war. As Mr. DeWitt succeeded Mr. Erskine in that position, the maps and manuscripts fell into his hands officially, and were subsequently bound in four large volumes and designated the "DeWitt maps."

Of this collection, forty-four are illustrative of the routes of the several detachments of Genl. Sullivan's army in 1779. Thirty-seven of these are rough drafts and were evidently made from the original field notes of the surveys by Lieut. Lodge, the geographer to the western army. These are generally on a scale of two miles to an inch. These rough drafts were consolidated into five, on a scale of two miles to an inch, apparently, under the immediate supervision of Mr. Erskine and were entered in the index as the maps of *Lieut. Lodge*. I examined the rough drafts with care and compared them with the consolidated copies. The copies herewith furnished for publication, are in *fac simile* of the five originals, with a few additions of names and legends, found in the rough drafts that were not entered in the consolidated copies.

As you will see, they cover the route of the army from Easton to Wyoming over the mountains, from Sunbury up the Susquehanna to Wyoming, from Wyoming up the Susquehanna and through Central New York to the Great Seneca Castle on the Genesee, the route of Col. Dayton for thirteen miles up the Chemung river above present Elmira and the return route of Col. William Butler, along the east side of Cayuga lake.

The map made by Capt. William Gray, was made especially to illustrate the campaign in the autumn of 1778, against the Indians and Tories on the Delaware and Susquehanna, made by Col. William Butler, but is of great value in representing the locations of Indian villages and giving the names of places often mentioned in the Sullivan Journals, in giving the account of General Clinton's descent of the Susquehanna to join General Sullivan at Tioga Point. The maps of Captain Gray will compensate in part for the absence of any official survey of General Clinton's route.

I am very respectfully

Your obedient servant,

JOHN S. CLARK.

HON. FREDERICK COOK,
Sec. of State,
Albany, N. Y.

Simeon De Witt was at first a private soldier in the Continental Army. Upon the recommendation of Gen'l James Clinton to Gen. Washington, he was, in 1778, appointed assistant to Col. Robert Erskine, then Geographer in chief, (Topographical Engineer) whom he afterwards succeeded as will appear from the following:—

"In Congress Dec 4, 1780,

Resolved, That Simeon De Witt be appointed Geographer to the Army in the room of Robert Erskine, deceased."

On the 16th Dec. 1780, DeWitt was ordered to head quarters and continued attached to the main army until the end of the war. On the 16th of May, 1784, he was commissioned as Surveyor General of the State of New York, which office he held for 50 years—In 1796, he was appointed Surveyor General of the United States but declined the appointment. He died at Ithaca, N. Y., Dec. 3, 1834. A memorial tablet is erected to his memory in the Second or Madison Avenue Reformed (Dutch) Church Albany, N. Y. He has often been quoted as giving the classical names to the townships of the Military Tract, a matter with which he had nothing to do, and which, while living, he emphatically denied. An Eulogium on his life and services by T. Romeyn Beck, M. D., is to be found in "Transactions of the Albany Institute," Munsell, Albany; 1833—1852.

Benjamin Lodge was promoted from Ensign to 2nd. Lieutenant, Oct. 16, 1776, and from 2nd to 1st. Lieutenant, Oct. 11, 1777. He is often mentioned in the journals as Captain Lodge, but the index of the Erskine Maps designates him as Lieut. Lodge.

MAJOR GEN. SULLIVAN'S OFFICIAL REPORT.

[Re-published from a reprint of the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* of Tuesday, October 19, 1779.]

See also *The Military Services and Public Life of Major General John Sullivan*, by Thomas C. Amory, Boston, Mass., page 130, &c.

GEN SULLIVAN'S REPORT.

*THE CHRONICLE OF HIS EXPEDITION AGAINST THE IROQUOIS IN
1779.—THE DEVASTATION OF THE GENESEE COUNTY.*

TEAOGO, Sept. 30, 1779.

SIR:—In mine of the 30th ultimo* to His Excellency George Washington, and by him transmitted to Congress, I gave an account of the victory obtained by this army over the enemy at Newtown, on the 29th August. I now do myself the honor to inform Congress of the progress of this army, and the most material occurrences which have since taken place.

The time taking up in destroying the corn, in the neighborhood of Newtown, employing the army near two days, and there appearing a probability that the destruction of all the crops might take a much greater length of time than was first apprehended, and being likewise convinced, by an accurate calculation, that it could not be possible to effect the destruction of the Indian country, with the provision on hand which was all I had in store, and indeed all I had pack horses to transport from Teaogo; in this situation I could think of but one expedient to answer the purposes of the expedition, which was to prevail, if possible, on the soldiers to content themselves with half a pound of flour and the same quantity of fresh beef per day, rather than leave the important business unfinished. I therefore drew up an address to them, a copy of

*See also his report of the battle of Newtown, dated Aug. 30, 1779, in Amory's *Military Service and Public Life of General Sullivan*, at page 121, thereof.

which I have the honor to enclose you, which being read, was answered by three cheers from the whole army. Not one dissenting voice was heard from either officer or soldier. I had then on hand, from the best calculation I could make, twenty-two pounds of flour and sixteen pounds of beef per man; the former liable to many deductions by rains, crossing rivers and defiles; the latter much more so, from the almost unavoidable loss of cattle, when suffered to range the woods at night for their support. I was, however, encouraged in the belief, that I should be enabled to effect the destruction and total ruin of the Indian territories by this truly noble resolution of the army, for which, I know not whether the public stand more indebted to the persuasive arguments which the officers began to use, or to the virtuous disposition of the soldiers, whose prudent and cheerful compliance with the requisition anticipated all their wishes, and rendered persuasion unnecessary.

I sent back all my heavy artillery on the night of the 30th, retaining only four brass three pounders, and a small howitzer; loaded the necessary ammunition on horseback, and marched early on the 31st for Catherine's Town. On our way we destroyed a small settlement of eight houses, and town called Konowhola, of about twenty houses, situated on a peninsula at the conflux of the Teago and Cayuga branches.—We also destroyed several fields of corn. From this point Colonel Dayton was detached with his regiment and the rifle corps up the Teago about six miles, who destroyed several large fields of corn. The army resumed their march, and encamped within thirteen miles and a half of Catherine's Town, where we arrived the next day, although we had a road to open for the artillery, through a swamp nine miles in extent, and almost impervious. We arrived near Catherine's Town in the night, and moved on, in hopes to surprise it, but found it forsaken. On the next morning an old woman belonging to the Cayuga nation was found in the woods. She informed me that on the night after the battle of Newtown, the enemy, having fled the whole night, arrived there in great confusion early the next day; that she heard the warriors tell their women they were conquered and must fly; that they had a great many killed and vast numbers wounded.—She likewise heard the lamentations of many at the loss of their connections. In addition to this, she assured us, that some other warriors had met Butler at this place and desired him to return and fight again. But to this request they could obtain no satisfactory answer, for, as they observed, "Butler's mouth was closed." The warriors who had been in the action were equally averse to the proposal, and would think of nothing but flight, and removal of their families; that they kept runners on every mountain to observe the

movements of our army, who reported early in the day on which we arrived, that our advance was very rapid; upon which all those who had not been before sent off, fled with precipitation, leaving her without any possible means of escape. She said that Brant had taken most of the wounded up the Teago in canoes. I was, from many circumstances, fully convinced of the truth and sincerity of her declaration, and the more so, as we had, the day we left Newtown, discovered a great number of bloody packs, arms and accoutrements, thrown away in the road, and in the woods each side of it. Besides which, we discovered a number of recent graves, one of which has been since opened, containing the bodies of two persons who had died by wounds.

These circumstances, when added to that of so many warriors being left dead on the field, a circumstance not common with Indians, were sufficient to corroborate the woman's declaration, and to prove what I before conjectured, that the loss of the enemy was much greater than was at first apprehended. I have never been able to ascertain, with any degree of certainty, what force the enemy opposed to us at Newtown, but from the best accounts I have been able to collect, and from the opinion of General Poor, and others, who had the best opportunity of viewing their numbers, as well as from the extent of their lines, I suppose them to have been 1,500, though the two prisoners, whom I believe totally ignorant of the number at any post but their own, as well as of the enemy's disposition, estimate them only at eight hundred, while they allow that five companies of rangers, all the warriors of Seneca, and six other nations, were collected at this place. In order to determine their force with as much accuracy as in my power, I examined their breastworks, and found the extent more than half a mile. Several bastions ran out in its front to flank the lines in every part. A small block-house, formerly a dwelling, was also manned in the front. The breastwork appeared to have been fully manned, though I supposed with only one rank.—Some parts of their works being low, they were obliged to dig holes in the ground to cover themselves in part. This circumstance enabled me to judge the distance between their men in the works. A very thin scattering line, designed, as I suppose, for communicating signals, was continued from those works to that part of the mountain which General Poor ascended, where they had a very large body, which was designed, I imagined, to fall on our flank. The distance from the breastwork to this was at least one mile and a half. From thence to the hill in the rear of our right, was another scattering line of about one mile, and on the hill a breastwork with a strong party, destined, as it is supposed, to fall on our rear. But General Clinton being ordered so far to the right, occasioned his flank to pass the mountain, which obliged them to abandon their post.

From these circumstances, as well as from the opinions of others, I cannot conceive their numbers to be less than what I have before mentioned.

The army spent one day at Catherine's destroying corn and fruit trees. We burnt the town, consisting of thirty houses. The next day we encamped near a small scattering settlement of about eight houses and two days after reached Kendaia, which we also found deserted. Here one of the inhabitants of Wioming, who had been last year captured by the enemy, escaped from them and joined us. He informed us that the enemy had left the town in the greatest confusion three days before our arrival. He said he had conversed with some of the Tories on their return from the action at Newtown, who assured him they had great numbers killed and wounded, and there was no safety but in flight. He heard Butler tell them he must try to make a stand at Kanadasega; but they declared they would not throw away their lives in vain attempt to oppose such an army. He also heard many of the Indian women lamenting the loss of their connections and added that Brandt had taken most of the wounded up the Teago in water crafts which had been provided for that purpose in case of necessity. It was his opinion that the King of Kanadasega was killed as he saw him go down but not return and gave a description of his person and dress corresponding with those of one found on the field of action.—Kendaia consisted of about twenty houses which were reduced to ashes, the houses were neatly built and finished. The army spent nearly a day at this place, in destroying corn and fruit trees of which there was great abundance. Many of the trees appeared to be of great age. On the next day we crossed the outlet of the Seneca Lake and moved in three divisions through the woods to encircle Kanadasega, but found it likewise abandoned. A white child of about three years old, doubtless the offspring of some unhappy captive, was found here and carried with the army.

A detachment of four hundred men was sent down on the west side of the lake to destroy Gothseunquan and the plantations in the same quarters; at the same time a number of volunteers under Colonel Harper, made a forced march towards Cayuga Lake and destroyed Schöyere while the residue of the army were employed in destroying the corn at Kanadasega of which there was a large quantity. This town consisted of fifty houses and was pleasantly situated.—In it we found a great number of fruit trees which were destroyed with the town. The army then moved on and in two days arrived at Kanadaque, having been joined on the march by the detachment sent along the Seneca Lake which had been almost two days employed in destroying the crops and settlements in that quarter. At Kanadaque we found twenty-three very

elegant houses mostly finished and in general large.—Here we also found very extensive fields of corn, which having been destroyed, we marched for Hannayaye, a small town of ten houses, which we also destroyed.

At this place we established a post leaving a strong garrison, our heavy stores and one field piece and proceeded to Chinesee, which the prisoners informed us was the grand capital of the Indian country, that Indians of all nations had been planting there this spring; that all the Rangers and some British had been employed in assisting them in order to raise sufficient supplies to support them while destroying our frontiers, and that they, themselves, had worked three weeks for the Indians when planting. This information determined me at all events to reach that settlement, though the state of my provisions, much reduced by unavoidable accidents, almost forbade the attempt. My flour had been much reduced by the failure of pack horses and in the passage of creeks and defiles; and twenty-seven of the cattle had been unavoidably lost. We however marched on for the Chinesee town and on the second day reached a town of twenty-five houses, called Koneghsaws. Here we found some large corn fields which part of the army destroyed while the other part were employed in building a bridge over an unfordable creek between this and Chinisee.

I had the preceding evening ordered out an officer with three or four riflemen, one of our guides and an Oneida chief to reconnoitre the Chinesee town, that we might, if possible, surprise it. Lieutenant Boid was the officer entrusted with this service, who took with him twenty-three men, volunteers from the same corps, and a few from Colonel Butler's regiment, making in all twenty-six, a much larger number than I had thought of sending, and by no means so likely to answer the purpose as that which had been directed. The guides were by no means acquainted with the country, mistook the road in the night, and at daybreak fell in with a castle six miles higher up than Chinesee, inhabited by a tribe called Squatchegas. Here they saw a few Indians, killed and scalped two, the rest fled. Two runners were immediately dispatched to me with the account and informed that the party were on their return. When the bridge was almost completed some of them came in and told us that Lieutenant Boid and men of his party were almost surrounded by the enemy; that the enemy had been discovering themselves before him for some miles; that his men had killed two and were eagerly pursuing the rest; but soon found themselves almost surrounded by three or four hundred Indians and rangers. Those of Mr. Boid's men who were sent to secure his flanks fortunately made their escape; but he with fourteen of his party and the Oneida chief being in the centre, were completely encircled. The light troops of the army and the flank-

ing divisions were immediately detached to their relief ; but arrived too late, the enemy having destroyed the party and escaped.

It appears that our men had taken to a small grove, the ground around it being clear on every side for several rods, and there fought till Mr. Boid was shot through the body, and his men all killed except one, who, with his wounded commander was made prisoner. The firing was so close, before this brave party were destroyed, that the powder of the enemy's muskets was driven into their flesh. In this conflict the enemy must have suffered greatly, as they had no cover, and our men were possessed of a very advantageous one. This advantage of ground the obstinate bravery of the party, with some other circumstances, induced me to believe their loss must have been very considerable. They were so long employed in removing and secreting their dead, that the advance of General Hand's party obliged them to leave one alongside the riflemen, and at least a wagon load of packs, blankets, hats and provisions, which they had thrown off to enable them to act with more agility in the field. Most of these appeared to have appertained to the rangers. Another reason which induces me to suppose they suffered much was the unparalleled tortures they inflicted upon the brave and unfortunate Boid, whose body, with that of the equally unfortunate companion, we found at Chinesee. It appeared that they had whipped them in the most cruel manner, pulled out Mr. Boid's nails, cut off his nose, plucked out one of his eyes, cut out his tongue, stabbed him with spears in sundry places, and inflicted other tortures which decency will not permit me to mention ; lastly, cut off his head, and left his body on the ground with that of his unfortunate companion, who appeared to have experienced nearly the same savage barbarity. The party Mr. Boid fell in with, was commanded by Butler, posted on an advantageous piece of ground, in order to fire upon our army when advancing ; but they found their design frustrated by the appearance of this party in their rear.

The army moved on that day to the castle last mentioned, which consisted of twenty-five houses, and had very extensive fields of corn, which being destroyed, we moved on the next day to Chinesee, crossing in our route a deep creek and the Little Seneca river ; and after marching six miles we reached the Castle, which consisted of 128 houses, mostly large and elegant. The town was beautifully situated, almost encircled with a cleared flat, which extended for a number of miles, covered by the most extensive fields of corn, and every kind of vegetables that can be conceived. The whole army was immediately engaged in destroying the crops. The corn was collected and burned in houses and kilns, so the enemy might not reap the least advantage from it, which method we have pursued in every other place. Here a woman came to us who had

been captured at Wioming. She told us the enemy evacuated the town two days before; that Butler at the same time went off with three or four hundred Indians and rangers, as he said, to get a shot at our army. This was undoubtedly the party which cut off Lieutenant Boid. She mentioned they kept runners constantly out, and that when our army was in motion, the intelligence was communicated by a yell, immediately on which the greatest terror and confusion apparently took place among them. The women were constantly begging the warriors to sue for peace, and that one of the Indians had attempted to shoot Colonel Johnson for the falsehoods by which he had deceived and ruined them; that she overheard Butler telling Johnson that it was impossible to keep the Indians together after the Battle of New Town; that he thought they must soon be in a miserable situation, as all their crops would be destroyed, and that Canada could not supply them with provisions at Niagara; that he would endeavor to collect the warriors to assist in the defense of that fort, which he was of opinion this army would lay siege to, and the women and children he would send into Canada. After having destroyed this town, beyond which I was informed there was no settlement, and destroyed all their houses and crops in that quarter, the army having been advancing seventeen days with the supply of provisions before mentioned, and that much reduced on the march by accidents, and the Cayuga country being as yet unpenetrated, I thought it necessary to return as soon as possible in order to effect the destruction of the settlements in that quarter. The army therefore began its march to Kanadasaga.

I was met on the way by a sachem from Oneida and three warriors, one of whom I had sent from Katherine's with a letter, a copy of which I have the honor to enclose to Congress. They delivered me a message from the warriors of that nation respecting the Cayugas; copies of that and my answer I also enclose from this place. I detached Colonel Smith with a party down the west side of the Lake to destroy the corn which had not been cut down, and to destroy anything further which might be discovered there. I then detached Colonel Gansevoort with one hundred men to Albany to forward the baggage of the York regiments to the main army, and to take with him such soldiers as were at that place. I directed him to destroy the lower Mohawk castle in his route, and capture the inhabitants, consisting only of six or seven families who were constantly employed in giving intelligence to the enemy, and in supporting their scouting parties when making incursions on our frontiers. When the Mohawks joined the enemy, those few families were undoubtedly left to answer such a purpose and to keep possession of their lands. The upper castle now inhabited by Orkeskes, our friends he was directed not to disturb. With him I sent Mr. Deane, who bore my answer to the Oneidas.

I then detached Colonel Butler with six hundred men to destroy the Cayuga country, and with him sent all the Indian warriors who said if they could find the Cayugas they would endeavor to persuade them to deliver themselves up as prisoners; the chief of them called Teguttelawana being a near relation to the Sachem. I then crossed the Seneca river and detached Colonel Dearborn to the west side of the Cayuga Lake to destroy all the settlements which might be found there and to intercept the Cayugas if they attempted to escape Colonel Butler. The residue of the army passing on between the lakes, toward Katherines, Colonel Dearborn burnt in his route six towns, including one which had been before partly destroyed by a small party; destroying at the same time quantities of corn. He took an Indian lad and three women prisoners,—one of the women being very old and the lad a cripple; he left them, and brought on the other two and joined the army on the evening of the 26th. Colonel Courtland was then detached with 300 men up the Teaga branch to search for settlements in that quarter; and in the space of two days destroyed several fields of corn and burnt several houses. Colonel Butler joined the army on the 28th whereby a complete junction was formed at Conowalohala on the 29th day after our leaving Newtown. Here we were met by a plenty of provisions, from Teaga, which I had previously directed to be sent on. Colonel Butler destroyed in the Cayuga county five principal towns and a number of scattering houses, the whole making about one hundred in number exceedingly large and well built. He also destroyed two hundred acres of excellent corn with a number of orchards, one of which had in it 1,500 fruit trees. Another Indian settlement was discovered near Newtown by a party, consisting of 39 houses, which were also destroyed. The number of towns destroyed by this army amounted to 40 besides scattering houses. The quantity of corn destroyed, at a moderate computation, must amount to 160,000 bushels, with a vast quantity of vegetables of every kind. Every creek and river has been traced, and the whole country explored in search of Indian settlements, and I am well persuaded that, except one town situated near the Allegana, about 50 miles from Chinesee there is not a single town left in the country of the Five nations.

It is with pleasure I inform Congress that this army has not suffered the loss of forty men in action or otherwise since my taking the command; though perhaps few troops have experienced a more fatiguing campaign. Besides, the difficulties which naturally attend marching through an enemy's country, abounding in woods, creeks, rivers, mountains, morasses and defiles, we found no small inconvenience from the want of proper guides, and the maps of the country are so exceedingly erro-

neous that they serve not to enlighten but to perplex. We had not a person who was sufficiently acquainted with the country to conduct a party out of the Indian path by day, or scarcely in it by night; though they were the best I could possibly procure. Their ignorance, doubtless arose from the Indians having ever taken the best measures in their power to prevent their country's being explored. We had much labor in clearing out the roads for the artillery, notwithstanding which, the army moved from twelve to sixteen miles every day when not detained by rains, or employed in destroying settlements.

I feel myself much indebted to the officers of every rank for their unparalleled exertions, and to the soldiers for the unshaken firmness with which they endured the toils and difficulties attending the expedition. Though I had it not in command I should have ventured to have paid Niagara a visit, had I been supplied with fifteen days provisions in addition to what I had, which I am persuaded from the bravery and ardor of our troops would have fallen into our hands.

I forgot to mention that the Oneida Sachem requested me to grant his people liberty to hunt in the country of the Five Nations, as they would never think of settling again in a country once subdued, and where their settlements must ever be in our power. I, in answer, informed him that I had no authority to grant such a license; that I could not at present see reason to object to it, but advised them to make application to Congress, who, I believed, would, in consideration of their friendly conduct grant them every advantage of this kind that would not interfere with our settlement of the country, which I believed would soon take place. The Oneidas say that as no Indians were discovered by Colonel Butler at Cayuga, they are of opinion they are gone to their castle, and that their Chiefs will persuade them to come in and surrender themselves on the terms I have proposed. The army began its march from Conowalohala yesterday, and arrived here this evening. After leaving the necessary force for securing the frontiers in this quarter, I shall move on to join the main army.

It would have been very pleasing to this army to have drawn the enemy to a second engagement, but such a panic seized them after the first action that it was impossible, as they never ventured themselves in reach of the army, nor have they fired a single gun at it on its march or in its quarters, though in a country exceeding well calculated for ambuscades. This circumstance alone would sufficiently prove that they suffered severely in their first effort.

Congress will please pardon the length of this narration, as I thought a particular and circumstantial detail of facts would not be disagreeable, especially as I have transmitted no accounts of the progress of this ar-

my since the action of the 29th of August. I flatter myself that the orders with which I was entrusted are fully executed, as we have not left a single settlement or field of corn in the country of the Five Nations, nor is there even the appearance of an Indian on this side of Niagara. Messengers and small parties have been constantly passing, and some imprudent soldiers who straggled from the army, mistook the route and went back almost to Chinesee without discovering even the track of an Indian. I trust the steps I have taken with respect to the Oneidas, Cayugas and Mohawks will prove satisfactory ; and here I beg leave to mention that in searching the houses of those pretended neutral Cayugas, a number of scalps were found, which appeared to have been lately taken, which Colonel Butler showed to the Oneidas, who said that they were then convinced of the justice of the steps I had taken. The promise made to the soldiers in my address at Newtown I hope will be thought reasonable by Congress, and flatter myself that the performance of it will be ordered.

Colonel Bruin will have the honor of delivering these dispatches to your Excellency. I beg leave to recommend him to the particular notice of Congress, as an officer who, on this as well as several other campaigns, has proved himself an active, brave, and truly deserving officer.

I have the honor to be, with the most exalted elements of esteem and respect, your Excellency's most obedient and ever humble servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

His Excellency JOHN JAY, Esq.

Published by order of Congress.

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

COL. DANIEL BRODHEAD'S OFFICIAL REPORT.

COLONEL DANIEL BRODHEAD was born about 1725, probably at Albany, N. Y. His father migrated to Pennsylvania, in 1738, settling at a place which he called after his own name, Dansbury, now East Stroudsburg, Monroe county, Pa. The younger Daniel grew up among the rude experiences of a frontier settlement. In 1771, he removed to Reading, and soon after was appointed Deputy Surveyor under John Lukens, who was then Surveyor General. In July, 1775, he was appointed a delegate from Berks county to the Provincial Convention at Philadelphia. He was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of Colonel Miles' Rifle Regiment, March 13, 1776, and as such took a prominent part in the battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776, and October 25th was transferred to the 4th Pennsylvanian Regiment of the Continental line. On the 12th of March, 1777, he was promoted Colonel of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment, transferred to the 1st Pennsylvanian Regiment, January 17, 1781, and his name appears as Colonel on the last roster of that regiment, dated September 23, 1783. He was mustered out at the close of the war, as Brevet Brigadier General. After the war he was elected Member of Assembly, and November 5th, 1789, was appointed Surveyor General of Pennsylvania, which office he held for eleven years. He died at Milford, Pike county, Pennsylvania, November 15th, 1809.

BRODHEAD'S EXPEDITION.

The following letters and official report of Colonel Daniel Brodhead, are taken from Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. 12, pp. 138, 154, 155 :

HEAD QUARTERS PITTSBURGH, JULY THE 11th 1779.

DEAR SIR

By the first of next month the Harvest will be secured, and then I intend to make a Diversion in favor of Gen'l Sullivan's Expedition, therefore your Company, and all the

other Provincial Companies that may have arrived in Westmoreland County, must be at Head Quarters without fail. Of this you will give immediate notice to the officers of the State line or Corps

I have the honor to be
Your most ob't serv't

DANIEL BRODHEAD

Capt. Joseph Irwine

Col. commanding W. D

COL. DANIEL BRODHEAD TO MAJOR GEN'L SULLIVAN, 1779.

HEAD QUARTERS PITTSBURGH AUGUST 6th, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,

I have obtained leave from his Excellency, the Commander in Chief, to undertake an expedition against the Seneca Towns, on the waters of the Alleghany, & he has directed me to open a correspondence with you, in order that our movements might operate in favor of each other.

I shall be very happy in such a correspondence (if it can be effected without too great a loss of Messengers,) & an opportunity of favoring your designs against the enemy, but fear this will not reach you in time to form an useful co-operation.

I have everything in readiness, and am only waiting for the Garrison of Fort Lawrens to come in. If no unforeseen impediment happens I shall set out for Cannawago in three or four days and expect to reach it about the 20th Inst. I do not intend to stop there, but expect to proceed nearer to the route I am informed you are going and will endeavor to write you again.

I have twelve Delaware warriors ready, and have the promise of a number more. The Cherokee chiefs have entered into Articles of confederation here and received from my hand the War Belt and Tomahawk.

Should you have a little leisure you will greatly oblige me with a long letter, I have but little news. The Indians sometimes take a scalp from us, but my light parties which I dress and paint like Indians have retaliated in several instances.

They have destroyed one whole party of Munceys except two and they went home wounded and quite naked.

I think they are willing by this time to make peace, but I hope it will not be granted them until they are sufficiently drubbed for their past iniquities.

With the most perfect regard

And esteem, I have the honor to be

Dear General

Your most obed't h'ble Servt,

DANIEL BRODHEAD

Col., Commanding, W. D.

Directed

Hon'ble Major Gen'l Sullivan.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, GEN. WASHINGTON, 1779.

PITTSBURGH, SEP'R 16th 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,

I returned from the expedition against the Seneca & Muncy nations the 14th Inst., & now do myself the honor to inform you how far I have succeeded in prosecuting it.

I left this place the 11th of last month with six hundred & five Rank & File, including Militia & Volunteers, & one Month's provision which except the live Cattle were transported by water under the escort of one hundred Men to a place called Mahoning, about 15 Miles above Fort Armstrong, where after four days detention by excessive Rains & the straying of some of the Cattle, the Stores were loaded on Pack Horses, and the troops proceeded on the march for Canawago on the path leading to Cuscushing; at ten miles on this side the town, one of the advanced guards consisting of fifteen White men,

including the spies & eight Delaware Indians, under the command of Lieut. Hardin of the 8th Penn'a Reg't, whom I have before recommended to your Excellency for his great bravery & skill as a partisan, discovered between thirty & Forty warriors coming down the Allegheny River in seven Canoes. These warriors having likewise discovered some of the Troops, immediately landed stripped off their shirts & prepared for action, and the advanced Guard immediately began the attack—All the troops except one column & Flankers being in the narrows between the River and high hill were immediately prepared to receive the enemy, which being done, I went forward to discover the Enemy, & six of them retreating over the River without arms, at the same time the rest ran away leaving their Canoes, Blankets, Shirts, provision and eight Guns, besides five dead and by the signs of Blood, several went off wounded, only two of my men & one of the Delaware Indians (Narrowland) were wounded & so slightly that they are already recovered & fit for action.—The next morning the Troops proceeded to Buchloons, where I ordered a small Breastwork to be thrown up of felled Timber & fascines, a Capt. & forty men were left to secure our Baggage & Stores, & the Troops immediately proceeded to Canawago, which I found had been deserted about eighteen months past. Here the Troops seemed much mortified because we had no person to serve as a Guide to the upper Towns, but I ordered them to proceed on a path which appeared to have been travelled on by the Enemy some time past, & we continued marching on it about 20 Miles before any discoveries were made except of a few tracks of their spies. But immediately after ascending a high hill we discovered the Allegheny River & a number of Corn Fields, & descending several towns which the Enemy had deserted on the approach of the Troops. Some of them fled just before the advanced Guards reached the Towns & left several packs of Deer skins. At the upper Seneca Towns we found a painted image or War post, clothed in Dog skin, & John Montour told me this Town was called Yoghroonwago, besides this we found seven other Towns, consisting in the whole of one hundred and thirty Houses, some of which were large enough for the accommodation of three or four Indian families. The Troops remained on the ground three whole days destroying the Towns & Corn Fields. I never saw finer Corn altho' it was planted much thicker than is common with our Farmers. The quantity of Corn and other vegetables destroyed at the several Towns, from the best accounts I can collect from the officers employed to destroy it, must certainly exceed five hundred acres which is the lowest estimate, and the plunder is estimated at 30 m. Dollars.* I have directed a sale to be made of it for the benefit of the Troops. On my return I preferred the Venango Road, the old towns of Cowawago, Buckloons & Mahusquechikoken, about 20 Miles above Venango, on French Creek, consisting of 35 large houses were likewise burnt.—The greatest part of the Indian houses were larger than common, and built of square & round logs & frame work. From the great quantity of Corn in new Ground & the number of new houses Built & Building it appears that the whole Seneca & Muncy nations intended to collect to this settlement which extends about eight Miles on the Allegheny River, between one hundred & seventy & two hundred Miles from hence. the River at the upper Towns is little if any larger than Kiskamanitis Creek. It is remarkable that neither man or Beast has fallen into the Enemies hands on this expedition, & I have a happy presage that the counties of Westmoreland, Bedford & Northumberland, if not the whole Western Frontiers will experience the good effect of it.

Too much praise cannot be given to both officers and soldiers of every Corps during the whole expedition, their perseverance and zeal during the whole march thro' a Country too inaccessible to be described can scarcely be equaled in history. Notwithstanding many of them returned barefooted and naked they disclaimed to complain, and to my great mortification I have neither Shoes, Shirts, Blankets, Hats, Stockings nor leggins to relieve their necessities.

On my return here I found the Chiefs of the Delaware, the principal Chief of the Hurons, and now the King of the Maquichee tribe of the Shawanese, is likewise come to treat with me ; about 30 Delaware warriors are here likewise ready to go to war, but I have nothing to encourage them with, and without the means of paying them I cannot

* Meaning probably \$30,000.

send them out. The Troops here have at least nine Months pay due to them and there is neither money nor Pay Master to discharge the arrearages.

A majority of my Regt. are now discharged and the term of the two Ranging Companies of Westmoreland expired, so that I shall be weak in Troops to prosecute an expedition which by your permission I should be happy to make against Detroit, taking the Shawanese in my way. I should be happy to have your permission to make occasional excursions against any of the Indian nations who may hereafter prove inimical to us, as sometimes a favorable opportunity may be lost before I can be favored with your particular orders. Likewise to know your pleasure in regard to the Senecas and Muncies should they in their great distress sue for peace. I have before taken the liberty to give you my opinion respecting them, and the pairings of scalps and the hair of our Countrymen at every Warrior's camp on the path we marched are new inducements for Revenge.

I am informed that Col. Clark who took Post St Vincent, is making peace and war with the natives. I am not instructed how far your Excellency has authorized him to do so and apprehend the worst consequences to this frontier should either Col. Clark or myself enter into a treaty of peace with one of the Indian nations and the other Break it, and by my instructions I am confined to the immediate command of the Troops here, I can take no step to prevent such a probable [event ?] but humbly entreat you to do it.

The Wyandotts and the Maquichees tribe of the Shawanese promise very fair, and I have promised them peace provided they take as many prisoners and scalps from the Enemy as they have done from us and on every occasion join us against the enemies of America, which they have engaged to do.

The two soldiers I sent Express to Genl. Sullivan are not yet returned, and I apprehend they have fallen into the Enemy's hands.

A few Indian Goods, Paint and trinkets at this juncture would enable me to engage the Delawares to harrass the enemy frequently.

The Bearer, Capt. Mc Intire, has some private as well as public Business to transact at Philada. I have therefore ordered him to proceed to Head Quarters and he will have the honor to wait on you with this letter.

I have the honor to be with the most perfect regard and esteem, your Excellency's most

Obed't H'ble Serv't,

D. BRODHEAD.

Directed

HIS EXCELLENCY GENL. WASHINGTON.

The Delaware Chiefs have just now called on me to Build some Blockhouses at Cushocken for the protection of their Women and Children whilst they are out against the English and Mingoes, and I have agreed to send a Detachment for that purpose agreeable to the article of Confederation.

The soldiers I sent express to Genl. Sullivan are this moment returned and I enclose a copy of his letter.

D. B.

List of Journals and Narratives not Published.

The following journals were once in existence, but diligent inquiry has failed to bring them to light :

OF DEAN, JUDGE JAMES, the well known interpreter and first Judge of Herkimer county, N. Y.

PIERCE, WILLIAM, Captain in Colonel Harrison's Regiment of artillery, First A. D. C. to General Sullivan.

HOOPS, ADAM, Major, Third A. D. C. to General Sullivan.

Letter from Major Adam Hoops to the Hon. John Greig, Canandaigua, N. Y.

WESTCHESTER, PA., SEPT. 18, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,—Hearing that Congress have adjourned, I address this letter to you at Canandaigua.

The facts concerning Van Campen and Boyd, are taken from a part of a copy of my Journal, which had been copied from that of Maj. William Pierce, 1st aid-de-camp of Gen. Sullivan—(I was the 3d).

The army marched from Wyoming about the close of August, 1779, and lay some time at Tioga Point. While there, small parties of Indians crept up in the long grass on the other side of the branch. On an occasion which I well recollect, one of our pack-horse men was killed, and another scarcely escaped with an arm broken. The cracks of the Indians' guns were as plainly heard as if they had been within two hundred yards or less. Gen. Sullivan devised a plan intended to intercept these small parties, the execution of which was committed to Van Campen, then a lieutenant. The following is taken from a copy of a narrative which, at my request, he sent me some years ago :—

“Major Adam Hoops, an aid-de-camp to Gen. Sullivan, presented to me my instructions, with a sheet of white paper folded up, a leaden weight within, and a twine cord about twenty feet long fastened to it. I was to get as near the enemy's camp as was prudent—and to select one of the shady oaks, conceal my men in the bush, and place my sentinel in the top of the oak, with the paper and twine cord—to give the signal if he discovered a party of Indians—to sink the paper down the tree as many feet as they were in numbers—if passing to my right or left, to give the signal accordingly.

“It was one of the warm days in the latter part of August. I marched as near to the enemy's camp as I was directed. I selected my tree—my sentinel ascended twenty or twenty five feet—and my men were concealed. We laid in watch about one hour. Every eye was fixed on the sentinel. At length the paper dropped down about four feet. I spoke to my men, saying, ‘My good fellows, we shall soon have sport.’ The paper continued to drop to ten feet. I observed again, ‘We shall have something more to do.’ The paper continued to drop to fifteen feet. ‘Now, my good fellows, we shall have enough to do—fifteen of them to twenty of us. Let every shot make their number less.’ Behold ! the fellow had fallen asleep—let the twine-cord slip through his fingers—lost his balance—and came down like a shot, head foremost. He was much bruised by the fall. I made my report to the general, &c., &c., &c.”

The following corresponds with my Journal, copied from that of Major Pierce. I was in the general's tent when he gave his instructions to Lieut. Boyd, which were very particular—verbal, of course. The country before us was unknown. We had heard of an Indian *Castle* on the river Genesee, which, by our reckoning, might be a few miles ahead of us. The term *Castle*, was taken from *Chateau*—the French having long before magnified Indian villages into *Chateaux*, afterwards rendered literally into English. There were the Oneida *Castle*, perhaps at or near Utica—the Seneca *Castle*, near the present village of Geneva—as well as some others. The *Castle* Lieut. Boyd was detached to discover, consisted, probably, of a few Indian huts near Williamsburg, a few miles above the present village of Genesee.

"The evening before Lieut. Boyd was detached by General Sullivan from the inlet of the Kanaghsas lake, a log bridge was begun, and finished in the night or early in the next morning, over the inlet. Boyd not having returned by daylight, the general was very uneasy; particularly from finding that, to the six riflemen he meant Boyd's party should consist of, twenty two musket-men had been added.

"Early in the morning, Mr. Lodge, the Surveyor, proceeded to chain from the west side of the inlet, where there was a picquet posted, and ascended a little way from the foot of the hill, *outside* the sentinels, in advance from the picquet, and was noting his work, when he was fired on by a single Indian who had crept up near him. Leaving his Jacob-staff standing, he made the best of his way toward a sentinel—the Indian almost at his heels, tomahawk in hand. It is probable the Indian had not seen the sentinel till he raised his piece and (when Mr. Lodge had passed him) fired, and brought down the Indian, perhaps not mortally wounded. The whole picquet immediately advanced, strongly supported; and, ascending the hill, found a line of packs.

"In the night, Little Beard, with probably the main body of the Indians, and Butler's Rangers or a part of them, had taken post on the hill, but finding Boyd's trail, after day had appeared, they took it, leaving a party to meet our advance, and to take charge of the packs. They succeeded in intercepting Boyd's party, the greater part of whom, with an Oneida chief, Honyerry, were destroyed. Boyd's head and body, with one or two of his men's were found next day, near Little-Beard's Town—they having been put to torture. The men of Boyd's party who escaped, were Murphy, McDonald, and a Canadian.

"The sentinel whose self-possession and intrepidity saved Mr. Lodge, was a lad, extremely diffident when examined by the general, who ordered a sum to be paid to him after the return of the army." He was, according to the impression on my mind, a recruit in the Jersey line. I received a hurt on my ankle from the edge of an ax tied on the outside of a pack-horse load, when making my way through the pack-horses drawn up to pass the bridge over the inlet, which did not entirely heal till our return from the expedition; and this may have prevented my informing myself of the name of the lad, which I wish had been preserved. It may have been entered in the *Orderly Book* of Col. Barber, the adjutant-general, and transferred into others.

I well recollect other particulars given by Murphy immediately after he got in; but not of sufficient importance to the object of this letter, to state. I must close my letter, to be ready for to-day's mail; and remain, dear Sir, sincerely yours,

A. HOOPS.

See "Sullivan's Campaign," p. 180, Rochester, N. Y. 1842.

PRINCE, KIMBALL, Sergeant Major in the Second New York Regiment, Col. Van Cortlandt. His diary was in possession of his son Frederick Prince as late as 1822, but was then stolen from a trunk during the ravages of the yellow fever in New York City.

NEWMAN — Referred to in Miner's History of Wyoming. Supposed to have been destroyed by fire in the office of the *Record of the Times* at Wilkesbarre, Pa., April 9, 1869.

[The following narratives have been written by parties actively engaged in the campaign. Some are valuable, others are not.]

DAVIS, NATHAN. Private in the First New Hampshire Regiment. Published in the Historical Magazine, April, 1868, p. 198.

GANO, REV. JOHN, Chaplain in Clinton's Brigade. Published in the Historical Magazine, November, 1862, p. 330.

SALMON, JOHN. Published in Seaver's Life of Mary Jemison.

VAN CAMPEN, MOSES. Appears in a memorial to Congress for a pension.

VAN CORTLANDT, PHILIP, Colonel commanding Second New York Regiment. Autobiography written in 1825. Published in full in Magazine of American History, New York City, May, 1878.

SHREVE, LIEUT. JOHN, of the New Jersey line. Published in the Magazine of American History, New York City, Vol. III, 564.

Roster of Officers

— in —

Major General John Sullivan's Expedition,

1779.

Roster of Officers in Sullivan's Expedition, 1779.

The following roster of officers has been furnished by Hon. Charles P. Greenough of Boston, Massachusetts :

GENERAL COMMANDING AND STAFF.

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN, Commander-in-Chief.

William Pierce,	}	Aides-de-Camp.
Captain Jonathan Dayton,		
Major Adam Hoops,		
Nicholas Van Cortlandt,		
Col. Cornelius Sheriff,		Deputy Quartermaster General.
Lieut. Col. Persifer Frazier,		Dept. Com. General.
Col. Robert Hooper,		Dept. Com. of Transportation.
Lieut. Col. Francis Barber,		Adjutant General.
Colonel Bryan Bruen,		Private Secretary.
“ John Steele,		Commissary General.
Rev. Samuel Kirkland,		Chaplain.
Captain Daniel Topham,		Com. of Militia Stores.
“ Benjamin Lodge,		Surveyor.
John Woodman,		Ass't Commissary General.
Colonel Henry Antis,		Conductor of Boats.
“ Wm. Bond,		Lt. [Col. N. J. Mil.] Conductor of Boats.
James Cooke,		Express Rider.
Dr. Hagan,		Surgeon-in-Chief.
Mr. Brenion,		Issuing Com. to Com'der-in-Chief.
Captain John Franklin,	}	Guide
“ Jehoikim, [Indian],		
Lieutenant John Jenkins,		
Lieut Robert Pemberton,		Judge Advocate.

ROSTER OF OFFICERS

FIRST BRIGADE.

William Maxwell,	Brigadier General.
Andrew Hunter,	Brigade Chaplain.
Aaron Ogden,	Aide-de Camp and Captain.
John Ross,	Brigade Major.
Nathan Wilkinson,	Quartermaster.
Matthias Ogden,	Colonel, First New Jersey Regiment.
Israel Shreve,	" Second New Jersey "
Elias Dayton,	" Third New Jersey "
Oliver Spencer,	" Spencer's Regiment.
Detachment of Cavalry, from Col. E. Sheldon's Regiment.	

FIRST NEW JERSEY REGIMENT.

Matthias Ogden, Colonel,	} Staff.
David Brearley, Lieut. Colonel,	
Daniel Piatt, Major,	
Jacob Piatt, Captain Lieut. and Adjutant,	
Ephraim Whitlock, Adjutant,	
Peter Lott, 2nd Lieut. and Quartermaster,	
Cyrus D'Hart, 1st Lieut. and Paymaster,	
David Ewing, Surgeon,	
Stephen Ball, Surgeon's Mate.	
Jonathan Forman, Captain.	
Giles Mead,	"
Alexander Mitchell,	"
Peter Van Voorhies,	" and Paymaster.
John Holmes,	"
Aaron Ogden	" Detached as Aide to Genl. Maxwell.
William Piatt,	Lieutenant.
John Howell,	"
William Barton,	"
Absalom Martin,	"
Ephraim Whitlock,	"
Eben. Burrowes,	"
Jonathan Snowden,	"
Absalom Bonham,	2nd "
Samuel Seeley,	" "
Silas Parrot,	" "

Jno. Bishop,	Ensign
Aaron Rhea,	"
John Geary,	"
Asher Levy,	"

SECOND NEW JERSEY REGIMENT.

Israel Shreve, Colonel,	} Staff.
William D'Hart, Lieut. Colonel,	
John Ross, Major,	
Luther Halsey, Adjutant and 1st Lieut.,	
Derrick Lane, Quartermaster and 2nd Lieut.,	
John Peck, Paymaster and Lieut.,	
Ebenezer Elmer, Surgeon,	
Moses G. Elmer, Surgeon's Mate,	

John N. Cumming, Captain.	
Samuel Reading,	"
Jonathan Phillips.	"
Samuel Hendry,	" Lieutenant.
Nathaniel Bowman.	"
William Helms.	"
Abraham Appleton, 1st Lieutenant.	
Samuel Conn,	" "
Samuel Naglee,	" "
Abel Weyman,	" "
Derrick Lane,	" "
Samuel M. Shute, 2nd	" "
Jona Rhea,	" "
John Shreve,	" "
Benajah Osmun,	" "
Joseph Buck,	Ensign.
George Walker,	"

THIRD NEW JERSEY REGIMENT.

Elias Dayton,	Colonel.
John Conway,	Lieutenant Colonel.
John Hollinshead,	Major.

ROSTER OF OFFICERS

Joseph I. Anderson,	Paymaster and Captain.
Samuel Shippard,	Adjutant and 1st Lieutenant.
Ephraim Darby,	Quartermaster and 1st Lieutenant.
Lewis F. Dunham,	Surgeon.
Robert Henry,	"
Ephraim Loring,	" Mate.
William Gifford,	Captain.
Richard Cox,	"
Jeremiah Ballard,	"
Joseph I. Anderson,	"
Seth Johnson,	"
Nathaniel Leonard,	1st Lieutenant.
John Reed,	" "
Nathan Wilkinson,	" "
Edmund D. Thomas,	" "
John Reucastle,	" "
Benjamin Horn,	" "
John Blair,	" "
William Kersey,	2nd "
Jarvis Bloomfield,	" "
Wessel T. Stout,	" "
James Rodgers,	Ensign.
James DeCamp,	"

SPENCER'S NEW JERSEY REGIMENT.

Oliver Spencer,	Colonel.
William S. Smith,	Lieutenant Colonel.
Peter Taulman,	Adjutant and Lieutenant.
John Sandford,	Paymaster.
William Beach,	Quartermaster.
Jabez Campfield,	Surgeon.
John Darcy,	Surgeon's Mate.
John McEwen,	Ensign and Quartermaster.
John Burrowes,	Captain
James Broderick,	"
Benjamin Weatherby,	"
John Sandford,	"

Nathaniel Town,	Captain.
Abraham Neely,	"
James Bonnel,	"
John Combs,	"
William Beach,	Captain Lieutenant.
William Bull	Lieutenant.
Uzal Meeker,	"
Finch Gildersleeve,	Lieutenant.
David Kirkpatrick,	"
Anthony Maxwell,	"
John Stagg,	"
John Orr,	"
Robert Pemberton,	"
Peter Taulman,	"
John Reed,	Ensign.

SECOND BRIGADE.

Enoch Poor,	Brigadier General.
Jeremiah Fogg,	Aide-de-Camp.
Elihu Marshall,	Brigade Major.
Rev. Israel Evans,	Chaplain.
Col. Joseph Cilley,	1st New Hampshire Regiment.
Lieut. Col. George Reid,	2nd " " "
" " Henry Dearborn,	3rd " " "
Major Daniel Whiting,	6 Mass. (Alden's),
	Transferred from 4th Brigade, Aug. 1779.
Col. Philip Van Cortlandt,	2nd New York,
	Transferred to 4th Brigade, Aug. 1779.

FIRST NEW HAMPSHIRE REGIMENT.

Joseph Cilley,	Colonel.
Jeremiah Gilman,	Lieutenant Colonel.
William Scott,	Major.
Jeremiah Pritchard,	Lieutenant and Adjutant.
Benjamin Kimball,	Captain and Paymaster.
Jona. Willard,	Lieutenant and Quartermaster.

Thomas Blake,	2nd Lieutenant and Paymaster.
Joseph Mills,	Lieutenant and Adjutant.
John Hale,	Surgeon.
Amos Morrill,	Captain.
Jason Wait,	"
Amos Emerson,	"
Ebenezer Frye,	"
Isaac Farwell,	"
Nathaniel Hutchings,	"
Simon Sartwell,	Captain Lieutenant.
Moody Dustin,	1st Lieutenant.
Nathaniel McCauley,	"
Josiah Monro,	"
Daniel Clapp,	"
William Hutchins,	"
Asa Senter,	"
Bazaleel Howe,	2nd "
Simeon Morrill,	" "
Joshua Thompson,	" "
Jonathan Perkins,	Ensign.
Hubbart Carter,	"
Samuel Thompson,	"

SECOND NEW HAMPSHIRE REGIMENT.

George Reid,	Lieutenant Colonel.
Benjamin Titcomb,	Major.
Richard Brown,	Quartermaster.
William M. Bell,	Adjutant.
Jeremiah Fogg,	Paymaster and Captain.
Robert R. Henry,	Surgeon.
Rev. Ira Evans,	Chaplain.
Caleb Robinson,	Captain.
James Carr,	"
Elijah Claves.	"
William Rowell.	"
Moses Dustin.	"
Enoch Chase.	"
George Aldrich.	"

Samuel Cherry,	Captain Lieutenant.
Michael Hoit,	1st. Lieutenant.
Ebenezer Light,	" "
Noah Robinson,	" "
Joseph Potter,	" "
Pelatiah Whittemor,	" "
James Nichols,	" "
George P. Frost,	" "
Luke Woodbury.	2nd "
Samuel Adams,	" "
William Taggart,	" "
Thomas Lyford,	2nd Lieutenant.
James Butterfield,	" "
Joshua Merrow,	Ensign.
Daniel Gookin,	"
Caleb Blodget,	"
George Burnham,	"
William Twombly,	"
Thomas Callis,	"

THIRD NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Henry Dearborn,	Lieutenant Colonel.
James Norris,	Major.
Nicholas Gilman,	Captain and Adjutant.
Joseph Boynton,	Lieutenant and Adjutant.
Joseph Blanchard,	2nd Lieutenant and Paymaster.
John Hovey,	Ensign and Quartermaster.
Jacob Hall,	Surgeon.
Mark Howe,	"
Israel Evans,	Brigade-Chaplain.
Daniel Livermore,	Captain.
Isaac Frye,	"
William Ellis,	"
David McGregor,	"
William A. Hawkins,	"
Thomas Simpson,	"

ROSTER OF OFFICERS

John Dennett,	Lieutenant.
Benjamin Ellis,	"
Adna Penniman,	"
Jonathan Cass,	"
Dudley L. Chase,	"
Nathaniel Hoit,	"
Nathaniel Leavit,	"
Jonathan Cilley,	Ensign.
Archibald Stark,	"
Nathan Weare,	"
Neal McGaffey,	"
Moses Page,	"
Bradbury Richards,	"

SIXTH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT.

(ALDEN'S.)

Daniel Whiting,	Major.
William White,	Lieutenant and Adjutant.
James Lunt,	" " "
William McKendry,	" " Quartermaster.
Ezekiel Brown,	Surgeon.
Francis DeBar,	" Mate.
Joseph Tucker,	Ensign and Paymaster.
Asa Coburn,	Captain.
Luke Day,	"
Benjamin Warren,	"
John Reed,	"
Daniel Lane,	"
Jonas Parker,	Captain Lieutenant.
James Lunt,	Lieutenant.
Samuel Buffington,	"
Robert Givens,	"
Elijah Day,	"
William Curtis,	"
Eliphalet Thorp,	"
Stephen Carter,	"
Ebenezer Peabody,	"
Luther Trobridge,	"

Richard Bagnal,	Ensign.
Levi Parker,	"

THIRD BRIGADE.

Edward Hand,	Brigadier General.
Jonathan Snowden,	Aide-de-Camp and Lieutenant.
Captain William Sproat,	Aide-de-Camp and Brigade Major.
Rev. William Rogers, D. D.,	Chaplain of Brigade.
John Van Anglen,	Commissary.
William Kinnerly,	Surgeon.

Lieut. Col. William Butler, Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment,
Transferred from 4th Brigade, August, 1779.

Lieut. Col. Adam Hubley, Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment.

Major Daniel Burchardt, Pennsylvania German " "

Col. Thomas Proctor, Artillery Regiment.

Major James Parr, Morgan's Riflemen,
Transferred from 4th Brigade, August, 1779.

Captain Anthony Selin, Schott's Rifle Corps.

Captain John Franklin, Wyoming Militia.

Captain Simon Spalding, Independent Wyoming Company.

FOURTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

William Butler,	Lieutenant Colonel.
Thomas Church,	Major.
George Boss,	Lieutenant and Adjutant.
Erkuries Beatty,	" " Paymaster.
Peter Summers,	" " Quartermaster.
Charles McCarter,	Surgeon.

George Tudor,	Captain.
William Gray,	"
Henry Becker, Jr.,	"
William Henderson,	"
William Cross,	"

Garret Stediford,	Lieutenant.
Wilder Bevins,	"
Matthew Polan,	"
John Pratt,	"
Henry Henley,	"
Andrew Henderson,	Ensign.
Nathaniel Smith,	"

ELEVENTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Adam Hubley,	Lieutenant Colonel.
Evan Edwards,	Major.
George Bush,	Captain and Paymaster.
William Huston,	Lieutenant and Adjutant.
John Mahon,	" " Quartermaster.
Thomas Wiggins,	Surgeon.

Lawrence Keene,	Captain.
Andrew Walker,	"
Abraham G. Claypoole,	"
Isaac Sweeny,	"
Henry Carbury,	"

Jeremiah Jackson,	Captain Lieutenant.
-------------------	---------------------

Edward Burke,	1st Lieutenant.
Septimus Davis,	" "
William McCurdy,	" "
William Lemmon,	" "
James Pettigrew,	" "
Benjamin Street,	" "
Samuel Morrison,	" "
Jacob Weitzel,	2nd "

Robert Allison,	Ensign.
Samuel Reed,	"
Henry Burley,	"
Francis Thornbury,	"
William Huston,	"

GERMAN BATTALION.

Daniel Burchardt,	Major.
Peter Boyer,	Captain and Paymaster.
Jacob Rayboldt,	Ensign and Quartermaster.
John Weidman,	Lieutenant and Adjutant.
Peter Peres,	Surgeon.

Jacob Bunner,	Captain.
Frederick Wm. Rice,	"
Bernard Hubley,	"
Philip Schrawder,	" Lieutenant.
Jacob Cremer,	Lieutenant.
Christ. Godfried Swartz,	"
David Dieffenderfer,	Ensign.
Christian Cleckner,	"

ARTILLERY REGIMENT.

Thomas Proctor, Colonel.
 Thomas Forrest, Lieutenant Colonel.
 William Adams, Surgeon.

Isaac Craig,	Captain.
Joseph Rice,	"
Francis Proctor,	"
John Brice,	"
Robert Coltman,	"
Patrick Duffy,	" Lieutenant.
Worsley Emes,	" "

MORGAN'S RIFLEMEN.

James Parr,	Major.
Michael Simpson,	Captain.
Thomas Boyd,	Lieutenant.
Benjamin Chambers,	Ensign.

ROSTER OF OFFICERS

INDEPENDENT RIFLE COMPANY.

Anthony Selin,	Captain.
Lawrence Myers,	Lieutenant.
Christian Froelich,	"

WYOMING MILITIA.

John Franklin,	Captain.
----------------	----------

INDEPENDENT WYOMING COMPANY.

Simon Spalding,	Captain.
John Jenkins,	Lieutenant.

FOURTH BRIGADE.

James Clinton,	Brigadier General.
Rev. John Gano,	Brigade Chaplain.
John Pratt,	Ass't Commissary of Issues.
William Popham,	Aide-de-Camp.
Capt. Leonard Bleecker,*	} Brigade Majors and Inspectors.
Major Nicholas Fish,	
Dr. Stephen McCrea,	Brigade Surgeon.
Col. Philip Van Cortlandt,†	Second New York Regiment.
Col. Peter Gansevoort,	Third " " "
Lieut. Col. Frederick Weissenfels,	Fourth " " "
Col. Lewis Dubois,	Fifth " " "
Detachment from Col. John Lamb's Artillery Regiment.	
Volunteer Corps, under Colonel John Harper as Captain.	

* Until Aug. 23, 1779.

† See Bleecker's Order Book of 1779, (J. Sabin, New York, 1865.) p. 123 for Order of April 23, 1779, annexing the Second N.Y. Regiment to General Clinton's Brigade. See also page 5 thereof as to troops of that brigade.

SECOND NEW YORK REGIMENT.

Philip Van Cortlandt,	Colonel.
Pierre Regnier,	Lieutenant Colonel.
Nicholas Fish,	Major.
Charles Nukerck,	Adjutant and Captain Lieutenant.
William Mundy,	Quartermaster and 1st Lieutenant.
Tunis Van Wagenen,	" " 2nd "
Robert Provoost,	Paymaster and Ensign.
Daniel Minema,	Surgeon.

Charles Graham,	Captain.
Samuel T. Pell,	"
Jacob Wright,	"
Jonathan Hallet,	"
Abner French,	"
James Fairlie,	Lieutenant.
Elihu Marshall.	
Gilbert I. Livingston.	
Charles F. Weissenfels.	
John L. Hardenbergh.*	
Tjerck Beekman.	
Andrew White,	"
William Glenney,	"
Bernardus Swartwout,	Ensign.
John Brown,	"

THIRD NEW YORK REGIMENT.

Peter Gansevoort,	Colonel.
Marinus Willett,	Lieutenant Colonel.
Robert Cochran,	Major.
Christopher Hutton,	Adjutant and Lieutenant.
Prentice Bowen,	Quartermaster and Lieutenant.
Jeremiah Van Rensselaer,	Paymaster and Ensign.
Hunlock Woodruff,	Surgeon.
John Elliott, Jr.,	" Mate.

* Lieutenant 7th Company, Nov. 21, 1776, Adjutant January, 1780, deranged 1781.

ROSTER OF OFFICERS

Leonard Bleecker,	Captain
Henry Tiebout,	"
Thomas DeWitt,	"
Cornelius T. Jansen,	"
Aaron Aorson,	"
George Sytez,	Captain Lieutenant.
William Colbrath,	Lieutenant.
William Tapp,	"
Philip Conine,	"
Gerrit Staats,	"
Thomas McClellan,	"
Benjamin Bogardus,	"
Levi Stockwell,	"
Josiah Bagley,	Ensign.
George T. Denniston,	"
Samuel Lewis,	"
Peter Magee,	"
John Spoor,	"
D. T. Fonday,	"
Benjamin Herring,	"
Gerrit G. Lansing,	"

FOURTH NEW YORK REGIMENT.

Frederic Weissenfels,	Lieutenant Colonel.
Joseph McCracken,	Major.
Israel Smith,	Paymaster and Captain.
Peter Elsworth,	Adjutant and Lieutenant.
James Barritt,	Quartermaster and "
John F. Vasehe,	Surgeon.
Samuel Sackett,	Captain.
John Davis,	"
Jonathan Titus,	"
Benjamin Walker,	"
Nathaniel Norton,	"
Theodosius Fowler,	"
Edward Dunscomb,	Captain Lieutenant,

Joseph Frelick,	Lieutenant.
Peter Van Bunschoten,	"
Abraham Hyatt,	"
Rudolphus Van Hovenburg,	"
Thomas Hunt,	"
Silas Gray,	"
Daniel Deniston,	Ensign.
Azariah Tuthill,	"
Samuel Talmadge,	"
Ephraim Woodruff,	"

FIFTH NEW YORK REGIMENT.

Lewis Dubois,	Colonel.
Henry Dubois,	Adjutant and Captain Lieutenant.
Henry Dodge,	" " Lieutenant.
Michael Connolly,	Paymaster and 2nd Lieutenant.
James Johnston,	Quartermaster and Ensign.
Samuel Cooke,	Surgeon.
Ebenezer Hutchinson,	" Mate.

James Rosekrans,	Captain.
John F. Hamtranck,	"
John Johnson,	"
Philip DuBois Bevier,	"
James Stewart,	"
Henry W. Vanderburgh,	Lieutenant.
Daniel Birdsall,	2nd "
James Betts,	" "
Barthol Vanderburgh,	Ensign.
Francis Hanmer,	"
Henry Vanderburgh,	"

NEW YORK ARTILLERY DETACHMENT.

[COL. JOHN LAMB'S REGIMENT.]

Isaiah Wool,	Captain.
Thomas Machin,	"
Elisha Harvey,	Lieutenant.

Historical Address by Rev. David Craft.

Biographical Sketch of Major General John Sullivan.

BY REV. DAVID CRAFT.

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN was born at Somersworth, in New Hampshire, on the opposite side of the river from Berwick, in Maine, February 18, 1740, and was at the date of his Indian expedition thirty-nine years of age. He had acquired a good education under the direction of his father, who was a school teacher, and after reading law with Hon. Isaac Livermore of Portsmouth, N. H., and admission to the bar, he commenced the practice of law at Durham, N. H., which continued to be the place of his residence until his death. In 1772, he was Major of the New Hampshire Regiment. In the spring of 1774, he was a member of the Provincial Assembly of New Hampshire, and in September of the same year and in 1775, he was delegate to the Continental Congress, and by that body was appointed Brigadier General in June, 1775 and Major General in July, 1776. His courage, bravery and skill were unquestioned. He enjoyed the confidence of General Washington and his compatriots. His conduct in the expedition against the Indians to which he was appointed early in 1779, was the subject of severe criticism in certain circles, and characterized as vandal and unmilitary. His usual practice of firing a morning and evening gun, his destruction of the houses and orchards of the enemy, were declared by some to be unwise and unsoldierly. Sullivan bore these criticisms in patience, and, for the most part in silence; and such was his love for Washington, that never did he allude to the fact, in his own defense, that in those things for which he was blamed, he was acting under the express direction of the commander-in-chief, preferring rather himself to suffer in silence, than that his beloved Washington should bear reproach. Owing to exposure in this expedition, and the derangement of his business grow-

ing out of his prolonged absence in the camp, he asked leave to retire from the army at the close of the campaign in November, 1779. His subsequent life was largely spent in connection with public affairs. In 1780 and 1781, he was a delegate to Congress. In 1782, was appointed Attorney-General, of New Hampshire, and re-appointed on the adoption of the new Constitution in 1784. In 1786 and 1787, he was President or Chief Magistrate of the State of New Hampshire. In 1788, he was Speaker of the House of Representatives of New Hampshire, and President of the convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States. In 1789, he was a Presidential Elector and voted for General Washington for President of the United States, and in March of the same year, he was elected President of the State, for the third time. In 1789, he was appointed by President Washington, Judge of the United States District Court of New Hampshire, which office he held until his death, January 23, 1795, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

(See also biographical sketch by Hon. Sylvester Dana, in the proceedings of the Newtown (Elmira) celebration, and "The Military Services and Public Life of Major General John Sullivan" by Thomas C. Amory, Boston, Mass., 1868).

HISTORICAL ADDRESS.

*BY REV. DAVID CRAFT, WYALUSING, BRADFORD CO., PA., BEING A
FULL AND COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE EXPEDITION AGAINST
THE IROQUOIS OR SIX NATIONS OF INDIANS OF NEW
YORK IN 1779, COMMANDED BY MAJOR GENERAL
JOHN SULLIVAN.*

THE REV. DAVID CRAFT has, for the past twenty-six years, been the pastor of the Presbyterian church at Wyalusing, Bradford Co., Pa. Residing in a hamlet half way between Wyoming and Tioga, on the Susquehanna, the former site of an early Indian settlement which was conquered and extirpated by the Iroquois, near the seat of the Moravian mission of Friedenshütten from 1765 to 1772, (and at which General Sullivan's army encamped on the 5th of August, 1779); as the centennial of that event approached, Mr. Craft became seized with an enthusiastic desire to learn all about that campaign, and commencing his investigations at an early day he has had ample scope for the studies he so diligently pursued. A scholar of unassuming manners, by his untiring perseverance and intelligent application, he has brought himself into deserved prominence as a historical investigator. The data and journals which he has collected, show close application and patient research among the records and people of that historic section, which has so long been dormant, only to be awakened and brought to the light by this student of local history, on the occasions of the centennial celebrations of Sullivan's march.

The following address is the substance of four historical addresses, except the introduction and peroration of each, delivered in the year 1879—the first, on the battle-field at Newtown on the one hundredth anniversary of its occurrence; the second, covering the march to Kanadesaga,

and the destruction of the Cayuga towns, at Waterloo, September 3; the third, at Geneseo, Sept. 16, and the fourth at Aurora, Sept. 24; the last two covering the remaining portion of the expedition. These addresses were combined in one paper, and published in the Centennial Proceedings, issued by the Waterloo Library and Historical Society, 1879. This paper has been carefully revised and amplified, and it now comprises a complete, reliable and valuable history of the Sullivan campaign.

G. S. CONOVER,

HISTORICAL ADDRESS OF REV. DAVID CRAFT.

MR. PRESIDENT :

In the current of human history, there arise great events which materially modify the structure of society, turn the stream of national life into new channels, give a new coloring to national character, and secure development of new resources. They are the events which designate historical epochs, and become focal dates to mark the progress of civilization, and trace the development of social and national life.

Such an event, to this country, was the Sullivan Expedition. It marks the beginning of a new era in the history of this Empire State. It determined, at a single blow, whether white men or red men should hold domination over these fertile vales and along these streams, and over these lakes and mountains. At a single stroke it solved the question, whether the American Indian, with his deeply rooted prejudices, with his unconquerable aversion to civilization, with his undisguised hatred for the religion and culture of the European, was longer to stand in the way of human progress; whether he was longer to maintain a barrier, as immovable as his own nature, to the advancement of the institutions and the ideas of the white man, or whether he must go down before the antagonism of another race, which was every day gathering new strength and preparing itself for a fresh onset.

To whichever party our sympathy may cling, in whatever speculations the philanthropist may indulge, whatever charges of cruelty, of greed, of rapacity, may be made against the white man, we shudder to think what might have been the fate of free institutions on this western continent, had the wager of battle between the races, at that awful crisis, given victory to the vanquished.

When this country was first known to the whites, the territory bounded on the north by the St. Lawrence, on the east by the Hudson and Delaware, on the south by the Potomac, and on the west by the great lakes, was inhabited by nations, which from their language, general customs and traditions, seemed to be more closely related to each other, than to the nations which surrounded them. The confederated Five Nations, or as they are commonly called, the Iroquois, occupied the north-eastern portion of this territory, having the Eries and Hurons on the west, and on the south the Andastes, tribes living along the Susquehanna. These powerful neighbors had greatly diminished the strength of the Iroquois, and well-nigh reduced them to a condition of vassalage, and more than once had even driven them from their ancestral seats.

For mutual protection, the Five Nations of Central New York, viz.: the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas, entered into a confederation, and in a rude way, anticipated the great Federal Republic which is to-day exercising such controlling power over the affairs of this continent, and such mighty influence over the nations of the earth. By means of the mutual aid they were thus able to give each other,

and of the rifle, which traders sold to the Mohawks prior to 1620, the Iroquois soon began to assert their independence, then to make war upon their neighbors, and in a few years, instead of being vassals, they became masters, and either exterminated or brought into subjugation, not only their former conquerors, but carried their conquests to the Mississippi on the west and to the Gulf on the south.

When the English assumed control of New York, they formed an alliance with the Iroquois against the French, the common enemy of both, then in possession of Canada and claiming all the country drained by the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi.

The Iroquois, strengthened by this alliance, and becoming still more attached to the English by the wise policy and blandishments of such shrewd agents as the Johnsons, declared themselves to be the children of the King of England, and the English to be their brethren. At the beginning of the war of the Revolution, they mustered nearly 2,000 warriors,* which with their valor, their peculiar methods of warfare, and the advantages of their situation, rendered them a power whose hostility was greatly to be feared.

The Indian had learned from the white man not only the use of the rifle, but some of the arts and appliances of civilization. The lodge covered with poles and skins had been superseded by the log cabin with its bark-covered roof, and in some instances, with chimneys and glazed windows, and the village was surrounded with waving cornfields and fruitful orchards. Rude as their husbandry was, they raised abundant crops of corn, beans, squashes, potatoes, pumpkins, cucumbers, melons, etc.; and the squaws, more provident than their lords, had learned to store a portion of these for the winter's necessities. They possessed also fowls and swine, horses and cattle.

At the very beginning of the conflict between the American Colonies and the mother country, the Colonial authorities sent a delegation to the Great Council† of the Iroquois, informing them that their difficulties with the British king related to the white people alone, and as it did not concern the Indians, they ought to be neutral in the contest. To this policy the Great Council agreed; and it was declared that some of their chiefs even offered their services to the Americans, which, however, the commissioners firmly, though kindly, declined.

Sir William Johnson, Baronet, the popular British Indian agent, died June 24, 1774, and his son, John, succeeded to his titles and estates, and his son-in-law, Col. Guy Johnson, succeeded to the Indian agency. Col. John Butler, a speculator in Indian lands, whose father had been a warm friend of the Baronet's, was a near and wealthy neighbor of the Johnsons; these were all active loyalists, and in connection with Sir Guy Carlton, then Governor of Canada, began to persuade the Iroquois to take up the hatchet in aid of the British king. The celebrated Mohawk warrior, Joseph Brant, who had been elevated to the military chieftaincy of his nation, and won over to the side of the British government, from which he had received a captain's commission, was lending all of his powerful influence to the side of the crown.‡ Rev. Samuel Kirkland, a missionary among the Oneidas, succeeded, however, in preventing a part of that nation, the Stockbridge Indians

* In a census taken in 1763, out of 1,950 warriors, the Senecas claimed 1,050, the Oneidas 250, the Cayugas 200, the Mohawks 160, the Onondagas 150, and the Tuscaroras, who had been admitted as the Sixth Nation of the Confederacy, 140. The British Indian agent reported that during the Revolutionary war the English had in their service 400 Seneca warriors, 300 each of Onondagas and Mohawks, 230 Cayugas, 200 Tuscaroras and 150 Oneidas.

† A formal conference and treaty was held by commissioners of the congress, to-wit: Gen. Schuyler, Col. Turbot Francis, Col. Wolcott, Mr. Douw and others, with the Iroquois at Albany, N. Y., August, 1775. A full account may be found in "Stone's Life of Brant;" Vol. I, Appendix No. 2.

‡ There is good reason also to believe that, aside from the long alliance and friendship with the British Government, the demoralizing effect of British gold and British rum, and the great influence of Brant, that the Iroquois themselves had begun to feel the mortification of having their own subjects, aided as they often were by the Colonial Government, maintain a successful revolt against their authority, and their alliance with the British meant, ultimately, the assurance of English rule over the white people, and of Iroquois supremacy over the Indians on this continent.

and a part of the Tuscaroras, from taking up arms against the States, and subsequently some of them joined the Americans—Captain Jehoiakim with a few Stockbridge Indians, and Hanyerry, an Oneida, with some of his nation, being connected with the Sullivan Expedition as guides, as also a chief called Captain Print, who acted as interpreter. Without going into the particulars of the negotiations, it is sufficient to say that, through this defection of the Iroquois, about 1,200 Indian warriors were brought into the field to strengthen the British forces.

As early as 1775, Sir Johnson and Col. John Butler called a secret council of the Indians at Oswego, which was attended principally by the Senecas and Cayugas, who henceforth, became prominent in their opposition to the Colonists, and foremost in the various marauds made against the frontier settlements.

In the early part of the year 1776, Sir John Johnson fled to Canada, where he was commissioned a Colonel in the British service, and raised a command of two battalions, composed mostly of Scotchmen, living near Johnstown, who had accompanied him in his flight, and of other American loyalists, who subsequently followed their example. From the color of their uniform they were called "Royal Greens." Johnson became not only one of the most active, but one of the bitterest foes of his own countrymen, of any who were engaged in the contest, and was repeatedly the scourge of his own former neighbors.

Besides the regularly enlisted and uniformed companies of Greens or Rangers, a considerable number of disaffected people had been driven from the border settlements by the Whigs, as public enemies, and became refugees about the British camps and garrisons. These by the patriots were called "Tories." They, burning with rage toward the Whigs, and frequently disguised as Indians, either in company with them, or in bands by themselves, kept up a predatory or guerilla warfare along the frontiers and in cruelty and inhumanity far exceeded the savages themselves.

Of Joseph Brant, or Thayendanegea, as the Indians called him, who acted so conspicuous a part on our frontiers during the Revolutionary war, a few words need be said. Of more than average natural gifts, he had enjoyed peculiar advantages for their cultivation, His sister, Molly, being the mistress of Sir William Johnson, that gentleman secured for him a fair English education, and afterward gave him a responsible position connected with the Indian agency, which he held until the beginning of the war. About that time he made a visit to England, where he was received with marked attention by the nobility and English people, and was persuaded that the ancient treaties between the Iroquois and the British bound him to support the crown in its struggle with the Colonies. Brant returned to America an avowed ally of the British government.

He was descended from a Sachem of the Mohawks, and attained the high honor of being recognized as the war chief of the Confederacy, a position the highest and the most honorable to which an Iroquois could aspire. As the leader of his dusky warriors, he was foremost in the fray, exhaustless in expedients to harass his enemy, of tireless energy, of dauntless courage, of lofty and chivalrous bearing, commanding the fullest confidence of his people, a tower of strength to his friends and a terror to his foes. Even after the lapse of a century, the mere mention of his name calls up recollections of slaughter and massacres, of plunder and pillage, of burning and devastation, for which men still execrate his name and stigmatize his memory.

With such a horde of white men and red, of Indian warriors, refugees, Tories, uniformed militia, and a few regular troops, men whose passions were inflamed with intensest hatred against the patriots, who were stimulated to deeds of reckless bravery by hope of plunder, who were encouraged to a mad rivalry with each other in acts of savage barbarism and merciless cruelty—with such a horde, whose battle-cry was "No quarter," and whose purpose was extermination, without military discipline and without susceptibility of control, let loose upon the scattered and unprotected settlements on the frontiers, British Generals and British statesmen sought to subdue the rebellion in their western colonies, and crush out life and liberty from the new-born nation.

The great event of 1777, was the invasion of Burgoyne, and the defeat and capture of his army. In this campaign the forces under Butler and Brant were with St. Leger in the siege of Fort Schuyler, and were engaged in the battle of Oriskany.

Although the Iroquois had shamefully broken their pledge to remain neutral during the contest between the Colonies and the mother country, yet, Congress determined to make a still further effort to secure their good will, and sent a deputation to meet them at Johnstown in March, 1778. It was estimated that seven hundred savages were at this council, but of these there were only three or four Cayugas and not a single Seneca. The latter nation not only refused to attend the conference, but sent a most insolent message, in which they affected great surprise, using their own language, "that while our tomahawks were sticking in their heads (meaning the Continentals,) their wounds bleeding and their eyes streaming with tears for the loss of their friends at German Flats, (Oriskany,) the commission should think of inviting them to a treaty." In his life of Brant, Colonel Stone says, "While the impression at the time seemed to be that the Oneidas, the Tuscaroras and the Onondagas would remain neutral and restrain their warriors from taking part with the British, the commissioners left the council under the full persuasion that from the Senecas, the Cayugas, and the greater part of the Mohawks, nothing but revenge for their lost friends and tarnished glory at Oriskany and Fort Schuyler, was to be anticipated."

This year, 1778, was marked by a series of attacks on the most important frontier towns in New York and Pennsylvania. In January, predatory excursions were begun against the settlers on the Susquehanna, and before the close of spring, of more than a hundred families scattered along the river above the Lackawanna, not one remained. Then came the destruction of Wyoming, and the piteous tale of sorrow and distress and death had hardly been told when there followed in swift succession the destruction of Andrustown, of the German Flats and of Cherry Valley. As the terror-stricken fugitives fled to the adjoining settlements, they told with every conceivable exaggeration, the story of their sufferings, and the hideous cruelty and savageness of both Tory and Indian. Every messenger from the frontiers brought a new tale of butchery, of prisoners tortured, of scenes where every refinement of cruelty was in sharp competition with the most shocking barbarism. This enemy in the rear, though of despicable character and of but little strength, when measured by the ordinary military standard, yet proved to be far more annoying than the more formidable forces under Clinton and Howe.

During the winter of 1778-79, bands of savages or disguised Tories were incessantly prowling around the border settlements, keeping the people in constant alarm and terror. Military men began to discuss the feasibility of what had for a year been advocated by Washington—carrying the war into the enemy's country. It was argued that the surest and easiest way to protect the border settlements, was to weaken the power of the adversary. It was known that in the fertile valleys of the Genesee and along the lakes of Central New York, large crops of corn and other vegetables were raised, not for the support of the Indians alone, but as supplies for the British army. It was thought that if these crops should be destroyed, and the Indians driven back upon the British garrisons which were maintained at Niagara and Oswego, it would largely increase the expense of the British government in carrying on the war, embarrass their operations through the failure of their expected supplies, place a greater distance between the Indians and the frontiers, and teach them wholesome lessons of the power of the colonies to visit upon them the vengeance which their cruelties deserved. The territory it was proposed to lay waste was that occupied by the Senecas and Cayugas, the two most powerful nations of the Iroquois, and the most haughty and implacable in their enmity to the people of the States.

In the autumn of 1778, the New York authorities had determined to send a strong force into the very heart of the Iroquois country, to punish severely the Mohawks and Onondagas for their breach of faith, and their cruelties upon the patriot frontiersmen, but it was abandoned on account of the lateness of the season. In September, however, Colonel Thomas Hartley* of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, with about two hundred men,

* Colonel Hartley was born near Reading, Pa., September 7th, 1748, removed to York, Pa., in 1766 when he studied law and was admitted to practice, July 25th, 1769, and had a brilliant career as a soldier, lawyer and statesman. By a special commission from Washington, January 11th, 1777, he raised a regiment of continental troops, which, July 14th, 1778 was ordered to Sunbury, in the forks

penetrated the Indian country by way of the West Branch, the Lycoming and Towanda Creeks as far as Tioga, intending to form a junction with a detachment from General Clinton's Brigade. But finding the enemy in force at Chemung, and not meeting the expected reinforcements, after recovering some property stolen by the savages, he retired to Wyoming, reaching that place October 1, in safety. The subject was formally brought to the attention of Congress, and that body, Feb. 27, 1779, passed a resolution authorizing General Washington to take the most effectual measures for protecting the inhabitants of the States and chastising the Indians. The Commander-in-Chief determined to carry out this resolution with vigor. General Hand, Colonel Zebulon Butler, Captain John Franklin and Captain Simon Spalding, of Wyoming, each of whom had extensive knowledge of the Indian country, were consulted. Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel,) John Jenkins, by profession a surveyor, who had recently been a captive among the Indians, and had traveled over the very country into which it was proposed to send the army, was able to give information of great value, and was retained as chief guide to the expedition. General Philip Schuyler, at his headquarters on the Hudson, was also gathering and transmitting most important information from those conversant with the movements of the enemy.

The plan of a vigorous campaign contemplated the entire destruction of everything upon which the Indians depended for food or shelter.* The invading army was to enter the Indian country in three divisions; one from the south up the Susquehanna; another from the east down that river, the third from the west by the way of the Alleghany. These were to form a junction at some convenient point, advance against the strongholds of the enemy in such force as could not possibly be resisted, and then overrun the whole Iroquois country, west of the Oneida villages.

In a letter to the President of Congress dated April 14, 1779, Washington says: "The plan of operations for the campaign being determined, a commanding officer was to be appointed for the Indian expedition. This command, according to all present appearances, will probably be of the second, if not of the first, importance of the campaign. The officer conducting it has a flattering prospect of acquiring more credit than can be expected by any other this year; and he has the best reason to hope for success. Gen. Lee, from his situation, was out of the question; Gen. Schuyler, (who, by the way, would have been most agreeable to me), was so uncertain of continuing in the army, that I could not appoint him; Gen. Putnam I need not mention. I therefore made the offer of it, for the appointment could no longer be delayed, to Gen. Gates, who was next in seniority, though perhaps I might have avoided it, if I had been so disposed, from his having a command by the special appointment of Congress. My letter to him on the occasion, I believe you will think was conceived in very candid and polite terms, and it merited a different answer from the one given to it."

Washington had written to Gates on the 6th of March, who answered: "Last night I had the honor of your Excellency's letter. The man who undertakes the Indian service should enjoy youth and strength; requisites I do not possess. It therefore grieves me

of the Susquehanna, September 21st, 1778 with 200 men rank and file and 17 horse under Captain Carbury, he set out up the Lycoming, taking two boxes of extra ammunition and twelve days provision. "In our route we met with great rains and prodigious swamps, mountains, defiles and rocks impeded our march, we had to open and clear the way as we passed. We waded or swam the river Lycoming upwards of 20 times." He destroyed Sheshequin, Queen Esther's Town and Tioga, reaching Sunbury the 5th of October, after making a circuit of near 300 miles in about two weeks, recapturing "50 head of cattle, 28 canoes, besides many other articles." Killed at least eleven of the enemy and took fifteen prisoners, and lost four killed and wounded. This regiment was subsequently reorganized and became the "New Eleventh Regiment," Hartley having retired, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Adam Hubley. Colonel Hartley died in York, Pa., December 21st, 1800. A sketch of Colonel Hubley precedes his diary herein.

*See instructions of General Washington of date May 31, 1779, in "Military Services and Public Life of Major General John Sullivan," by Thomas C. Amory, Boston, Mass., 1868.—Page 104—Also in Sparks' collection of Washington's writings, Vol. VI, page 264. In these instructions General Washington, says: "The immediate objects is their (Six Nations) total destruction and devastation of their settlements and the capture of as many persons * * * * * as possible." See also General Washington's instructions of date, September 15th, 1779, published at the end of this address.

that your Excellency should offer me the only command to which I am entirely unequal. In obedience to your command I have forwarded your letter to General Sullivan.*

General Sullivan† accepted the command and immediately began preparing the details for the expedition. It was determined that the center or main division of the army should rendezvous at Wyoming, whence baggage and supplies could be transported to Tioga and beyond, by water. This division was to be made up of three Brigades - the New Jersey, commanded by Brigadier-General William Maxwell,‡ composed by First Regiment, under Colonel Matthias Ogden; the Second, under Colonel Israel Shreve; the Third, commanded by Colonel Elias Dayton, and the Independent or Fifth, better known from the name of its commander, as Colonel Oliver Spencer's Regiment; also David Forman's Regiment, and Colonel Elisha Sheldon's Connecticut Riflemen, both subsequently merged into Spencer's Regiment. The Second, was the New Hampshire Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General Enoch Poor,§ comprising from that State, the first Regiment, under

* The following is General Washington's letter referred to by General Gates appointing General Sullivan to the command of the expedition :—

HEAD QUARTERS, MIDDLE BROOK, MARCH 6th, 1779.

Dear Sir :—

Congress having determined upon an expedition of an extensive nature against the hostile tribes of the Indians of the Six Nations, the command is offered to Major General Gates as senior officer, but should he decline, it is my wish it should devolve upon you. That no time may be lost by Gen. Gates' non-acceptance, I have put this letter under cover to him, and have desired him to forward it to you, should that be his determination. Should it therefore be sent to you, I must request you to set out as speedily as possible after the receipt of it, to Head Quarters, as the season is already far advanced. Upon your arrival the whole plan of the expedition shall be communicated to you and measures concerted for, carrying it into execution.

Nothing will contribute more to our success in the quarter where we really intend to strike, than alarming the enemy in a contrary one, and drawing their attention that way. To do this you may drop hints of an expedition to Canada by the way of Coos. This will be the more readily believed as a thing of that kind was really once in agitation, and some magazines formed in consequence, which the enemy are acquainted with. You may also speak of the probability of a French fleet making its appearance in the Spring, in the River St. Lawrence to co-operate with us. It will be a great point gained, if we can by false claims, keep the force ready in Canada from affording any timely assistance to the Savages, Refugees and those people against whom the blow is levelled.

I would wish you to keep the motive of your journey to Head Quarters a secret, because if it is known that an officer of your rank is to take a command to the westward, it will be immediately concluded that the object must be considerable.

I am with great Regard,

Dear Sir,

Your Most Obedient Servant.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MAJOR GENERAL SULLIVAN.

† See biographical sketch of General Sullivan, at page 331 hereof.

‡ Brigadier-General William Maxwell, Commandant of the Jersey line, was a gentleman of refinement and an officer of high character. Of his personal history but little is known. It is believed he was born in Ireland, but at an early age was brought by his parents to New Jersey. When quite young he entered the military service, and at the breaking out of the Revolutionary war was made Colonel of the Second Battalion of the First Establishment, was with Montgomery in his Canada Campaign, promoted to Brigadier-General October, 1776, and commanded the Jersey Brigade in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and indeed in all the battles in which the Jersey Brigade was engaged, until he resigned his commission, July, 1780. He died November, 1798.

§ Brigadier-General Enoch Poor was born in Andover, Mass., June 21, 1736, but for most of his life resided in Exeter, N. H. Immediately after the battle of Lexington, New Hampshire resolved to raise three regiments, the third being placed under the command of Col. Poor. He was promoted to the rank of Brigadier by commission, dated February 21, 1777. In the indecisive but hard-fought battle of Stillwater, General Poor's Brigade was so closely engaged that it suffered more than two-thirds of the whole American loss in killed, wounded and missing. At the battle of Saratoga, General Poor led the attack. The vigor and gallantry of the charge, supported by an adroit and furious onset from Colonel Morgan, could not be resisted and the British line was soon broken. The year after the Sullivan Campaign, two brigades of Light Infantry chosen from the whole army were formed, the command of one of which, at the request of La Fayette, was given to Gen. Poor. He died of fever September 9, 1780, in camp at Hackensack, N. J., where he was buried the next day with military honors, greatly lamented by the army in which he was deservedly popular. General Washington declared him to be "an officer of distinguished merit, who as a citizen and a soldier, had every claim to the esteem of his country." It has been mentioned as no small tribute to his memory, that the Marquis La Fayette, on his second visit to this country, at a public entertainment, should have proposed the sentiment, "The memory of Light Infantry Poor and Yorktown Scammel."

Colonel Joseph Cilley; the Second, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel George Reid; the Third, or Scammel's Regiment, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Henry Dearborn; and the Second New York commanded by Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt. The third, was a Brigade of Light Troops, under Brigadier-General Edward Hand,* composed of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Hubley; the German Regiment, or what there was left of it, commanded by Major Daniel Burchard; Captain Simon Spalding's Independent Wyoming company; the Wyoming militia, under Captain (afterward Colonel,) John Franklin, and Schott's Rifle Corps, with Captain Selin in command. It was expected that the Pennsylvania and some other companies would be filled up by enlistment, when the whole number would be about 3,500 men. There was also a section of Artillery under command of Colonel Thomas Proctor† of Philadelphia.

The right division of the army was the New York Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General James Clinton, consisting of the Third Regiment, under Colonel Peter Gansevoort, who in 1777 gained great renown for his heroic defense of Fort Schuyler against St. Leger; the Fourth, or Livingston's Regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Weissenfels,‡ the Fifth, or Independent Regiment, commanded by Colonel Louis Dubois; § the Sixth Massachusetts, or Alden's Regiment, commanded by Major Whiting.—Colonel Ichabod Alden having been killed, the autumn previous, at Cherry Valley, and Lieutenant-Colonel Stacia being a prisoner with the enemy; the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel William Butler; companies of Morgan's Riflemen, with Major James Parr the senior officer, and a small command under Colonel John Harper. The nominal strength of the Brigade was about 1,600 men.

The left division was to consist of troops at Pittsburg, numbering about 600 or 800 men, under command of Colonel Broadhead. As this force never became connected with the main army, and never received orders from General Sullivan, nothing further need be said of it. (See page 306 hereof).

General Sullivan reached Easton, Pennsylvania, May 7, and the next day writes to Washington, saying, "I will do everything in my power to set the wheels in motion, and make the necessary preparations for the army to move on." He adds, "the expedition is no secret in this quarter. A sergeant of Spencer's who was made prisoner at Mohacamoe and carried to Chemung, has just returned; he says they [the enemy] know of the expedition and are taking every step to destroy the communications on the Susquehanna. * * * I think the sooner we can get into the country the better." This last sentence is in allusion to the verbal instructions of Washington not to hasten his march from Easton until it was known what would be the future movement of D'Estaing, then in the West

* Brigadier-General Edward Hand, though the youngest of the Brigadiers, held the most important position in the command, next to General Sullivan himself. Born in Ireland the last day of 1744, he entered the British army as Ensign, served for two years in his regiment in this country, then resigned and settled in Pennsylvania. At the beginning of the Revolution he entered the Continental service as Lieutenant-Colonel, but was made Colonel of a rifle corps in 1776, was in the battles of Long Island and Trenton, and in the summer and fall of 1777, having been made a Brigadier-General April 1, was in command at Pittsburg, where he acquired such knowledge of the Indian country and their modes of warfare as made his services indispensable to the expedition. Washington placed great confidence in his judgment and consulted him freely in regard to the feasibility of the enterprise. In 1780, he succeeded Scammel as Adjutant General of the army, and held the position until the close of the war. He was commissioned Major General, September 30, 1783. He was known as a lover of fine horses and an excellent horseman. He died in Lancaster County, Pa., September 4, 1802, aged 58 years.

† Colonel Thomas Proctor was born in Ireland, but in early life came to Philadelphia, where he worked at the trade of a carpenter, until the beginning of the war, when he raised a company, was commissioned Captain, November 27, 1775 and promoted Colonel from Major, February 6, 1777, resigned April 9, 1781 and died at Philadelphia, March 16, 1806. He was a man of great executive ability and was frequently serviceable to the government in other than a military capacity. In 1791, he was sent on a mission to the Western Indians, which he performed to the satisfaction of the government. The journal kept while on this mission is printed in the New Series of Pennsylvania Archives, Volume VI.

‡ See appendix 3.

§ See appendix 2.

Indies, who was expected soon to sail north, and with whom the Commander-in-Chief wished to be ready to co-operate in striking some decisive blow upon the enemy. General Sullivan was also directed so to time his movements that he should destroy the crops before the enemy could gather them, and at the same time be so late that they could neither rebuild nor replant. There was no need, however, to caution against too much haste, as it was past the middle of June before the road was opened from Easton to Wyoming.

In the meanwhile, some of the Jersey troops were in a state of mutiny because the authorities of that State had not only neglected to provide for the depreciation of the currency, but had failed to pay even the nominal sum in the almost worthless Continental paper money, due them for their services. It required all the address of the officers to quiet the minds of the soldiers, and Washington declared that nothing had occurred during the war, which so filled him with alarm. Spies from the enemy were also busily at work amongst the disaffected soldiers urging them to desert the army and betray their country. The apprehension of some of these and the execution of the ringleaders, put a stop to further desertion.

Difficulties of another sort began to present themselves. Many people in Pennsylvania had opposed the expedition from the first. The Quakers of Philadelphia, averse to all war on principle, were specially so to any measure which looked toward punishing the Indians, who, they alleged, were far more deserving of pity than blame for whatever excesses they might be guilty of; while what was known in that State, in the Wyoming controversy, as the Pennamite party, which included men possessing large wealth and much political influence, who held title under Pennsylvania for considerable tracts of land in the Wyoming Valley upon which the Connecticut people had settled, while they professed to commiserate the sufferings of the people, did not hesitate to express their satisfaction at being clear of the hated "Intruders," and their perfect willingness that the Indians should keep them out of the disputed territory until the war was over. This opposition began to show itself early in the campaign, in the lack of hearty co-operation and the failure to furnish either their quota of men or supplies for the army.

On the 12th of June, General Sullivan wrote to Washington, giving him, in detail, the difficulties he had been compelled to meet, who in reply says, (June 21st,) "I am very sorry you are like to be disappointed in the independent companies expected from Pennsylvania, and that you have encountered greater difficulties than you looked for. I am satisfied that every exertion in your power will be made and I hope that your eventful operations will be attended with fewer obstacles."

A small force consisting of the Wyoming militia under Captain John Franklin, the Wyoming Company under Captain Simon Spalding with two companies of Colonel Hartley's Regiment (Eleventh Pennsylvania) all under the command of Colonel Zebulon Butler had wintered at Wyoming. Early in the Spring Major Powell* with a detachment of about two hundred men of the Eleventh Pennsylvania reinforced the garrison and were joined by the remainder of the regiment soon after. On the 5th of April General Hand issued orders to Major Daniel Burchardt in command of the German Regiment, Major Lomaign commanding Armand's troop and Captain Anthony Selin of Captain John Paul Schott's corps to rendezvous at Fort Penn (present Stroudsburg), and proceed immediately to Wyoming. On the 8th of May, General Hand came in person and assumed command. The route from Easton to Wyoming lay across the high range of hills dividing the Delaware from the Susquehanna. Almost impenetrable swamps lie between the ridges of these hills. A bridle path had been opened between Easton and Wyoming† some years before. To make this passable for wagons and artillery, Van Cortlandt's and Spencer's Regiments had been detailed soon after their arrival at Easton. Finding the task greater than had been anticipated, Cilley's regiment was sent to assist them May 27. On the 31st of May in general orders, Gen. Sullivan "Returns his most sincere thanks to Cols. Van Cortlandt and Spencer and to the officers and soldiers under their command for their unparalleled exertions in clearing and repairing the road to Wyoming." At this date these three

* The Indians ambuscaded this detachment at Laurel Run near Wyoming, April 24, and killed Captain Joseph Davis, Lieut. Jones and two men.

† Wyoming then was in Northampton County, whose capital was Easton.

regiments were encamped on Locust Hill, fourteen miles from Wyoming. It was not until June 14th, that they reached Wyoming.

At three o'clock in the morning of Friday, June 18, the camps were aroused, and in an hour afterward the troops were in motion for the Susquehanna. General Sullivan was accompanied by the three New Jersey, the Second and Third New Hampshire Regiments and Proctor's artillery. The route of this day was up the Bushkill creek from Easton twelve miles to the foot of the Blue ridge where they encamped at Heller's Tavern, near present Hellersville.* The next morning the army was astir at four o'clock. Hellers was at southern opening of the Wind Gap, a remarkable Pass in the Blue Ridge. Through this the little army took its way just as the day was breaking, and at seven o'clock halted for rest and breakfast at Brinker's Mills,† seven miles from Heller's and beyond the northern entrance of the Gap. Here a large building had been erected for the storage of the army supplies, which gave the name of Sullivan's Stores to this locality. While resting here the army drew four days' provisions, sufficient to last them until they should reach Wyoming, and then marched nine miles farther to Learned's Log Tavern.‡ This was the last house on the frontier. From this point the road had opened by Van Cortlandt's and Spencer's regiments to Wyoming, but was still rough and difficult to travel. The road this day had led through a stony, barren region but the next day passed over the Pocono mountains which divide the water-shed of the Delaware from the Susquehanna and was so difficult that but five miles could be made and encamped for the night near a small stream called "Rum Bridge, or White Oak Run." General Sullivan dated his orders this morning at Chowder Camp§ so called because he was served with "trout chowder" on his arrival at this place. From the mountain peaks over which the army passed the views were delightful. At the east was the Delaware Water Gap, nearly south the Wind Gap, in the West the Blue ridge rising peak beyond peak, presenting a picture wherever the eye turned of wierd, fascinating beauty. On Monday, the 21st of June, the road lay through the Great Swamp, a rough, stony, hilly stretch of heavily timbered land, interspersed with frequent streams and marshy places, and at one point so dark from the overhanging trees through whose shade the sun never penetrated as not inaptly to be called the "Shades of Death." After a fatiguing march of twenty miles the troops reached the northern limit of this swamp late in the evening and pitched their tents upon a spot appropriately named by their Commander, "Fatigue Camp."¶ The days march had not only been attended with weariness to the men but had been fraught with numberless mishaps to baggage; wagons and gun carriages were broken, horses exhausted and some of them had died from fatigue, so that it was two o'clock the next afternoon before the army could renew its march, encamping for the evening on Bullock farm fifty-eight miles from Easton and seven from Wyoming which was reached the next day, Wednesday, July 23, without mishap. Here, instead of finding the supplies he had expected, a new disappointment awaited him. Of the salted meat, not a pound was fit to eat ¶ Of the cattle, many of

* Hellersville is near the boundary of present Northampton County. Mr. Miner is mistaken when he makes the road pass through Stroudsburg. There was such a road used by the early settlers at Wyoming, but in 1779, the shorter and better route up the Bush hill had been opened. Van Cortlandt marched by way of Stroudsburg, May 11-14.

† Present Saylorburg in Monroe county, Pennsylvania.

‡ Near Tannersville in Monroe county, on the road from Stroudsburg to Wyoming.

§ At present called Hungry Hill. Monroe Co., Penn.

¶ Present Burnt Plain, or Barren Hill, Luzerne Co., Penn., 12 miles east of Wilkesbarre, Penn.

¶ It is but just to say that the reason rendered for this was that the meat was necessarily packed in casks made of green lumber, which soured the brine and spoiled the meat, notwithstanding the utmost precautions were used. In a letter from the Pennsylvania war office under date of July 21, 1779, occurs the following:—"Your remarks on the Staff Department have undoubtedly but too much foundation; at the same time we must observe that they are in many cases almost insuperable difficulties in the way; among these may be reckoned the want of men and proper materials, of the former the country is much drained; and of the latter the old stocks are generally worked up or used and no provision made for future wants. Hence in particular they have sometimes been obliged to use green stuff for casks, which in summer is ruinous to whatever is put in them. To this cause may be imputed the badness of some of the salted provisions destined for your army; for we have upon inquiry rec'd satisfactory evidence that no care was wanting in the salting and re-packing of the greater part of them."

them were too poor to walk and some could not even stand. Everything pertaining to the Commissary's Department was in a deplorable condition, and the clothing department was in no better. On the 21st of July, General Sullivan writes, that more than a third of his soldiers have not a shirt to their backs,

As early as May 19, Colonel Pickering, then on General Washington's staff, wrote to Joseph Reed, President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, stating the necessity of hastening forward the supplies for the army, and adds, "we expected ere this time that all the stores would have been at least on their way to Estherton, but for want of wagons three-fourths of them are in this city." The next day the Board ask that they may have immediately from eighty to one hundred wagons to convey supplies to the Susquehanna. On the 31st of May, General Washington himself writes to President Reed urging that the stores be sent forward with all expedition.

Instead of exerting themselves to forward the supplies so urgently demanded, and which had been faithfully promised beforehand, the authorities complained that the requisitions of Sullivan were exorbitant and threatened to prefer charges against him before Congress.

General Sullivan says also that the Executive Council of Pennsylvania engaged to furnish seven hundred and twenty rangers and riflemen, and on the 21st of July, "not a man of them had joined the army, nor are any about to do it." The excuses rendered were that the Quartermaster paid such large wages for boatmen, that no one could be persuaded into the military service—and General Sullivan was further told that he had men enough for his expedition, although it was the opinion of both himself and Washington, that his force was too small for the exigencies of the campaign.

The Commander at once set about with great vigor to supply his army with the necessary stores and means for their transportation. Boats were secured, four hundred fifty boatmen were enlisted, and soldiers were detailed, who, under the direction of Gen. Hand and other officers, were busily engaged for six weeks in collecting the supplies which he expected would be in Wyoming on his arrival there.

General Sullivan was by no means the only officer who complained of delinquency and criminal neglect in the State Commissary Department. In a letter to President Reed, of July 22, William Maclay, the Lieutenant of Northumberland, says: "I wish not to complain of any one, nor would be understood so. I, however, know the wretched slothfulness of many who are engaged in the public department, and would rather do a piece of business myself than have the trouble of calling on them." Under date of July 14, Colonel Hubley writes to President Reed: "Our expedition is carrying on rather slow, owing to the delay of our provisions, &c. I sincerely pity General Sullivan's situation. People who are not acquainted with the reasons of the delay, I'm informed, censure him, which is absolutely cruel and unjust. No man can be more assiduous than he is. Unless some steps are taken to find out and make an example of the delinquent, [Quartermasters and Commissaries] I fear our expedition will be reduced to a much less compass than was intended." July 30th he writes again: "To-morrow we march, and I am sorry to say exceedingly ill provided to carry through the extensive expedition. The same unparalleled conduct of those employed in supplying this army, seems still to exist. I hope to see the day when the delinquents will be brought to proper punishment. My regiment I fear will be almost totally naked before we can possibly return. I have scarcely a coat or blanket for every seventh man. The state stores are all issued and delivered to the regiment." The testimony on all sides is, that the Commissary Department was in the hands of men, who were either entirely incapable or grossly negligent. Of course great allowance should be made for the depressed condition of the country, the worthlessness of the currency, and the poverty of the people, but the real cause was mainly to be found in the coldness and real disfavor with which the State authorities regarded the expedition, and the entirely inadequate idea they had of its extent and necessities.

But few incidents worthy of note occurred during the five weeks the army lay here.

On Sunday, June 27, Rev. Andrew Hunter,* chaplain to Maxwell's Brigade preached in the woods, to his Brigade, and Dr. Rogers † the chaplain of the Pennsylvania Brigade held service near the Fort attended by the commander-in-chief and his suite.

On the afternoon of July 1, Laurence Miller and Michael Rosebury of the Jersey Brigade who had been convicted of enticing soldiers to desert to the enemy and sentenced to be hanged, the latter was executed and the former on account of his good behavior, his penitence and numerous family was pardoned. The three ‡ chaplains attended to administer spiritual comfort in their last moments.

July 4th falling on Sunday, Dr. Rogers preached a patriotic discourse, as did both Doctors Hunter and Kirkland and the next day there was a military display in honor of the event, and the customary toasts drank amid much hilarity. This day thirty boats were sent down to Sunbury after the stores which had been collected there. Those who had been engaged as boatmen having deserted, soldiers from Col. Hubley's Regiment were detailed to man them. They brought back forty-three on the 9th, when a party under Captain Cummings was sent to Cox's Town for additional supplies, which returned on the 23d. On the 20th Captain Bowman arrived with supplies from Brinker's Mills, including two hundred seventy head of cattle and some horses. Thus General Sullivan after many vexatious delays by the unwearied exertions of his troops finally succeeded in gathering provisions sufficient to warrant him to set out on his great adventure.

On the evening of the 13th of July, thirty-three of the German Regiment deserted, on the plea that their term of enlistment had expired. They were apprehended, brought back, tried by court-martial, the leaders condemned to suffer death, and the others to severe punishment. On the petition of the criminals, with the promise to serve faithfully until properly discharged, and the recommendation of a board of officers, they were pardoned, and cheerfully took their places in the ranks.

The movements of General Sullivan had not been unobserved by the enemy, who naturally concluded that the gathering of such a force and the collection of such extensive stores indicated some offensive movement, and that the invasion, which they had treated with so much ridicule, might be a more serious affair than they had anticipated.

Bold and desperate measures were undertaken to divert the attention of the General, divide his force, and, if possible, embarrass or delay his movements, by making vigorous attacks on the right and on the left of him.

For the protection of the scattered settlements on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, a fort had been erected fifteen miles above Northumberland, called Freeland's Fort. On the 28th of July one hundred British soldiers, under command of Captain McDonald, and two hundred Indians, invested the fort. Captain Hawkins Boon, a few miles below, hearing the firing, started with thirty men for the relief of the garrison. Before reaching there, the garrison, which consisted of thirty-two men, surrendered, and Captain Boon's party were surrounded by the enemy and fourteen of his men were slain. Great panic ensued, and express after express arrived at Wyoming beseeching General Sullivan

* Rev. Andrew Hunter, the son of a British officer was born in Virginia, licensed to preach by the First Presbytery of Philadelphia in 1773, was a missionary in Pennsylvania and Virginia. In 1778 was appointed chaplain in Maxwell's Brigade. In 1788 he was elected Trustee of the College of New Jersey. In 1804, was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in that institution. In 1808, he resigned his professorship to take charge of an academy in Bordentown, N. J., but was soon after appointed chaplain in the Navy and stationed in the Navy Yard in Washington, until his death which occurred Feb. 24, 1823.

† A biographical sketch of Rev. Wm. Rogers, D. D., is given in the introduction to his diary.

‡ Besides Revs. Rogers and Hunter, and the Rev. Samuel Kirkland,—the Rev. Israel Evans of the New Hampshire Brigade was chaplain in the expedition, and faithfully performed his duties to the close of the war. He was from Pennsylvania, a graduate of Princeton college and ordained chaplain of the army in 1776, at Philadelphia. Upon the appointment of Colonel Poor as Brigadier in 1777, Mr. Evans became chaplain of his brigade and so continued until the close of the war. He pronounced the eulogy at the funeral of General Poor in 1780. Being a popular preacher he was settled in Concord, N. H., as successor to the Rev. Mr. Walker, July 1, 1789. He died at Concord, March 9, 1807, in the sixtieth year of his age.—*N. H. Reports*.

to send them aid. In reply he wrote to Colonel Cook: "Nothing could afford me more pleasure than to relieve the distressed, or to have it in my power to add to the safety of your settlement, but should I comply with the requisition made by you, it would effectually answer the intention of the enemy and destroy the grand object of this expedition. To-morrow the army moves from this place, and by carrying the war immediately into the Indian country, it will most certainly draw them out of yours."

The same week Brant with a party of warriors fell upon the Minisink settlements in Orange County, N. Y., killing several of the inhabitants and making others prisoners. One hundred and fifty militia marching for their relief, were decoyed into an ambush and more than a hundred of them slain. An attack followed on the settlement of Lackawaxen, which was broken up with the loss of several lives and a number taken prisoners. General Sullivan, however, was too good a General to divide his force in the presence of the enemy. He detached not a man from his main body, but hastened the preparations for his departure.

Rumors that large parties of Indians had been discovered at several places below Wyoming induced the commander to detach the Second Jersey Regiment with two field pieces to act as escort to the boats then coming up the river. On the 24th, the fleet consisting of one hundred twelve loaded boats in charge of General Hand, arrived. Their approach was announced by the discharge of the cannon which were on the boats, answered by those on shore, and were received by soul stirring strains of music by Colonel Proctor's regimental band. In general orders, thanks were returned to General Hand, Major Conway, Captains Rice and Porter, and others for their great exertions in bringing forward the stores of the army with such expedition. All was now bustle and excitement in preparing for the march. Stores were loaded upon the boats and provisions were arranged for the packhorses.

On the last day of July, everything being in readiness so far as circumstances would allow, about one o'clock in the afternoon, the army broke camp at Wyoming and began its forward march. Two captains, six Subalterns, and one hundred men were left as the garrison for Wyoming under command of Colonel Zebulon Butler, who was charged with forwarding such supplies as might be collected. The artillery consisted of eight brass pieces, viz.: two six-pounders, four three-pounders, two howitzers, carrying five and a half-inch shells, together with a light piece for carrying either shot or shell, called a cohorn.* The artillery, ammunition, the salted provisions, flour, liquors, and heavy baggage were loaded on two hundred and fourteen boats,† manned by four hundred and fifty enlisted boatmen, Colonel Proctor's Regiment, and two hundred and fifty soldiers; all under the command of Colonel Proctor. To General Hand and his light troops was assigned the post of honor, the front of the column, which was directed to march in three columns and keep about a mile in advance of the main body. Hubley's Regiment and Captain Spaldings Independent Company formed the center column and proceeded on the main road; the German Regiment and Captain Schott's Independent Corps formed the right column, the left being a detachment from the center. Colonel Armand had on the 30th of June been ordered with his troops to join the army of Washington. Advanced and flanking parties were kept out to guard against surprise from the enemy, and the brigade was so arranged as to be instantly effective in case of sudden attack. Then Maxwell's Brigade advancing by its left in files, sections or platoons according to the nature of the country, then Poor's Brigade advancing by the right in the same manner in the rear of Poor. Then followed the packhorses about twelve hundred in number and seven hundred beef cattle. A regiment taken alternately from Maxwell's and Poor's Brigades

* A Cohorn is a small brass piece mounted on a wooden block with handles, so that it could be carried a short distance by hand. Colonel Proctor conceived the idea of putting legs under it, and placing it on board one of the light boats which was to precede the fleet, called it the "Grass-hopper," because the reaction of the discharge threw it over backwards.

† A different number of boats has been given by other writers, and by the journalists of the Campaign. I have followed Colonel Proctor's own account as published in the Pennsylvania Archives, New Series, IV., 557. Chaplain Rogers gives the number one hundred and twenty.

was detailed as rear guard. Sixty men under Captain Gifford of the Third Jersey Regiment were directed to go up on the west side of the river to prevent any surprise or interruption from that quarter, and four light boats, well manned, were ordered to keep abreast of them and bring them over to the main body, in case of an attack by a superior force.

The firing of a gun from the "Adventure," Colonel Proctor's flag boat, at 1 o'clock P. M., was the signal for the fleet to weigh anchor. In a few moments the whole army was in motion, with flags flying, drums beating, fifes screaming, and Colonel Proctor's regimental band playing a lively air. Passing the fort, a salute of thirteen guns was fired which was answered by a like number from the fleet. When the whole line got in motion the distance from front to rear was about two miles,* and sometimes farther, while the fleet was spread out at least an equal distance. Owing to unskillful loading or mismanagement, the boats experienced great difficulty in making headway against the rapid current of the Susquehanna; and equal difficulty was experienced with the packhorses, the lading either being badly packed, or the slings improperly adjusted, packs were frequently falling off, or the horses liable to stumble and fall.

The first days march brought the army to the head of the Wyoming valley, a distance of ten miles, and the troops encamped on the flats near where Coxton now is, on the north side of the Lackawanna creek. The flat, however, made slower progress. Grounding in the shallows, buffeted by the swift current of the rifts, manned with crews unused to the business and unacquainted with the current, the boats did not reach the encampment until the afternoon of the next day, while two of them capsized but the lading was saved. It was three o'clock in the afternoon of August 1st, before the army again resumed its march which for the distance was more severe than the day before.

From its junction with the Tioga to the Lackawanna, the Susquehanna has no natural valley, but cuts through at a considerable angle, a series of high ridges running in a northeast and southwest direction. At the gaps through which the river has made its passage, the escarpments are from two hundred to three hundred feet in perpendicular height, and frequently come so steeply to the waters edge that there is not room for even a foot path. The Susquehanna sweeps round these bluffs in long, graceful curves, giving it the appropriate name of "Winding River." The great "Warrior Path" which the main body of the army followed instead of following the bank of the stream, frequently shortened the distance by going over the hills, coming out upon the crest of the escarpment, thence by a steep, slippery descent to the water's edge.

The route this day, August 1st, was along the river bank. For a mile and a half it was at the base of the hill which forms the first narrows, covered with pieces of the argillaceous shales which, when wet were slippery as glass, then across an abandoned plantation where Ransom now is, through a second narrows to a grassy plain called Quialutemac, the main body encamping on the stream running by the Keeler farm, about seven miles from Lackawanna, and on the line of the Wyoming county. It was with great difficulty the packhorses and cattle could be got forward, and Colonel Cilley's † regiment, which

* Rev. Dr. Rogers says, "The army being obliged to, moved in Indian file, and the packhorses only, judged to be about two thousand in number, must have formed according to the opinion of many of the officers, a line of at least six miles." But ordinarily the army marched more compactly. The packhorses were distributed as follows:—twenty for the commander-in-chief, three hundred for Maxwell's Brigade, three hundred for Poor's, two hundred for Hand's, one hundred for Proctor's, and all the others, about three hundred more for the public stores, all under the direction of Colonel Bond.

† Joseph Cilley from Nottingham, N. H., was born in 1745. In 1774 he was engaged in the attack upon Fort William and Mary. Upon the news of the battle of Lexington he marched for the scene of action at the head of one hundred volunteers; was appointed major of Poor's regiment, and lieutenant-colonel in 1776, and April 2, 1777, was made colonel of the 1st N. H. Reg't of three years' men. He fought his regiment bravely at Bemis Heights, at the storming of Stony Point, at Monmouth and other hard fought battles of the Revolution. In this expedition he was one of General Sullivan's most trusted officers. After the war he was appointed major general of militia and with his own hand arrested the leader in the insurrection of 1786. He was a man of great industry and energy, of strong passions, yet generous and humane. He died in August, 1799.

formed the rear guard, did not come up to the encampment until a couple of hours after sunrise the next morning. The army lay still a day at this place, while the stores which had been left along the road were brought up. David Brown of Captain Spalding's company, was this day accidentally wounded in the side with a tomahawk. At seven o'clock, Tuesday, August 3, the army was again in motion. The path lay over the hill between Quialutemac and Buttermilk Falls, crossing the creek about forty yards above the Falls, then near the river until they crossed the Tunkhannock creek on the north bank of which the troops encamped, Hand being about a mile in advance. The experience of the past two days had taught many a useful lesson both in managing the packhorses and the boats, and the journey of twelve miles this day was the easiest of any heretofore made. The next morning, Hand's brigade was on the march at five o'clock and the main army an hour later. The path followed up the beach about three miles to Teagues creek, then up the creek, over what is now Russell Hill, crossing the Meshoppen near its mouth, then over a second hill to Black Walnut* a distance of fourteen miles. The main body encamped on the abandoned farm of Frederick Vanderlip, the light troops a mile farther up on Williamson's farm. Both these men had gone off with the enemy. Owing to the long bends in the river at "Horse Shoe," the boats were compelled to make a distance more than six miles greater than that made by the troops, consequently did not come up until the next morning, which delayed the movements of the army until nine o'clock when the march was again resumed. For a mile the path was over the hill which divides Black Walnut from Skinner's Eddy, or Depew's† where they crossed Tuscarora creek at its mouth, thence over Indian Hill,‡ to the river, one mile and a half farther to Wyalusing,§ the main body encamping on the site of the old town, Hand's brigade a mile farther up near Kingsley's.|| During the day one of the boatmen fell overboard and was drowned. This was the first life lost in the expedition. Indications of the presence of lurking savages, led the commander to observe unusual precautions against ambuscades. The flanking divisions were doubled, the troops were directed to march as compactly as possible and a system of signals devised for communicating information to all parts of the army. Colonel Dayton's Regiment was the rear guard. This evening just after getting into camp, Sergeant Martin Johnson of the Second Jersey Regiment died suddenly after marching all day.¶ The army had orders to remain here a day for rest. A man of the cattle guard belonging to Van Cortlandt's Regiment, which had been rear guard, had been left sick at Black Walnut, and a party sent back to look after him found him dead. His body was brought up to Wyalusing and with Sergeant Johnson buried near Kingsley's house. The orders to march early the following morning were suspended on account of a heavy rain which fell all the night and continued until nearly noon of the seventh. In the meanwhile, arms were cleaned, provisions cooked, and everything put in readiness to move early the next day, August 8th. Sergeant Shoecraft of Van Cortlandt's Regiment with three men, and Captain Jehoiakim** were sent out to reconnoitre the country as far as Tioga.

* So called from the great number of stately walnuts found growing there. A station on the Pennsylvania and New York railroad preserves the name. Dr. Rogers says the small stream which ran between the encampments was called "Machapendaarre." This is just below the station.

† In honor of John Depew a pre-revolutionary settler there.

‡ So named on account of a considerable skirmish in which Hubley's regiment was engaged here with the Indians on his return from the expedition against Tioga the fall before.

§ Wyalusing was the site of a considerable Indian village established by Papunhank, a Monsey chief in 1754. In 1763, the Moravian Church established a mission here, and it soon became a Christian town. In 1772, the mission removed to the Ohio. Prior to the Revolution it was the most considerable white settlement above Wyoming, no less than forty families being settled in the neighborhood. The settlement was broken up by Tories and Indians in the fall and winter of 1777-'8.

|| Nathan Kingsley an early and prominent settler. The body of his log house is still (1886) standing. Under date of Saratoga, July 24, 1779, Maj. Gen. Schuyler writes, "Yesterday a certain Nathan Kingsley, who was made a prisoner in Oct., 1777, near Wyoming, and returned from captivity in Canada. He appears a sensible & intelligent man and has given me a good account of Niagara and Buck Island." He was afterward a Justice of the Quorum, and died in Ohio at an advanced age.

¶ See Dr. Ebenezer Elmer's journal of this date.

** Captain Jehoiakim a Stockbridge Indian with three others had come on with Rev. Samuel Kirkland, their missionary, as guides for the Expedition. The three, however, left the army at Wyoming. See Rev. Dr. Rogers, journal of August 11.

On leaving the encampment at Wyalusing, the path crossed the creek nearly a mile above its mouth, then led over Vaughan and Lime Hills, coming to the river a half mile below the mouth of Rummerfield creek, then along the river bank to Standing Stone, a distance of ten miles from Wyalusing where the main body of the army encamped; Hand's Brigade went two miles farther to the Wysox where they pitched tents for the night.

On Monday, August 9th, it was ten o'clock before the main army came to Hand's encampment, and nearly a half hour later before the entire army was on the march. To avoid an almost impassable swamp, now the fertile fields of Messrs. Piollet, the path crossed the Wysox creek a half mile above its mouth then led along the side of the hill, up Franklin creek, through Echo Cannon, over to a small creek which empties into the river a little below Sugar creek, thence over Breakneck hill, where for more than a quarter of a mile, the narrow path lay along the crest of a precipitous ledge of rocks nearly two hundred feet in height, thence along the river flats to the place of encampment which was opposite the present village of Ulster. The day was very warm and the march tiresome and several of the men gave out. In passing Breakneck three head of cattle fell off and were killed. The numerous rifts and greater distance by the river compelled the fleet to anchor three miles below the encampment, after one boat loaded with flour had been wrecked and the lading lost. This day Captain Gifford burnt the Indian town of twenty-eight new houses called Newtycharming near the mouth of Sugar creek. The next morning was rainy, and the army continued in its encampment to rest, draw rations and wait for the arrival of the boats.

Early on Tuesday morning the army was astir. Fearing an attack at the crossing, Captain Gifford was reinforced with Van Cortlandt's and Cilley's Regiments who forded at the encampment. The rest of the army marched a mile and a half farther up the river fording opposite the present village of Milan, a mile below the junction of the two rivers. The water was waist deep and the current swift but the men grasping each other firmly were able to withstand it and crossed in safety. Marching a mile they crossed the Tioga or Chemung, and encamped at Tioga, the site of an Indian town, on the peninsula, between the rivers. In this day's march the army passed over the remains of Queen Esther's town,* which was situated on the west side of the Susquehanna, opposite to its junction with the Tioga or Chemung.

On the first flat above the present village of Chemung, stood the Indian town Chemung in 1779. The old town, abandoned a number of years previous, was nearly three miles below, and near the present village. General Sullivan determined, if possible, to surprise and destroy this town, and thus prevent it from being used as a rendezvous for parties to commit depredations upon his camp. Accordingly the same evening of his arrival at Tioga, (August 11th,)[†] Captain John N. Cummings of the Second New Jersey Regiment,[‡] Lieutenant Jenkins, the guide, Captain Franklin§ of the Wyoming militia and five others

*Queen Esther, whose palace and village were burned by Colonel Thomas Hartley in the autumn of 1778, and who made herself notorious by her barbarous conduct at Wyoming, was the grand-daughter of Madame Montour, daughter of French Margaret, and sister of Catherine, whose town was at the head of Seneca lake. She was the wife of Echobund, (or Eghobund,) who was the chief or king of the village of Sheshequin, on the site of present Ulster, Bradford county, Pa., built about 1765. It was for a number of years the seat of a Moravian mission, which in 1772 was removed farther west. After the place was abandoned by the Moravians and their converts, Echobund with the remnant of his clan moved four or five miles farther up the river, where he probably died. Queen Esther figured prominently in the Susquehanna valley, until the Sullivan Expedition, after which her name is seldom mentioned. Her only son was slain at Wyoming, the day before the battle.

† Captain Cumming was one of General Sullivan's most trusted officers, and could always be relied upon for dangerous and delicate service. He entered the army as First Lieutenant, November 29, 1775, was promoted to Captain, November 30, 1776, in which capacity he served in this campaign; was made Major, April 16, 1780, and Lieutenant Colonel, December 29, 1781, and commanded the Third Regiment, February 11, 1783 and discharged at the close of the war.

‡ For a notice of Lieutenant Jenkins, see introduction to his journal.

§ Captain, afterward Colonel John Franklin, was one of the most remarkable men of northern Pennsylvania. Among the early emigrants to Wyoming, he was made a captain of the militia raised by order of Congress, March 16, 1778. He was one of the guides to the expedition and severely wounded in

were sent to reconnoitre Chemung. Carefully they threaded their way through the tangled forests, avoiding the trail, yet keeping sufficiently near it not to lose their way, watchful of an ambush and listening for the footfall of a foe, they made their way to the crest of the high hill now owned by Miles C. Baldwin, Esq., where they could look down upon the town. There all was bustle and confusion. The Indians were evidently expecting an attack, and were hastening to a place of safety. The scouts returned the next day, about three o'clock P. M. On hearing their report the Commander-in-Chief issued orders for the soldiers to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice, and at eight P. M., (August 12th,) with the greater part of the troops under Generals Poor and Hand, General Sullivan set out from Tioga, leaving General Maxwell in command of the camp. The soldiers took one day's rations in their haversacks, and carried the little cohorn by hand, all the way to Chemung and back to camp.

Night marches are always attended with great fatigue and many inconveniences, but here these were greatly augmented. The path lay through deep woods and tangled thickets, down into dark valleys and over precipitous hills; at one time the soldiers are floundering through a swamp, at another feeling their way along a narrow path on the hillside where there is scarcely room for two to walk abreast, and where a single mis-step would plunge headlong the unfortunate comrade upon the rocks hundreds of feet below—the day begins to dawn ere the tired troops reached the last Narrows. Covered by the fog, however, they pushed on their way, General Hand taking a little more circuitous route to strike the town in the rear, while General Poor advanced upon the front. But, lo! the bird had flown. Only two or three straggling Indians were discovered, and these ran away as soon as our men came in sight, which was a little before sunrise.

At his own request, General Hand was permitted to pursue the retreating enemy, with Hubley's Regiment and the Wyoming troops, the latter a little in front. He had advanced about a mile, when, as the company of Captain Bush, which was the right of the regiment, and the Wyoming companies pressing on rapidly and possibly with too little caution,* had just reached the broken ground about a mile above Chemung, known as the "Hog-Backs," they were fired upon by the Indians in ambush, killing six men, viz.: one sergeant, one drummer and four privates, all of the Eleventh Pennsylvania, wounding Captain Franklin, Captain Carbery,† Adjutant Huston‡ and six rank§ and file. Our men returned the fire, pushed up the hill on a run, and the enemy beat a hasty retreat. It was afterwards known that the Indians had at least three killed and a number wounded. General Hand was recalled by orders from General Sullivan.

Nearly one hundred acres of excellent corn, just in the milk, were near this town, the greater part of which General Poor was ordered to destroy. A party of the enemy on the other side of the river fired upon the troops just as they were entering a field, killing one

the action of August 13. He was afterward a Justice of the Peace and after his recovery he re-entered the military service and continued to the close of the war. In the land controversies, he espoused the Connecticut side with so much ardor that he was arrested for high treason, but after a confinement of thirteen months, released without trial. He was elected high sheriff of Luzerne county in 1792, for three years; was a Member of Assembly from 1795 until 1805. He died revered and beloved at his home in Athens, Penna., March 1, 1831, in the eighty-second year of his age.

* The order of march was as follows: Captain Andrew Walker's (fifth) company of twenty-four men in the van, the rest of the Eleventh Regiment, then the two Wyoming companies, the left covered by the Tioga, the right by Captain George Bush (third) company of forty men as flankers. Lt. Col. Hubley gives the following as the loss, viz.:—Two Captains, one Adjutant, one guide, and eight privates wounded, and one sergeant, one drummer and four privates killed—all but two of the casualties being from his regiment, there being one killed and one wounded in Cilley's regiment.

† Henry Carbery was captain of the Eighth Company, having been promoted from Lieutenant, No. vember 30, 1778. He was at first in command of a troop of light horse dismounted by order of General Sullivan. He was retired in January, 1781. In June, 1783, was concerned in the riot of the soldiers of the Pennsylvania line and fled to Maryland.

‡ William Huston was commissioned ensign doing duty as Adjutant with the rank and pay of a Lieutenant to which he was promoted, February 21, 1780. He belonged to the Seventh Company. He and Captain Carbery were taken in boats to Wyoming, Aug. 28.

§ John McDowell, a private of Captain Bush's company, was wounded by a ball through his body Pa. Ar., New Series, X, 783.

and wounding five. About forty acres of corn were left for the future use of the army, the rest destroyed, the town burned, the troops returned to their encampment, reaching Tioga near evening of the 13th, greatly wearied with the fatigue of the journey and the extreme heat of the weather. The casualties were seven killed and fourteen wounded. All were brought to Tioga, where the slain were buried with military honors in one grave. Chaplain Rogers officiating at the religious services.

We can hardly imagine a scene in military experience more tenderly solemn than this, when, after the fatigues of that long march and conflict, in the terrible heat of that August day, just at sunset, beneath the "Shadows of Nature's leafy temples," more than an hundred miles distant from the home of a white man, these dust begrimed soldiers gather in silence and in sorrow, to consign their comrades, the first to fall by the enemy's bullets in the campaign, to the rest of their quiet graves. With what readiness they listen as their chaplain pronounces the brief discourse, and how reverently they bow their heads as he "Went to prayer." We can well believe it was no exaggeration when he records in his journal, "The regiment very solemn and attentive. The scene was exceedingly affecting." These were among the heroes who sleep in nameless graves. No living soul knows the exact place where their ashes lie, and probably no one knows the name of a single one of the slain.*

For the protection of the stores and boats to be left at Tioga during the absence of the army, a fortification was erected, which the soldiers, in honor of their commander, called Fort Sullivan. The site selected was near the centre of the present village of Athens, where the two rivers approach very near each other. Four strong block houses set in the angles of a parallelogram served as bastions for the work, the two opposite ones resting on the bank of each river, and the other two about midway between, and at a distance of about one hundred yards from each other. The curtain was made by setting logs endwise into the ground, the whole being surrounded by a ditch, making a work of ample strength for the place.

The New York Government had determined, prior to the Sullivan Expedition, to send a strong force against the Iroquois, by the way of the Mohawk, and General Clinton was making preparations accordingly. After this expedition was determined upon, it was thought best to punish the Onondagas for their repeated treachery and cruelty, General Schuyler, then in command at Albany, with the approval of Washington, therefore directed General Clinton to send out a strong detachment and destroy their towns and break up their haunts. Accordingly on the 19th of April, 1779, Colonel Van Schaick, commanding the First New York Regiment, with a detachment of five hundred and fifty-eight men, including officers, made a forced march to their towns, which were taken partly by surprise; twelve Indians were slain, thirty-three taken prisoners, their three villages entirely destroyed with a considerable quantity of corn, beans and other vegetables, most of their arms captured, a swivel at the council house disabled, their council fire extinguished, and the troops returned after an absence of six days, having made a journey of 180 miles, without the loss of a single man.

General Clinton,† who since the middle of June had been transporting his brigade and stores from the Mohawk by way of Canajoharie and Springfield, encamped at lake Otsego, the head waters of the Susquehanna, the third of July, where, awaiting orders from General Sullivan, he remained until the 9th of August. Lest the river would be rendered unnavigable by the drought which frequently occurs in July and August, he had thrown a dam across the outlet of the lake by which its waters were raised about three feet above usual high water mark.

His force consisted of the Third, (Colonel Gansevoort's), the Fourth, (Lieutenant-Colonel Weissenfels'), and the Fifth (Colonel Dubois'), New York Regiments, the Sixth Massachusetts, (Colonel Alden's), the Fourth Pennsylvania (Colonel Richard Butler's)

* Joseph Davis and Ezekiel Davis both of Amherst, of the Third Company of Cilley's Regiment, who were reported killed previous to August 29th, may have been two of them.

† See biographical sketch of General Clinton accompanying steel engraving.

and four companies of Morgan's Rifles under Major James Parr, amounting in all to about sixteen hundred men, together with two pieces of artillery. The next day, though it was the Sabbath, the troops commemorated the third anniversary of American Independence by parading on the south bank of the lake at three o'clock in the afternoon, firing a salute of thirteen guns and a *feu-de-joie*, after which they attended divine service conducted by the Chaplain of the Brigade, Rev. John Gano,* concluding the day with drinking thirteen toasts to the American cause, its friends, and their own wives and sweet-hearts at home.

Nothing important occurred until the morning of the 27th, when an express arrived bringing word of Indian depredations on the frontiers. Colonel Gansevoort with a detachment of three hundred men was immediately sent to check their maraud. By rapid marches the force reached Fort Herkimer on the 29th, but finding the enemy had retired, the detachment retraced its steps arriving at its old encampment on the last day of July.

On the 8th of August, having received the long-awaited-for orders from General Sullivan, it was announced the army would move the next day. The boats, two hundred and fifty in number,† were taken to the Susquehanna and placed at proper distances along the bank loaded with the stores and two small cannon, and manned with three men to each boat. The next day the dam was broken up, and on the flood thus created, the fleet floated grandly over the shoals and bars which abound in the upper part of the stream, and the army took up its course by easy marches for Tioga.

The first day they encamped, after a march of sixteen miles, "On a small improvement called Burrows'." On account of rain the next day, they did not strike tents until three o'clock in the afternoon when they moved five miles farther to "Yorkham's"‡ on the west side of the river, while the boats drew up on the opposite shore. The next morning at sunrise the troops were moving. During the day several small clearings with dilapidated houses and a number of Indian encampments were passed. After a march of fourteen miles they halted for the night on the farm of one Ogden, two miles below Otsego creek.

On the 12th, the army broke camp at seven o'clock and continued their journey down the river twelve miles, where a small Scotch Tory settlement called About, on the east side of the river, was burned by the troops who then proceeded five miles farther. They had, thus far, been on the west or right side of the river, but they now crossed and encamped near the site of Unadilla, an Indian town at the junction of the Unadilla creek with the Susquehanna which Colonel William Butler had destroyed the year before. The next day the march was continued at six o'clock. About two miles below Unadilla they recrossed the stream and proceeded on the west side to Conihunto, an Indian town fourteen miles below Unadilla, also destroyed by Colonel Butler in 1778. The main body of the troops encamped, the boats and cattle stopped for the night on an Island a little below the town, the rifle corps being a couple of miles in advance.

On the 14th the march was resumed. After traveling eight miles they again crossed the river; but the water was so deep the troops ferried over in the boats, and going a couple of miles farther, encamped at Onoquaga.§ Here General Clinton remained two days to give his troops a little rest, and to await the arrival of Lieutenant Colonel Pawling

* See appendix No. 5.

† Major Fogg says, "1800 men, 208 boats and one month's salt provisions, with two Oneida Indians." Major Norris gives the same number of boats.

‡ Joachim Van Valkenberg.

§ This was a beautiful Indian town, for a full description of which see Beatty's journal of this date. Along with other towns on the upper Susquehanna, it was destroyed by Col. Wm. Butler in command of the Fourth Penna. Reg't. in October, 1778, a full account of which is given in his report to Gen. Stark. Pa., Ar. N. S., X, 434.

who with two hundred troops had orders to join the expedition at this place.* On Monday, the 16th, Major Thomas Church of Colonel Butler's Regiment went out five or six miles to meet Pawling, but failing to find him. returned in the evening. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th, Clinton broke camp at Onoquaga, and after a hard march of fifteen miles encamped at the lower end of Ingaren,† a small Indian town consisting of five or six houses surrounded with fields of corn and potatoes and containing a tannery in which were a number of partly tanned hides. This day they passed two Indian towns, the lower one containing ten or twelve houses, called Shawhiangto.‡ The next day setting out early, they reached the Chenango river, fourteen miles from Ingaren, at four o'clock in the afternoon. Forging this they halted a couple of hours on the south side of it, while Major Parr§ with a hundred of his riflemen went four miles up Chenango to destroy a town|| of about twenty houses. This being accomplished, the detachment joined the main body which had marched two miles farther down the Susquehanna and encamped, having destroyed a number of Indian houses on the road. This evening two messengers, Sergeant Asa Chapman and Justus Gaylord, both of Wyoming, who had been sent forward by General Poor, came to the camp with the word that General Sullivan had reached Tioga, and Poor was marching with a thousand men to meet Clinton and was then not more than nine miles distant.

Rumors from various sources had reached General Sullivan that a large body of Indians was hovering about Clinton's force intending to ambuscade and attack it. Fearing they might be reinforced by those who had fled from Chemung, immediately upon his return, finding Clinton had not arrived, orders were issued that "nine hundred of the most active privates with a proper number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers be immediately draughted from the army to prepare to march at six o'clock in the morning of the

*The following extracts of letters from General Washington to General Sullivan will explain :—

June 21, 1779, "A body of troops under the command of Lieut. Col. Pawling will still be ready for the proposed co-operation. Two hundred of these being engaged for a more permanent service, affecting the first object, will meet General Clinton at Onoquaga, and proceed with him to join you. * * * Lieut. Colo. Pawling is a very good officer."

3d Sept., 1779, "Colo. Pawling not having been able to reach Anaquaga at the appointed time, and upon his arrival there, finding that General Clinton had passed by, has returned to the settlement [Wawassing] with the men under his command which were about two hundred."

† This town called Tuscaraora by Van Hovenberg, was located at or near present village of Great Bend in Susquehanna Co. Pa., and was said to be twelve miles by land and twenty by water from Onoquaga.

‡ This town located near present Windsor Broome Co., N. Y., is called a Tuscaraora town. In 1708, at the settlement of North Carolina, the Tuscaraoras had their seats on the upper waters of the Neuse and Tar rivers. In consequence of their implacable enmity and continual marauds they were driven out by the whites and emigrated northward in 1712, and being of the same generic race as the Iroquois, formed an alliance with them in 1722, and planted towns along the Susquehanna from Onoquaga down and became the Sixth nation in the Confederacy.

§ "Morgan's Partizan Corps," which played an important part in the military operations of the war, was a rifle corps of the best marksmen selected from existing regiments organized by General Washington himself in the summer of 1777, of which Daniel Morgan of Virginia was made colonel; Richard Butler of Pennsylvania, Lieutenant Colonel; and Joseph Morris of New Jersey, Major. Its strength when enlisted was total officers and men, from Virginia, 163; Maryland, 65; Pennsylvania, 193; of which Capt. Parr, 2 Subalterns and 50 privates were from the First Reg't; from other states, 87; making a total of 598. Shortly after the battle of Monmouth, a detachment under Major Parr, consisting of the companies of Capt. Gabriel Long of Maryland, Captain Michael Simpson and Lieutenant Thomas Boyd of Pennsylvania, and the Fourth Pennsylvania Reg't were ordered to Schoharie to defend the borders of New York from the Six Nations, where they joined Clinton in the Western Expedition. James Parr was from Buffalo Valley near New Columbia, Penna., and First Lieutenant in Captain Lowdon's Company, June 25, 1775, promoted to Captain in the First Pennsylvania, July, 1776, to Major, Oct. 9, 1778. He commanded the Sixth Company of the Rifles, a man of great courage and boldness, cool and undaunted. His history, subsequent to the Revolution, seems to be lost. He died prior to 1804.

|| Also called Otsiningo and Zeringe, was on the Chenango river four miles north, of its junction with the Susquehanna, near the present village of Chenango, in the town of the same name. Many have incorrectly located this town at Binghamton.

16th instant."* They were furnished with eight days' rations and well supplied with ammunition. General Poor was first and General Hand second in command. Taking the cohorn with them they set out at ten o'clock on the day appointed and proceeded up the right bank of the river as far as Mauckatawungum, or Red Bank where they encamped for the night. From this point, Chapman and Gaylord were sent forward to announce the approach of the detachment to Clinton. The next day after an eight hours' march the detachment reached Owego. A party sent up the creek captured twelve horses but found no Indians. On the 18th they set out early and after a march of fourteen miles reached Choconut three miles above the creek of the same name, an important Indian village of fifty houses, all but seven of which had been burned. This evening at sunset they were agreeably surprised to hear the report of Clinton's evening gun, which they answered with the cohorn. The next morning they were early on the march, but when a mile from camp, received a dispatch from Clinton saying that he would meet them at Choconut,† they at once counter-marched to their camp to await his arrival.

Clinton broke camp at seven o'clock, and going a couple of miles, halted a short time while a detachment burned a small town on the left bank of the river, then pushed on four miles farther where he came to Poor's force which was awaiting his arrival. After forming the junction with Poor, the united troops continued the march, Clinton taking the advance and Poor the rear, to Owego,‡ a distance of twelve miles from Choconut, and twenty-two from Clinton's encampment. The next day the rain fell in frequent and violent showers and the troops remained in camp but on the 21st the march was resumed as far as Mauckatawungum,§ a distance of twelve miles where they went into camp. On the route this day two of the boats loaded with ammunition were capsized, "and damaged a good many boxes of cartridges and a few casks of powder." At seven o'clock the next morning they set out for Tioga, which they reached about noon on Sunday, the 22d and were welcomed with salvos of artillery, and the cheers of the men, while Colonel Proctor's band enlivened the scene by playing martial airs.

In the meanwhile, General Sullivan was busily engaged in forwarding the preparations for his advance. On both sides the river were meadows covered with luxuriant grass which afforded excellent pasturage for horses and cattle, but those appointed to watch them were continually annoyed by small bands of Indians lurking about the camp, who would spring out of their hiding place, fire upon their intended victims, but before pursuit could be made would be beyond reach. A corporal and four men were guarding some horses and cattle on Queen Esther's flats, when about four o'clock in the afternoon of August 15th, they were fired upon by a small party of the enemy who killed and scalped

* The details were made as follows :

BRIGADES.	Col's.	Lieut. Col's.	Majors.	Capt'ns	Lieut's.	Serg'ts.	Corp's.	Drum's	Fifers.	Privat's	Total.
Jersey,	2	1	1		12	18	18	3	3	360	427
Poor's,	1	1	2		12	18	18	3	3	335	402
Hand's,				4	8	12	12	2	2	215	255
Aggregate,	3	2	3	22	32	48	48	8	8	910	1084

† There were two villages of this name, one consisting of twenty houses on east or left side of the river, at the mouth of Choconut creek, near the present Vestal, which was burned by Poor on the morning of Aug. 19; the other of about fifty houses on the site of present Union, so named because here was the union of the two forces on the right bank of the river, three miles east of a creek which Major Fogg and others call Choconut creek, all but seven of which had been burned before Poor's detachment arrived; the remainder were destroyed on the morning of the 19th.

‡ An Indian town of nineteen houses, which Clinton ordered burned as "a bonfire to grace the arrival of the united forces." It was near the present village of Owego. It is probable the next day his wet and dripping soldiers wished the bonfire had been deferred a day.

§ Called also Mawkuhtowonguh, Red Brook, Macktowanuck. the ruins of an old Indian town occupying the site of the present town of Barton. Fitzgerald's Farm, an abandoned (Tory?) plantation lay on the opposite side of the river. Simms in his History of Schoharie, pp. 291-3, relates the escape of two men named Sawyer and Cowley captured by the Indians, who rose upon their captors, killed three, wounded the remaining one and made their escape.

one,* wounded another, run off four or five horses and killed one bullock. Detachments were at once sent after them but they made good their escape. Two days later, six of the German Regiment obtained permission to go beyond the lines in search of some missing horses; when not more than forty or fifty rods beyond the picket line they were fired upon by a dozen savages who were lying near by in ambush; four got safely back within the lines, a party sent by Colonel Hubley in pursuit, met one returning with his arm shattered, and found the other† killed.

On the 20th of April, Captain Davis of Hubley's Regiment and Lieutenant Jones of the German Regiment while marching with Major Powell to Wyoming were ambuscaded and killed by a band of Tories and Indians, while the army lay at Wyoming. Their remains were exhumed and buried with military honors. As they were members of the Masonic Fraternity, their brethren connected with the army desired Chaplain Rogers to deliver a discourse in commemoration of their character and services, which took place at the encampment on Wednesday, the 18th of August, at eleven o'clock in the presence of General Sullivan and his staff, of General Maxwell's, of Colonel Proctor's Artillery, the Eleventh Regiment, members of Military Lodge Number Nineteen, with many other gentlemen of the army.

On the 19th of August, after reaching Owego, General Clinton sent Lieutenant Boyd with dispatches to Tioga, announcing his safe arrival at that point and that he had met Poor who was returning with him.

About five o'clock in the afternoon of Monday, August 23d, Samuel Gordon, a soldier in Captain Moody Dustin's company, while carelessly handling his gun discharged it, the ball killing instantly Captain Kimball,‡ and slightly wounding a Lieutenant.

On the arrival of General Clinton's Brigade, of which Major Nicholas Fish§ of the 2d N. Y. Regiment was now Brigade Major, preparations for the onward movement of the army were prosecuted with great vigor. Some changes were made in the organization of the army. The Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment and the companies of riflemen were transferred to Hand's Brigade. Alden's Regiment was transferred from Clinton's to Poor's and Van Cortlandt's from Poor's to Clinton's Brigade.|| The riflemen, commanded by Major James Parr, were formed into an advance guard; and a pioneer corps was organized under Captains Selin and Ballard, and Ensign Dodge. The German Battalion was re-organized into four companies of twenty-five men each; two of these companies with two hundred picked men in addition, formed the right flanking division commanded by Colonel Dubois and Lieutenant Colonel Regnier, the whole under the direction of General Poor. An equal number under the direction of General Maxwell and commanded by Colonel Ogden and Lieutenant Colonel Willet formed the left flanking division. The flour and ammunition were packed in canvas sacks made of tents; commissary and hospital stores were placed in kegs, the two six-pounders were left with the garrison, and the rest of the artillery was taken with the army. In the order of march, General Hand's Brigade was in advance, General Poor on the right, General Maxwell on the left¶ and General Clinton in the rear. The artillery preceded by the pioneers, and followed by the packhorses and beef cattle

* Jabez Elliott who with his brother Joseph came with his father's (Henry Elliott) family early to Wyoming. Though a mere lad he was at the battle in 1778, and was connected with the expedition as a packhorse driver.

† Philip Helter, by trade a biscuit baker, whose home was on Fifth street, near Market, in Philadelphia.

‡ Captain Benjamin Kimball from New Hampshire was paymaster in Colonel Cilley's Reg't. He left a wife and five children to lament his sad fate. He was buried next day with military honors.

§ See appendix No. 1.

|| Hand's Brigade consisted of the Fourth and Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiments, the Wyoming companies and Parr's riflemen; also two companies of light infantry of fifty men each, from Clinton's Brigade, and one each from Poor's and Maxwell's. Poor's brigade consisted of the First, Second and Third New Hampshire Regiments and the Sixth Massachusetts; Clinton's, of the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth New York Regiments, and Maxwell's of the 1st, 2d, 3d and Spencer's N. J. Regiments.

¶ Prior to the 24th of August, the positions of Poor and Maxwell had been, Maxwell on the right and Poor on the left. The order given in the text, was that announced in general orders at Easton, May 23, but was not observed until August 24th.

was in the center. All cumbersome and unnecessary baggage was ordered to be stored with the garrison at Tioga, which was to consist of two hundred and fifty men, besides the invalids, under the command of Colonel Israel Shreve.

On the twenty-sixth of August, the army took up the line of its march into an unknown country, through leagues of unbroken forests, into the very heart of the enemy's territory, relying on their own valor alone for success, without hope of relief or of reinforcements, or, in case of defeat, of any quarter. It was an expedition in which not only peculiar hardships might be expected, but it was one without scarcely a parallel in the world's history for the boldness of its design, and the courage with which it was undertaken. To transport an army with its equipments and supplies, through an uncivilized country without roads, for much of the way without water communication, to cut loose from their base of supplies and communications, to be shut up for weeks from the intelligence of the world, where to fall was to die, and ordinarily to die by torture, was an example of heroic bravery which the world has seldom witnessed. Sherman's march to the sea has received and justly merits the applause of men for its daring and its success; but this expedition was far more daring, and if the loss of life and the ends secured by it, be taken into the account, equally as successful in its execution, and deserves first rank among the great military movements in our country's history.

It was known that the enemy were assembled in force somewhere on the Chemung river, where it was thought they would dispute the passage of our army. A few boats, carrying supplies and baggage, were to accompany the army, until it met the enemy, and then return.

The army reached the site of Old Chemung on the evening of the 27th. Between this point and the town, three miles above, the path led over a very high hill, which comes sharply down to the water's edge, and was found to be so serious an obstruction, that the artillery, baggage, ammunition wagons, packhorses and Maxwell's Brigade forded the river twice to avoid it. The current was swift and the water deep, and the crossing attended with considerable difficulty, and some of the loading was lost. The other troops passed over the mountain, and at night the army encamped near the site of the town destroyed on the 13th.

During the evening a scout came in with the information that the enemy were busily at work on a fortification a few miles above. The advanced guard could easily hear the sound of their axes, and see the light of their fires beyond the hills.

Early on Sunday, the 29th of August, the army moved with great circumspection. General Hand marched at eight o'clock, and before nine, all the troops were in motion. They had gone scarcely two miles before the advanced guard began to discover Indian scouts or spies, one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards in front, who, upon being observed, ran off at full speed. A small force was also seen on the opposite side of the river, which kept nearly abreast of General Hand's troops. About four miles from the encampment at Chemung, the fortifications of the enemy were discovered.

Consulting the map of the State of New York, it will be seen that nearly opposite the present village of Wellsburg, the Chemung (old Tioga) river runs first in a southerly direction, then sweeping around to the north-east, it forms nearly a semi-circle, of which the road leading to Elmira is the diameter. The road to Wellsburg divides this space into two nearly equal areas or quadrants. Coming down between the hills from the north is Baldwin's creek, which, a little south of the main road, turns sharply to the east, and reaches the river some distance below. Beginning near the river, and nearly opposite to what was formerly the lower point of Baldwin's Island, now, owing to a change in the main current of the stream, near the middle of it, begins a ridge of land, running in a south-easterly direction for about three thousand five hundred feet, and crossing the Wellsburg road, when it turns nearly at right angles, and extends in almost a direct northerly course about one thousand two hundred feet further, until it reaches the creek. The side of this ridge toward the streams was steeper and higher than it now is, it having been measurably levelled down by ninety years of cultivation. Between this ridge and the hill on the north on which the monument stands, now called Sullivan Hill, is a

hollow, along which the Elmira road is laid, and which a mile to the west of the creek expands into a wider flat, where was an Indian town of twenty-five or thirty houses, called Newtown, which gave the name to the battle-field. At present only two or three old apple trees indicate its site.

A mile or more to the north of the main road, Baldwin's creek runs between two high ridges parallel with the stream, the slope of the western one, which is Sullivan Hill, coming sheer down to the water's edge. Where Jacob Lowman's sawmill now stands, in the woods, on both sides of the creek, were about twenty or thirty houses, which had never been inhabited, and were supposed to have been built for storing the crops growing in the vicinity. A few houses near the bend of the creek were torn down by the enemy, and the logs used in their fortification. One hundred and fifty to two hundred acres of magnificent corn just ripening for the sickle, were on the flats near the river. The Indian path from Chemung, probably, was nearer the creek than the present road; after the creek was crossed, the path turned to the right, until it reached the Elmira road, when it took about the direction of the highway to Newtown. The slope of Sullivan Hill was covered with pine and dense growth of shrub oaks.

Along the crest of the ridge, or "Hogback," from the river to the creek, the enemy had erected a fortification in most places breast high or more, in others lower, but pits or holes were dug, in which the defenders could be protected. The work was very artfully masked by the slope of the ridge being thickly set with the shrub oaks cut the night before from the hillside. A little in front of the line of fortifications were one or two log houses which served as bastions for the work.

The enemy had concentrated their main force at the angle in the fortified line. From this point a thin line was continued on one side to the river, and on the other to the creek. On the crest of the ridge, just above the sawmill before spoken of, a considerable force was stationed to repel any flank movement which might be attempted and was connected with the main force by a scattering line. On the very summit of the hill, where the monument stands, was placed a corps for observation, as also one on the opposite hill, on the east side of the creek.

The plan of the enemy seems to have been this:—Presuming their fortifications to be perfectly concealed, and that the army would follow the Indian trail, as it turned to the right after crossing the creek, a sudden and severe fire opened on its exposed flank would create confusion in the ranks, and in the surprise of the unexpected attack, the party on the eastern hill, and that over the river having fallen back and crossed over, would fall on the rear of the army, increase the consternation, stampede the cattle and packhorses, and, if they did not destroy it, would so cripple its resources, as to prevent its further progress. For the purpose of the enemy the place was admirably adapted. In addition to occupying a position naturally strong, they had the inside line, and could concentrate their forces in much shorter space than their opponents.

The troops behind the ramparts consisted of a few regular British soldiers, the two Battalions of Royal Greens, Tories and Indians. The whites were commanded by Colonel John Butler, with his son, Captain Walter N. Butler, and Captain MacDonald, and the Indians by the great Mohawk warrior, Joseph Brant. Other celebrated Indian Chiefs, but of less note, were also present.

The advanced guard having discovered the enemy's position about eleven o'clock A. M., General Hand ordered the riflemen to form at about three hundred yards from the enemy, and hold their position until the remaining part of the brigade should come up or until further orders. This was scarcely done, when about four hundred of the enemy made a sortie, delivered their fire, and quickly retreated to their works. This was a number of times repeated, with the manifest intention of drawing our men into their lines. The scheme which had too often been successful in alluring the militia into ambush, failed with the disciplined troops of this army, and, at length, the enemy sullenly retired behind his entrenchments to await the issue of the attack.

In the meanwhile, General Hand advanced his brigade in line of battle to support the riflemen, and informed General Sullivan of his discovery and the disposition he had made of his brigade.

The commander at once summoned a council of his general officers, who, after thoroughly reconnoitering the ground, agreed upon the plan of attack.

It was three hours from the time the enemy was discovered, before the ground was reconnoitered, the plan of attack matured, and the troops came up. It was determined that the artillery should be stationed on a slight rise of ground about three hundred yards from the angle of the enemy's fortified position in such a way as to enfilade his lines and command the space behind them; General Hand to advance a portion of his light troops near the breastwork, and divert the enemy's attention from the movements on the flank, and the rest to support the artillery; the left flanking division to push up the river as far as prudent, in order to gain the enemy's flank, cut off his retreat in that direction, and join in the pursuit when he left the works; General Poor with his brigade, the Riflemen, and the right flanking division, supported by Clinton's brigade, to march by a circuitous route, and gain the mountain (Sullivan Hill) on the enemy's left; Maxwell's Brigade to remain a *corps de reserve*, to act as occasion might demand.

It was about three o'clock P. M., when at a point a little more than a mile to the eastward of where the path crossed Baldwin's Creek, "marching by columns from the right of regiments by files," followed by Clinton, who was ordered to march to the rear and the right of him, Poor struck off to the right from the path, his movement being concealed from the enemy by a considerable hill, which also hid a swamp that was directly in his path. He had not proceeded far before he found himself floundering in this morass, which was so thickly grown up with alders and bushes that his men could only with great difficulty make their way through them. An hour had been allowed as sufficient time for Poor's troops to be in position to turn the enemy's left, at which time the attack should be made in force on the front, the artillery fire being the signal for a simultaneous attack on both front and flank. The advance of Poor's Brigade, had, however, just reached the creek where the group of houses stood near the sawmill, when General Sullivan, ignorant of Poor's delay, ordered the artillery to open fire, and the light infantry to advance. They pushed forward and formed in line under the bank of the creek, which afforded a secure protection within one hundred and twenty yards of the enemy's line. Proctor, whose battery, it will be remembered, consisted now of six three-pounders, the light cohort, and two howitzers, carrying $5\frac{1}{2}$ inch shells, opened with a sharp, severe fire of shell and solid shot. Such a scene this valley never before witnessed, and to such music never before did these hills send back their answering echoes.

To endure a protracted cannonade is one of the severest tests of the discipline and fortitude of experienced troops, while to the Indian the roar of cannon is as terrifying as though it were the harbinger of the day of doom; yet such was the commanding presence of the great Indian Captain and such the degree of confidence he inspired, that his undisciplined warriors stood their ground like veterans for more than half an hour, as the shot went crashing through the tree-tops or plowing up the earth under their feet, and shells went screeching over their heads, or bursting in their ranks, while high above the roar of the artillery and the rattle of small arms, could be heard the voice of Brant, encouraging his men for the conflict, and over the heads of all, his crested plume could be seen waving where the contest was likely to be most sharp. At length, from the party on the mountain top, whose keen eyes had discovered the advance of Poor's Brigade by the gleaming of their arms in the sunlight, word came of the threatened attack on the flank. With a chosen band of his warriors, Brant hastened to repel this new danger, leaving a few of his Indians, with the troops under Butler, to hold the ground in front.

Emerging from the swamp, Poor bore off considerably to the left; General Clinton following with his left exactly in the rear of Poor's right, and his right as he turned toward the creek, sweeping over the lower part of the hill on the east side of the creek, uncovered the party of the enemy stationed there and compelled their precipitate retreat.

On reaching Baldwin's creek, Poor drew up his brigade in line of battle—Lieutenant Colonel Reid's 2d New Hampshire Regiment on the left, Lieutenant Colonel Dearborn's 3d New Hampshire next, then Alden's, the 6th Massachusetts, and Colonel Cilley's, the 1st New Hampshire, on the right; and on the right flank of the brigade the two hundred

and fifty picked men under Colonel Dubois, while the riflemen were deployed in front of the line as skirmishers.

By this time the advance of General Clinton, who was to support Poor, began to arrive, and his brigade was placed in order of battle with Gansevoort's Regiment, the 3d New York on the left, Dubois, the 5th New York next, then Livingston's, which was the 4th New York and Van Cortlandt's, the 2d New York, on the right.

Having formed the line of battle, Poor advanced his brigade with as much rapidity as the nature of the ground and the heat of the day would admit. No sooner had he crossed the creek, than he was met by a sharp but somewhat random fire from the enemy, stationed along the slope toward the creek, and protected by the trees which thickly studded the hillside. The riflemen returned the fire, but the brigade pressed rapidly forward, without firing a shot, and with fixed bayonets, steadily driving the enemy before them, who as our men advanced, retreated, darting for cover from tree to tree with the agility of panthers.

When about two thirds of the distance up the hill, the left part of the brigade was met by the party of the enemy from the breastwork, led by Brant in person. They, falling like a thunder bolt upon Colonel Reid's* Regiment, which was the left wing of the brigade and nearest the foe, checked his advance, and before he had time to recover from the shock, his men being out of breath from their run up the hill, he found himself in the midst of an Indian force outnumbering his own, three to one, who were swarming in a semi-circle about his regiment, threatening to cut it off from the support of the rest of the brigade from which he was already separated by nearly a gun-shot, and leaving him the alternative either to fall back on Clinton for support or to force his way through at the point of the bayonet. General Poor being with the right wing of the brigade, urging forward his men that he might cut off the retreat of the Indians toward Newtown, was not aware of the serious danger which threatened Reid, but Colonel Dearborn, whose regiment was on Reid's right, immediately and on his own responsibility ordered his regiment to change or reverse front, by a right about face, and just as Reid had given orders to charge, Dearborn's Regiment poured in a volley upon Brant's force which first staggered them, and then a second volley, when they beat a hasty retreat.

About the same time, Clinton perceiving the critical condition of Reid pushed forward Gansevoort's and Dubois' Regiments for his support, who reached him just in time to hasten the flight of the enemy. Brant observing the movement toward his rear and understanding its meaning, sounded the retreat, and the enemy fled from all parts of the field towards Newtown and the ford of the Chemung, pursued by Hand and the riflemen. The two regiments on the right of Poor's Brigade and the flanking division of Dubois, reached the river above Newtown, at a point where the old Fountain Inn, now owned by Willard Harrington, stands; but this force was not sufficient successfully to resist the demoralized mass of the enemy, whose only means of escape led in this direction; and which being thus intercepted, they broke through Poor's line with such impetuosity, as for a time, to endanger his flank. Some shots were exchanged, without serious casualty to our troops, although General Sullivan and others say the enemy did not so escape. At the same time, Colonel John Butler himself came very near being taken prisoner.

General Clinton with his two remaining regiments followed in the track of Poor, burning the houses which lay in his path, and joined the other troops near Newtown. It was now about 6 o'clock in the afternoon, and seven hours since the first gun was fired, when three rousing cheers announced that the battle was ended and General Sullivan's gallant army was in possession of the contested battle-field. Our men fought with great valor

* Colonel George Reid, of Londonderry, N. H., was born in 1733, captain of a company of minute men in 1775, and with his company joined Stark's Regiment at Medford, on receiving the news of the battle of Lexington, and took an honorable part in the battle of Bunker Hill. In the spring of 1777, he was made Lieutenant Colonel of the 2nd N. H. Reg't, and in the summer following, (its Colonel, Nathan Hale being captured,) its commandant, and so continued until 1781. He was Brigadier-General of the N. H. militia in 1785, and high sheriff of Rockingham county in 1791. He died September, 1815, at the age of 82 years

and determination. The horrors of Wyoming, of Cherry Valley, of the West Branch, of Minisink and German Flats, were fresh in their recollections, and many of the soldiers had lost some of their nearest relatives in these strifes, where savage hordes and Tory outlaws held high carnival. There is a tradition, that as Poor's men began the charge up the hill, some one said: "Remember Wyoming," which was taken up along the line as the watchword and battle-cry of the hour; but there is not a lip in confirmation of this, in any of the numerous journals which have been preserved to us.

The exact numbers engaged on either side cannot be ascertained. General Sullivan and his officers, after going over the whole field, examining the line occupied by the enemy, and comparing the accounts and estimates of those in best position to know, put their strength at one thousand five hundred men, while the two men who were captured on the evening of the battle, gave the number as low as seven hundred or eight hundred. Somewhere between these extremes, is doubtless, the truth.*

The loss in General Sullivan's army was three killed on the field, viz.: Corporal Hunter and two privates; the wounded were Benjamin Titcomb,† of Dover, Major in the 2d New Hampshire, through the abdomen and arms; Elijah Clayes, Captain of the 7th Company of the 2d New Hampshire, through the body; Nathaniel McCauley, of Litchfield, 1st Lieutenant of the 4th Company of the 1st New Hampshire; Sergeant Lane, wounded in two places, Sergeant Oliver Thurston, and thirty-one rank and file, all but four of whom were of Poor's brigade and nearly all from Reid's Regiment. Lieutenant McCauley had his knee shattered, making amputation necessary, and died before morning, and Abner Dearborn‡ died a few days after he was removed to Tioga. Sergeant Demeret,

* There were 15 British regulars, viz.: 1 Captain, 1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal and 12 privates both companies of the Royal Greens, and the Tory militia all told from 200 to 250 white men. Besides these, there were all the Indian warriors of the Senecas, Cayugas, Mohawks, and part of the Onondagas, Oneidas and Tuscaroras, and some of the northern tribes. General Sullivan says, "the warriors of the Seven Nations," at least 1,000 men, making the entire force of the enemy not far from 1,200.

At Catherine's Town, about 200 Indians from Canada joined Brant, and a couple of days after, at Kendaia, he reported that he had 1,000 Indian warriors in his army. Deducting the losses at Newtown, and from desertion, which is always large after a disastrous battle, and his force at Kendaia could not have been much, if any, greater than at Newtown.

The numbers in General Sullivan's command are equally uncertain. At Wyoming, his force was said to be 3,500 men, and the number which came with Clinton to have been about 1,500 or 1,600 more, making a total of 5,000 in the grand army. But this is evidently much too large. To begin with, Pennsylvania failed to furnish the 750 men required to fill up her quota, leaving not more than 2,750 men in actual service; and this must be somewhat diminished. July 22, nine days before the army marched from Wyoming, but after the arrival of all his troops, the returns comprise 3 Brigadiers, 7 Colonels, 6 Lieutenant Colonels, 8 Majors, 48 Captains, 3 Chaplains, 10 Surgeons, 11 Drum and Fife Majors, 131 Drummers and Fifers, 2,312 rank and file, or a total of 2,539 men of all grades and ranks.—Clinton's Brigade consisted of five regiments and four companies of riflemen. The 4th Pennsylvania Regiment, which was one of the number, by a return dated June 18, 1779, numbered of all grades 243 men of whom, however, only 198 were fit for duty.(1) Taking this as the standard and the five regiments would have about 1,250. Of the riflemen, the return of the same date give just 100 men.(2) These figures cannot be far from correct, and make the sum total of the army a trifle less than 4,000 men of all ranks. From these deduct 5 per cent for sick and absent, the 190 left at Wyoming, 300 left at Fort Sullivan, 250 packhorse drivers, and General Sullivan's effective force could not have exceeded 3,100 or 3,200 men.

(1) Lieut. Col., Commandant, Major, 4 Captains, 5 Lieutenants Adjutant, Paymaster, Quartermaster, Surgeon, Sergeant Major, Quartermaster Sergeant, Drum Major, Fife Major, 20 Sergeants, 11 drums and fifes, 148 privates present fit for duty, 13 sick, 32 on command, total 193.

(2) Major, Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, Adjutant, Paymaster, Quartermaster, Surgeon, Sergeant Major, Quartermaster Sergeant, 10 Sergeants, 58 privates fit for duty present, 7 sick, 34 on command, 1 on furlough, total 100.—Pa. Ar., N. S., X., p. 487. On p. 298, Proctor's force of all grades is 144.

All the data obtained since the above notes were written (in 1880) diminish rather than increase the estimates of General Sullivan's force.

† He was made Major in 1777. One of the most gallant men in the army, ever in the thickest of the fight, and was wounded in three different battles. He died in Dover, N. H.

‡ Norris' Journal, Sept. 5.

Joshua Mitchell and Sylvester Wilkins died previous to September 19th, making a total of eight.*

Those who died upon the field were buried separately, near where they fell, and fires were built upon their graves to conceal them from the enemy, lest after the departure of the army their bodies should be desecrated; a practice shamefully prevalent on both sides in Indian warfare. It seems strange that in a contest waged between such numbers and for so long a time, the casualties should have been so few. But our men were well protected by the bank of the creek on the front, and the Indians probably shot over the heads of those coming up the hill.

Twelve of the enemy were found slain on the ground, and two prisoners were taken,—one a negro, the other “one Hoghtailer from the Helder Barrack.”† A British account says: “In this action, Colonel Butler and all his people were surrounded, and very near being taken prisoners. The Colonel lost four rangers killed, two taken prisoners and seven wounded.” Butler also lost his commission and private baggage, beside jewels and hard money. The Indian account, found four days afterward, near Catherine’s town is as follows: “September 3d.—This day found a tree marked 1779, Thandagana, the English of which is Brant; twelve men marked on it with arrows pierced through them, signifying the number they had lost in the action of the 29th ultimo. A small tree was twisted round like a rope and bent down which signified that if we drove and distressed them, yet we would not conquer them.

Disheartened, terror-stricken, and hopeless of further resistance, the enemy fled with all possible speed, not daring even to look behind them; and such was the moral effect of the victory, that without thought for else but their lives, they abandoned their villages to the torch and their cornfields to the destruction of the victorious foe.‡

The day after the battle was spent in destroying the crops in the neighborhood, sending the wounded,§ four heavy guns,|| ammunition wagons, etc., back to Tioga; and while

* Here as in other instances the figures are given differently by different writers. Dr. Kendall, in whose care the wounded were sent to Wyoming, reported, that our loss was 1 Lieutenant killed on the spot, with a few privates, one Major do., Captain, etc., and 26 Indians were found dead and were scalped by our people. Major Norris gives the list as to rank in Poor’s Brigade as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	
Major	0	1	Major Titcomb.
Captain	0	1	Captain Clages.
Lieutenant.....	0	1	Lieut. McCauley, died same night.
Ensigns	0	0	
Sergeant	1	0	
Privates	2	29	

He adds there were no others killed and but four others wounded in the whole army, making a total 3 killed and 36 wounded. Major Fogg gives the list by regiments but it was evidently made up a day or two after the battle and is as follows:—

	Killed.	Wounded.
Col. Cilley’s Reg’t	1 Lieut.	Lieut. McCauley and 1 private.
“ Reid’s “	1 Corp.	6 privates.
“ Scammel’s “	2 Corp.	6 “
“ Alden’s “	1 Private.	7 “
Covering party	1	Several privates.

In General Sullivan’s report, August 30, he gives his loss as three killed and thirty-nine wounded, a larger number of both killed and wounded, than is given by any journalist of the campaign.

† Probably meaning “Helderberg.”

‡ “After the battle of Newtown, terror led the van of the invader, whose approach was heralded by watchmen stationed upon every height, and desolation followed weeping in his train. The Indians fled as Sullivan advanced, and the whole country was swept as with the besom of destruction.”—*Stone’s Life of Brant*.

§ Such of the wounded as could endure the journey were sent by boats in care of Dr. Kimball to Wyoming, reaching there September 2d.

|| As to the number of artillery pieces there is considerable difference in the several diaries. All agree that two six-pounders were left at Fort Sullivan in charge of Captain Wool; while most who mention the number say he took nine (Beatty says seven but probably does not include the howitzers) with him. Aug. 23d, in general orders, Col. Proctor is directed to have ammunition fixed for six three-pounders, two howitzers, and the cohorn, and the order of march for the artillery, issued the 24th, is as follows: “The two lightest pieces designed for General Hand to advance in front, General Poor’s two to follow, General Maxwell’s next and General Clinton’s next,” the cohorn being carried by hand by the light troops is not mentioned in the order. After the battle the two howitzers and two of the cannon more cumbersome than the others, to the great relief of the pioneers, were returned to Tioga, leaving four light three-pounders and the cohorn with the army.

here, owing to the prospective scarcity of beef and flour, and the abundance of corn, beans, potatoes, squashes, etc., the army agreed without a dissent, to subsist on half rations of the former articles.

On the 31st of August the army again started westward, to complete the work for which the expedition had been organized.

About two miles above Newtown a little village of eight good houses was found, which was burned, and the army passed to Kanawaholla, a pleasant town situated on the point, at the junction of present Newtown creek with the Chemung, near the city of Elmira, and four and a half miles above the battle-ground. Here, as at Chemung and Newtown, the cornfields bore marks of having been planted under the supervision of white people, whom it is well known were directed by the British government to aid the Indians in raising supplies for the British army and garrisons.

From this point, Colonel Dayton, with the Third New Jersey Regiment and a detachment of the Riflemen, was sent up the river in pursuit of some of the enemy whom the advanced guard saw escaping in their canoes. He chased them for eight miles up the river, but their speed was too great, and the nimble-footed savages escaped. At this point, Colonel Dayton* found an Indian village which was near present Big Flats, where he encamped for the night. The next morning he burned the village, destroyed about thirty acres of corn and a quantity of hay, and rejoined the main army just as it was leaving its encampment.

From Kanawaholla the path turned northward; the army marched about five miles farther and encamped for the night, near the present village of Horseheads. The next morning, tents were struck at eight o'clock, and for three miles the path lay through an open plain, then they entered the low ground which forms the divide of the waters flowing into the Susquehanna and into the St. Lawrence, at that time a deep, miry swamp, covered with water from the recent rains, dark with the closely shadowing hemlocks, the path studded with rocks and thickly interspersed with sloughs; it was the most horrible spot they had met with. It was past seven o'clock, just in the dusk of the evening, when the advanced guard emerged from the gloomy shadows of the morass and formed themselves in line on the outskirts of the village Sheaquaga, or French Catherine's Town.†

It was pitch dark before Hand's brigade got out of the wilderness. To the rest of the army it was a night of horrors. It was so dark the men could not see the path, and could keep it only by grasping the frocks of their file leaders. Poor's and Maxwell's Brigades did not reach the town until ten o'clock. Many of the soldiers, utterly worn out with heat and fatigue, fell exhausted by the wayside, and did not join the army until the next day. Clinton's Brigade spent the night in the swamp without supper or shelter. Two of the packhorses fell and broke their necks, others became exhausted and died in the path, while the stores of food and ammunition were sadly depleted. The town was built on both sides of the inlet to Seneca lake, and about three miles from the lake, on the site of present Havana. It consisted of between thirty and forty good houses, some fine cornfields and orchards. The soldiers found a number of horses, cows, calves and hogs, which they appropriated.

* Elias Dayton entered the military service at the beginning of the war, was made Colonel of the Third Jersey Battalion, February 9, 1776, and subsequently of Third Regiment, and Brigadier General of the Continental army, January 7, 1783; discharged at the close of the war, and took part in all the battles in which the Jersey line was engaged. After the resignation of Maxwell, July 25, 1780, Colonel Dayton commanded the Jersey Brigade. He was an active, intrepid officer, a man of cool judgment and sound discretion. He was born in Elizabethtown, N. J. 1735, and died in Philadelphia, June, 1807. In 1774 he represented his native town in the Committee of Safety. In 1775 he was engaged in the capture of a British prison ship off the Jersey coast. He was a prominent Free Mason and the first president of the Society of Cincinnati of New Jersey, a man of generous charities and an earnest supporter of the gospel.

† As before said, Catherine was sister of Queen Esther, and grand-daughter of Madame Montour, whose romantic history covered the first half of the 18th century. In 1749 she was very aged and blind, and probably died prior to 1752. The husband of Catherine was Thomas Hudson, alias Telene-mut, one of the most noted of the Seneca Chiefs. She had a son named Amochol, who was living at New Salem in 1778. Catherine was living in 1791, "over the lake not far from Niagara."

All of Thursday was spent in resting, bringing up the wearied horses and exhausted soldiers, burning the houses, destroying the trees and corn, and scouring the country for straggling Indians. A very old squaw was found hidden in the bushes. She was accosted by one of the Indian guides in various dialects, but shook her head as if she could not understand. At length the General becoming convinced that her ignorance was only assumed, threatened her with punishment if she did not answer. She replied that Butler and the Indians held a council here, and many of the old chiefs and women desired peace, but Butler told them General Sullivan's army would kill them all if they surrendered, and they had better run off into the woods; that Brant received a reinforcement of two hundred Indian warriors, who were eager to fight, but those who had been in the battle of Newtown shook their heads and would not agree to it. She further said that the Indians lost very heavily in killed and wounded, and she heard many women lamenting the death of their relatives. She also said that many of the squaws and children were then over the hills about five miles away; in consequence of which Colonel Butler, with a detachment of three hundred men, taking the cohort with them, went about noon in pursuit of them, but after a fruitless chase returned in the evening.

On Friday, September 3d, having built a comfortable hut for the old squaw, and left her a supply of provisions, the army resumed its march and encamped twelve miles from Sheaquaga, the route most of the way being through open woods, over level country, and the journey devoid of special incident. The place of the encampment was on the lake-side, where there were a few houses and plenty of corn, and near what has since been called Peach Orchard, where it is said the early settlers found conclusive evidences of Indian occupation. An Indian scout left one of these cornfields just as our men came up, who found the corn roasting by the fire and the supper left untasted.

About ten o'clock the next morning, the army moved from its encampment, and after proceeding four miles, came to what is now known as North Hector. The Indian town was called Con-daw-haw, and consisted of one long house, built according to Indian custom to contain several fires, (but in utter defiance of the white man's proverb about no roof being large enough for two families), and several smaller houses. Destroying these and the cornfields, the army went eight miles further and encamped.

On Sunday, the 5th of September, the army marched three miles and encamped at an Indian town called Kendaia, or Appletown, pleasantly situated, a half a mile from the lake, consisting of twenty or more houses of hewn logs, covered with bark, and some of them well painted. Here was one apple orchard of sixty trees, besides others; also peach trees and other fruits. The houses were burned for firewood, and the trees were cut down or girdled. About this town, the showy tombs erected over some of their chiefs, were most noticeable, one of which, larger and more conspicuous than the others, is described by one of the journals as a casement or box made of hewn planks, about four feet high and somewhat larger than the body over which it was placed, and which was appropriately dressed. This casement was painted with bright colors, and had openings through which the body could be seen, and was covered with a roof to protect it from the weather. Although this was evidently an old town, yet there was such a scarcity of pasturage, that during the night twenty-seven of the cattle strayed off and were not found until the next afternoon. While here, Luke Swetland, who with Joseph Blanchard had been taken by the Indians from Nanticoke, below Wyoming, the 24th of August of the year before, and remained until now in captivity, came to the army, Mr. Jenkins says, almost overjoyed to see his old friends again.

On the 6th, the army encamped three miles north of Kendaia, on the shore of the lake, and opposite a considerable Indian town on the other side. This camping place has been identified by General Clark, of Auburn, N. Y., as near the ravine called on the old maps "Indian Hollow."

Early in the morning of the 7th, the army again struck tents, and after marching about eight miles, came to the foot of Seneca lake, about five miles from Kanadesaga, where expecting an attack, the army halted and reconnoitered the ground. Finding no enemy they proceeded keeping close to the bank of the lake on account of a bad marsh on their

right. In about half a mile they came to the outlet, a rapid running stream from twenty to thirty yards wide and knee deep. Fording this the army re-formed on the high ground on the left bank and marched about half a mile with a narrow marsh between them and the lake; they then came to a large morass or quagmire, now known as the "soap mine" and were compelled to pass a narrow and dangerous defile along the lake shore, which was flooded at intervals. Emerging from this, they encountered another morass now known as Marsh creek, thence by a narrow path along the beach they came to a cornfield and Butler's buildings, consisting of four or five houses at the north-west corner of the lake near the present canal bridge in Geneva. The path then lay along the north side of Castle brook to Kanadesaga, an important Seneca town, of about fifty houses, surrounded by orchards and cornfields, distant nearly two miles in a westerly or north-westerly direction from the foot of Seneca lake, General Maxwell's Brigade going to the right and General Hands' to the left to gain the rear and surround the town.

Here the army rested during Wednesday, the 8th, while several detachments were sent out in various directions to explore the country, discover and destroy the neighboring villages and cornfields. General Sullivan was now in a strange country. He had not a single guide who knew the exact locality, of a town beyond him and was compelled to rely entirely upon his own scouts for information.

Among the companies which were thus sent out, was a party of volunteers under Colonel John Harper,* who, following down the Seneca river about eight miles, came to a pleasantly situated town consisting of eighteen houses on the north side of the river, called Skoi-yase, and occupying the site of the handsome and thriving village of Waterloo. Near this town were some fish ponds, the remains of which were found by the early settlers without knowing their use—a peculiar enterprise for an Indian village, and one which I do not remember to have seen elsewhere. Here, too, were fields of corn whose golden ears were waiting the sickle of the harvester, and orchards whose trees were bending under their load of ripening fruit. The scout finding the village abandoned by the Indians, burned the houses, and hastened to return to Kanadesaga.

Skoi-yase, though not the capitol of the Cayugas, was one of their important towns, and the probable residence of one or more of their sachems. Situated upon the western frontier of their particular territory, and on the great trail which extended east and west through the whole length of the Confederacy, and far beyond, it was guarded with especial care and watchfulness by the nation. Its destruction was only the forerunner of that entire destruction of their nation which they had every reason to expect was soon to follow. It may be added that Norris and one or two others, call the place "Large Falls," and Fellows says "Long Falls."

Major Parr, with a company of riflemen was sent seven miles up the west side of the lake to destroy the town of Shenanwaga—(also called Gothseungquean) which had been discovered on the 6th from the opposite side of the lake, containing about twenty houses, surrounded with cornfields, peach and apple orchards, where were found large stacks of hay, hogs, fowls, and all the evidences of agricultural prosperity. The houses were new and well built and the fields fenced. Finding himself unable to complete the destruction of the town before the army would move, Maj. Parr sent to General Sullivan for assistance. Four hundred men under Lieutenant Colonel Smith† volunteered to join in the work, which was not finished until the next day, and they joined the main army at its encampment on the evening of September 9th.

Kanadesaga was a large and important town, consisting of fifty houses with thirty more in the immediate vicinity, and being the capitol of the nation was frequently called the "Seneca Castle." Its site was on the present Castle road, a mile and a half west from

* See appendix No. 6.

† In general orders of May 26, Lt. Colonel William Smith was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of Spencer's Regiment. On the 28th of June the companies of Forman's Corps were assigned to Spencer's Regiment, and the Regiment to Maxwell's Brigade. On the 20th of July, some of the men belonging to this regiment were transferred to Hubley's, the remainder served under Spencer until the close of the war.

Geneva. The town was divided by Kanadesaga or Castle Creek. It was regularly laid out, enclosing a large green plot, on which, during the "Old French War" in 1756, Sir William Johnson had erected a stockade fort, the remains of which were plainly visible to our army, and spoken of in a number of the journals. Orchards of apple, peach and mulberry trees surrounded the town. Fine gardens with onions, peas, beans, squashes, potatoes, turnips, cabbages, cucumbers, water melons, carrots and parsnips, abounded; and large cornfields were to the north and northeast of the town. All were destroyed on the 8th of September. Here was found a little white boy, about three years of age, who had been stolen by the Indians from the frontiers. The little fellow was nearly starved when our men found him. No clue to his parentage was ever obtained. The officers of the expedition were greatly interested in the little waif and tenderly cared for him. Captain Machin adopted him and christened him Thomas. He died in Kingston, N. Y., some two years after, of small-pox.

Here was the residence of Siangorochti, commonly called Grahta, or Old Smoke, from the fact that he carried the brand by which the council fires were lighted, an honor held by no other. At the time of General Sullivan's Expedition, the old king fled in advance of the army to the British fort at Niagara, while the young king, being only twelve years of age, was too young to engage in military affairs. A daughter of the old king married Roland, a son of Catherine Montour.

Here General Sullivan held a consultation with his brigadiers, as to the advisability of proceeding further and though the supplies on hand were scanty, it was determined in view of the abundance of vegetables everywhere found, to push forward, as far at least as the Genesee Castle. Here all who were disabled by sickness and lameness, together with the unserviceable horses were sent back to Tioga under an escort of fifty men, commanded by Captain John Reed, of the Massachusetts Regiment, who also had instructions to forward supplies from Fort Sullivan as far as Kanawaholla, for the army on its return.

On the 9th the army resumed its journey toward the Genesee and after an uneventful march of eight miles, encamped in the woods near a stream of water now called Flint creek.

Starting the next morning at 8 o'clock, after marching eleven miles, the army came to "Kanandaigua lake," and fording its outlet marched a mile farther, when they found the town of "Kanandaigua," consisting of twenty-three elegant houses, some of them framed, others log, but large and new, pleasantly situated about a mile from the west shore of the lake, partly on the site of the present Canandaigua. At this place, the rear guard of the enemy remained so long, that their fires were found burning. The torch was soon applied to the buildings, and the army advanced a mile farther where the cornfields were, and encamped, when fatigue parties were detailed for the destruction of the crops, which was pretty thoroughly accomplished before dark.

Before daylight on the morning of Saturday, September 11th, the troops were again in motion. A march of fourteen miles brought them to the Indian town of Han-ne-ya-ye, which contained about twenty houses, and was near the site of present Honeoye, at the foot of Honeoye lake, on the east side of its outlet.

The General now estimated his distance from the principal Genesee town at about twenty-five miles and that he might not be burdened with unnecessary baggage and stores, all except about four days half rations, the baggage, cattle and horses except a few of the strongest, were left here in charge of Captain Cummings and fifty men, together with the "sick, the lame and the lazy" which amounted to three hundred men all told. The Captain took possession of the strongest block-house, cut port holes through the sides, protected it with abatis made from the limbs of the apple trees, placed the two three-pounders left with him in proper position, strengthened the walls with the kegs and bags of flour, so that altogether it was capable of offering a formidable defense against any force that could be brought against it. Thus lightened, the army proceeded with its work with increased celerity.

Sunday morning, September 12th, was rainy, with thunder and lightning, so that it was noon before the army broke camp, after which it marched eleven miles and encamped

in the woods, nearly two miles from Kanaghsaws, which place General Sullivan would have reached that day but for the rain. He arrived there early the next morning. This town which is also called Adjuton, and several other names, in the journals, consisted of eighteen houses on the east of the inlet to Conesus Lake, a short distance southeast of the head of the lake, and about one mile northwest of Conesus Center, on the north and south road that passes through the McMillan farm. Between the town and the lake, on what were afterwards known as Henderson's Flats, were the cornfields. The main army encamped nearly two miles north, on the flats southwest of Foot's Corners. George Grant says, that a fine stream of water ran through the town, and that an enterprising negro, called Captain Sunfish, who had acquired considerable wealth and influence, resided here. It was also the home of the well-known Seneca chieftain, Big Tree, of whom Mr. Doty says, that he was a useful friend of the American cause in the Revolution, and a leading advisor in all treaties and councils of the Senecas. In the summer of 1778, he was sent by Washington to the towns along the Genesee, in the hope that his personal influence and eloquence might win the Senecas to the cause of the States. He found his countrymen disposed to listen until they learned from a spy that the Americans were about to invade their country, when all flew to arms. Big Tree put himself at their head, as he said, "to chastise an enemy that would dare to encroach upon his people's territory."* This last sentence cannot be accepted as correct. Colonel Dearborn says that Big Tree "made great pretensions of friendship towards us; has been in Philadelphia and at General Washington's head-quarters since the war commenced. He received a number of presents from General Washington and Congress, yet we presume he is again with Butler." The facts seem to be these: though a real friend to the Americans, yet on coming to his own country he found the feeling of enmity so strong and so universal among the Senecas, that he was overborne by it, and obliged to submit.

All day the Indian scouts had been so near our army that their tracks were fresh on the path, and the water was roiled through which they passed.

Immediately after the battle of Newtown, the forces of Butler and Brant had retired to Canawaugus, near the site of present Avon, in Livingston county, but having received considerable reinforcements, they determined to make another attempt to arrest the further progress of the army.

At the head of Conesus lake was a soft, miry bottom, along the south side of which ran the Indian path to the Genesee towns, nearly on the site of the present highway, crossing the sluggish inlet by a bridge, which Butler had destroyed on his retreat, probably a few feet south of the present one. On the west of the lake and running parallel with it, is a steep bluff of considerable height, which reaches nearly to the water's edge, at that time covered with trees, and then, as now, deeply gashed by several ravines which come straight down its face. The path led up to the crest of the hill between two of these ravines, but with a southerly trend, following nearly or exactly the line of the present road. This was the place selected by the enemy to surprise the army, and, if possible, to destroy it.†

Learning from his scouts that General Sullivan was approaching this difficult place, early on the morning of the 12th, Butler left Canawaugus, and in the afternoon had his forces posted on the crest of the ridge and in the ravines, overlooking the south end of the lake, and flanking the path to the Genesee towns. Here, though himself perfectly concealed, he was in full view of General Sullivan's army and within musket shot of the inlet crossing.

As late as 1770, the principal Genesee town, called Chenussio, was located near the confluence of the Canaseraga creek with the Genesee river, and here it was marked on the

* Col. Doty's history of Livingston county, p. 113.

† General J. S. Clark has called my attention to the fact that there is a striking topographical resemblance between this place and Braddock's Field. The memory of that victory may have afforded inspiration to the courage and patience of the enemy.

most recent maps* to which General Sullivan had access. He was not aware of the fact that its location had been changed to the west side of the river, and seems to have known nothing of another town two miles farther up the Canaseraga.

When, therefore, General Sullivan reached his encampment on the evening of the 12th, he supposed that he was near the great Genesee Castle of which he had heard so much, and which was the objective point of his expedition. In order to secure more accurate information, he ordered Lieutenant Thomas Boyd of the Riflemen, to take five or six men with him,† make a rapid reconnoissance, and report at head-quarters as early as sunrise the next morning. He took, however, twelve riflemen, six musketmen of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, and eight volunteers, making, with himself and Hanyerry, an Oneida Indian guide, and Captain Jehoiakim, a Stockbridge Indian, twenty nine men in all.‡ The party left camp north of Kanaghsaws at eleven o'clock in the evening and set out on the trail leading to the Great Town. Owing to his misinformation, General Sullivan's directions had been confusing and misleading. It was found that the principally traveled trail took a direction different from what was expected. Boyd did not lose his way, but instead of taking the unused path that led to the abandoned Chenussio, he took the one which brought him to an important town two miles farther up the Canaseraga, the only one between the army and the Genesee. In the darkness, he had passed Butler's right flank, without either party having discovered the other. Boyd reached the town which the enemy had abandoned, early in the morning, without having encountered any difficulty. Halting his force at the outskirts of the village, with one of his men he carefully reconnoitered the place, then rejoining the rest of the party they concealed themselves in the woods near the town. He sent back four§ of his men to report the discoveries he had made, and awaited the light of the day, whose morning was just breaking. Soon four Indians on horseback were seen entering the town, and Boyd sent a party to take or kill them. One Indian was killed and another wounded. The wounded man and the two others escaped. Boyd then set out for camp. Having gone four or five miles, and thinking the army must be on its march toward him, he sat down to rest. After a short halt he dispatched two of his men to inform the General where he was, and of his intention to await the coming of the army. In a short time these men returned, with the information that they had discovered five Indians on the path. Boyd again resumed his march and had gone but a short distance, when he discovered the same party and fired on them. They ran, and Boyd, against the advice of Hanyerry, pursued them. The chase was kept up for some distance, the Indians succeeding in alluring the scouting party near the enemy's lines. They then allowed the party to approach sufficiently near to draw their fire, but kept out of danger. Butler, hearing the firing on his right, as his force was arranged facing Conesus, and fearing that he had been discovered, and that an attempt was being made to surprise his camp, hastened to the spot, where he found Boyd's party still following the Indians. Without being aware of their presence, Boyd was already within the fatal embrace of the enemy, and before he was aware of it, Butler had given such orders as to completely surround him. Once and again he attempted to break their

* General Sullivan frequently complains of the inaccuracies of his maps, then accessible, and that he was sometimes misled by them. But when we recollect, that they were not made after any surveys, and were at the best, mere estimates as to distance and direction, we need not be surprised at this.

† This is the number given in General Sullivan's report. Major Adara Hoops, who was on General Sullivan's staff, in a letter written by him says, "I was in the General's tent when he gave the instructions to Boyd, which were verbal, of course, but very particular." He directed him to take three or four riflemen.

‡ The numbers are very conflicting. Major Hoops says 28 and an Indian guide, with this agree some others. General Sullivan says, "Instead of three or four riflemen, he took 23 volunteers from the same corps and a few from Col. Butler's Regiment, 26 in all." If in this he does not reckon the commandant, or the two Indian guides, they would make the 29, the number given by Major Fogg, whose means of information were so superior and his account so circumstantial, that I have adopted it substantially, instead of the numbers adopted in 1879. Beatty and Hubley say 26, besides the Lieutenant, and do not count the Indians.

Including Captain Jehoiakim.

line, but without success; he then sought to retreat, but he was encompassed on all sides. The odds were fearful, eight hundred of the Indians and Tories to twenty-five Americans, but the scouts determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible; and relief from our army, which was only about a mile distant, was expected every moment. Covered by a clump of trees, our men poured a murderous fire upon the enemy as they were closing around them, numbers of whom were seen to fall.* In all, fifteen of Boyd's party, including Hanyerry probably,† were slain, eight escaped, Boyd and his sergeant, Michael Parker,‡ were captured, and four had been sent early in the morning to report to General Sullivan. The bodies of the slain§ were found on the 16th by Captain William Henderson, of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, who with sixty men had been detailed to search for them and buried with military honors, that of Hanyerry with the others, although literally hacked to pieces. The story of his capture, the theatrical address of his brother, and his tragic end, as told by Stone and repeated by others, lacks both confirmation and probability. Of those who escaped, one was the noted Timothy Murphy, from Northumberland, Pa., of Boyd's company, an account of whose hair-breadth escapes and deeds of recklessness would fill a volume. Others were David Elerson, Edward McDonald, Garrett Putnam, a French Canadian and John Youse. || Boyd and Parker were hastened to Little Beard's town, where they were put to death with cruel tortures.¶

It has been currently reported, that after his capture, Boyd approached Brant under the sign of a Free Mason, of which ancient fraternity both were members, that the chieftain recognized the bond of brotherhood and promised him protection, but having

* Boyd's men were buried near where they fell. It is at the head of the first ravine south of the road which passes by the cemetery on the hill west of the head of Conesus lake. The point is within a half mile of the cemetery and about ten rods directly south of Mrs. Boyd's barn. A view of the spot is given in the History of Livingston county. In the autumn of 1841, the grave at Groveland was opened and some of the bones taken out, which, with those of Boyd and Parker, were taken to Mt. Hope cemetery in Rochester, N. Y. S. Treat, Esq., delivered an historical oration at Geneseo, to an audience estimated at 5,000 persons, at the formal delivery of the remains by the citizens of Livingston county to the Committee of Rochester, and at Rochester, Hon. Wm. H. Seward delivered a patriotic address. A number of the soldiers of Sullivan's army were present, among them Moses Van Campen, and Mr. Sanborn, who discovered the remains of the unfortunate Boyd and Parker. (See also paper by Geo. H. Harris, published with proceedings of Geneseo centennial celebration.)

† There is some discrepancy in the statements, but the probability is that Hanyerry was not counted with the 14 found at Groveland.

‡ Michael Parker was a corporal in the First Pennsylvania Regiment, from which he was promoted to Sergeant in Captain Simpson's company.

Thomas Boyd was from Derry, Pa., where he enlisted January, 1776, as a Sergeant in Captain Stephen Bayard's Company, transferred to Captain Matthew Smith's Company the following November, and January 14, 1778, was made Captain Lieutenant in the First Pennsylvania Regiment. He was with other riflemen detached from his regiment and joined Colonel Butler's, and subsequently under command of Major Parr. Of fine physique, engaging manners, brave almost to recklessness, he was endowed with the qualities which would command attention, without the cool judgment or firmness which would fit him for a leader. He was 22 years of age at his death.

§ Among the slain were Nicholas Hungerman, Sergeant in Captain Mears' Company, and the following privates of this regiment viz.:—John Conrey, William Faughy, William Harvey, James McElroy and John Miller; also John Putnam, a cousin to Garrett from Fort Hunter, and Benjamin Curtin (or Custin) of Schoharie.

|| "I was one of the party of the corps in the expedition against the Indians of Genesee, Seneca, &c., and was one of the party of five who survived, out of a scout of twenty-four, and forty-one days of that campaign was on half rations."—Petition of John Youse.—Pa. Ar., N. S., X, 31.

¶ Major Fogg says, "So that of the twenty-nine sent out, eleven returned, sixteen were killed, and two are now missing."—Journal for Sept. 16. Of the eleven who returned, four were sent back on the morning of the 13th, five escaped who were the flankers of the party, and two hid under a log in a thicket of tall thrifty nettles.—And Beatty says, the evening of the 13th, two came in, who escaped from the savages. Fogg and Thomas Grant both report two missing, that is, that on the 16th, the burial party found all but two of those who went out with Boyd. Campfield and Jenkins give the number killed as 17, while Shute says that four and Jehoiakim returned in the morning of the 13th. If these be the correct figures, it accounts for the 29 viz.: 17 killed, 5 returned, and 7 escaped. A number of the journals speak of one being wounded, but this may have been confounded with Corporal Calhawn.

been unexpectedly called away, the captives were placed in charge of Butler (probably Walter N.) who, becoming exasperated with Boyd's persistent refusal to disclose any information in regard to the army, handed them over to the Indians to be put to death. The whole story however, is extremely doubtful, and it is now difficult to ascertain how much of it, if any, should be received as true. The most that can be said with certainty is, that the next day the bodies of the unfortunate men were found by our troops, horribly mangled, and bearing marks of having suffered unspeakable torture.*

General Sullivan had established a line of sentries along the base of the hill next the morass, to guard the pioneers against surprise while repairing the bridge. Benjamin Lodge, who was the surveyor for the expedition, and with chain and compass had measured the entire route from Easton, about half an hour after the skirmish with Boyd on the hill, had gone a short distance beyond the picket line, when he was set upon by a party of Indians, who were pursuing the fugitives of the scouting party. Thomas Grant, who was one of the surveying party, thus tells the story: "Myself and four chain carriers, who were about one and a half miles advanced of the troops, were fired on by several Indians, who lay in ambush; a Corporal by the name of Calhawn, who came voluntarily with me was mortally wounded and died next day. The Indians pursued us a fourth of a mile, but without success,—we being unarmed, were obliged to run." Lieut. Lodge was compelled to leave his compass and ran toward the nearest sentinel, who shot the Indian chasing him with uplifted tomahawk, and Lieut. Lodge escaped. General Sullivan ordered Hand's Brigade to cross the morass, push up the hill and dislodge the enemy. Butler on returning to his forces on the crest of the hill found them in confusion, and, seeing the preparations made to attack them, they beat a hasty retreat, leaving their hats, packs, etc., behind them. Butler being thus thwarted in his plans to surprise the army, withdrew his forces to Gathsegwarohare, and then to Canawaugus.

Having destroyed Kanaghsaws and completed the bridge across the creek, General Sullivan pushed forward on the trail taken by Boyd the night before, a distance of seven miles to Gathsegwarohare.

This was an Indian town of twenty-five houses, mostly new, on the east side of Canaseraga creek, about two miles above its confluence with the Genesee. The site is now occupied by the house and surrounding grounds of the "Hermitage," the ancestral home of the Carrolls.

As the advance of the army approached the town about dusk of September 13th, they found themselves confronted by a strong force of Indians and rangers, drawn up in battle array to dispute their further progress. The General at once pushed forward the flanking divisions to cut off their retreat, but the enemy, seeing the troops come into position, fled without firing a gun, and the army encamped in the town without opposition. There were extensive cornfields adjacent to the town, which it took two thousand men, six hours, the next day, to destroy. This being accomplished, about noon of the 14th, they set out for the great Genesee town, reaching it about sunset.

The route was down the Genesee valley then in its autumnal glory, covered with grass from six to ten feet high. Soon after leaving the encampment, the army crossed the Genesee river, about twenty yards in width, but with such rapid current, the men were obliged to cross in platoons with locked arms to resist the force of the stream. Ascending the high land on the west side of the river, the scene was one of indescribable beauty. For miles not a hill nor bush could be seen, only here and there a clump of trees broke the monotony of the landscape. The army also presented a grand appearance, marching in the same accurate order of that laid down by the General on paper. So deeply were many of the soldiers impressed with the wonderful resources of this valley, that as soon as it was open for occupation, they became the pioneers in its settlement.

The location of this great Seneca Castle, was on the west side of the Genesee river, on

* On the 27th of March 1780, a party of Indians captured Thomas Bennett and others in the Wyoming valley. The leader had a very fine sword, which he said belonged to Boyd, and added, "Boyd, brave man!" The prisoners rose upon their captors, killed several of them, recaptured the sword, and returned in safety to Wyoming.

the flat immediately in front of Cuylersville, in the town of Leicester, on the opposite side of the valley from Geneseo. It appears on Evans' map as Chenandoanes; in 1776 it was called Chenondanah; by Morgan it is called De-o-nun-da-ga-a, as a more modern Seneca name, signifying "where the hill is near," but is more often called Little Beard's town, from the name of the noted Seneca chieftain who resided there in 1779.

The castle consisted of one hundred and twenty-eight houses, of which the most were large and elegant, and was surrounded by about two hundred acres of cornfields and gardens, filled with all kinds of vegetables. It was the western door of the Long House to which the Iroquois were accustomed to liken their confederacy. Near this town were found the bodies of Lieutenant Thomas Böyd and Sergeant Michael Parker, horribly mutilated by the tortures to which they had been subjected. They were buried that evening with the honors of war, near the spot where they were found.

Mr. Paul Sanborn, a soldier on the extreme right wing of Clinton's Brigade, discovered the headless bodies, and the rifle company of Captain Michael Simpson,* of which Boyd had been Lieutenant, performed the melancholy duty of burying the mutilated remains of their comrades, which was done under a wild plum tree, standing near the forks of two streams, which have been named, respectively, Boyd's creek and Parker's creek.

At 6 o'clock in the morning of the 15th of September, the whole army was turned out to destroy the crops, orchards, houses and gardens of the place. The corn was piled up in the houses and burned with them, or consumed on log heaps. It was estimated that from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand bushels were destroyed at this place. It was the largest corn the troops had ever seen, some of the ears being twenty-two inches in length. It was about two o'clock P. M., when, the fields having been over-run, the abundant harvest destroyed, the trees hewn down, and naught of the great town remaining but smoking ruins and blackened logs, there came the joyful order to about face and return. While the army remained at this town, Mrs. Lester, with a child in her arms, came to our troops. The autumn previous, (November 7th,) her husband with others was captured near Nanticoke, Pennsylvania, by the Indians; he was slain, but his wife was carried into captivity. In their haste to escape our army, her captors left her behind, and she escaped to our lines. Her child died a few days after. She subsequently became the wife of Captain Roswell Franklin, who was in the first party that settled Aurora, on Cayuga lake.

Having over-run and destroyed, as it was supposed, all the villages of the Senecas, about three o'clock P. M., the army set out on its return by the same route it had advanced, and on the evening of the 19th, reached Kanadesaga without any occurrence worthy of note, except that scattered dwellings and fields of corn which had been overlooked, or purposely spared, were completely destroyed, and a number of the packhorses, being unable to travel further, were shot. Here General Sullivan was met by a delegation from the Oneidas, who came to excuse themselves for not joining the expedition, and also to intercede on behalf of the Cayugas, east of the lake, who claimed to be friendly to Congress. They were also closely united by inter-marriages to the Oneidas, who thought that if the towns were destroyed and the means of subsistence laid waste, their families would come to them for support, which, added to their already heavy burdens, would be more than they could endure. In reply, General Sullivan informed them that the whole course of the Cayugas had been marked by duplicity, and hostility, for which he had determined they should be chastised, and he should not be turned from his purpose.

During this day's march, a delay of two hours was caused by the breaking down of one of the gun carriages, which required considerable time to repair. It is doubtless owing to this circumstance that at a number of streams on the route of the army, there is a tradition of a lost cannon. There is positive evidence, that General Sullivan brought back the five guns he took from Newtown.

On Monday morning, the 20th of September, General Sullivan sent Colonel Smith with

* Captain Simpson was promoted from First Lieutenant, December 1, 1776; retired from the service, January 1, 1781; died, June 1, 1813, aged 65; buried in Paxtang church-yard, near Harrisburg, Pa.

a small force up the west side of Seneca lake to complete the destruction of Kershong and its cornfields, which had been partly effected on the 9th, and make explorations for other towns. Having finished its work, the party joined the main army in the evening. At the same time, the General detached Colonel Peter Gansevoort with 100 men selected from the New York Regiments, with instructions to go to Albany, via Fort Schuyler, and bring forward the heavy luggage which had been stored at those places, previous to the setting out of the expedition. A few families of the Mohawks who professed to be friendly to the United States, occupied what was known as the Lower Mohawk Castle. By some means General Sullivan had been informed that these Indians were acting as spies for the hostile part of the nations, and directed Colonel Gansevoort to capture the inhabitants and destroy their town. On the representations of their neighbors, of the friendly disposition of these Indians, he set a guard over their town, but took the men to Albany; where, upon the statement of Schuyler,* Washington ordered their immediate release with directions, "To lay them under such obligations for their future good behavior as they should think necessary."

In Colonel Gansevoort's letter to General Sullivan, he describes the movements of his detachment :

ALBANY, October 8th, 1779.

DEAR SIR :—

Agreeable to my orders, I proceeded by the shortest route to the lower Mohawk Castle, passing through the Tuscarora and Oneida Castles, where every mark of humanity and friendship was shown the party. I had the pleasure to find that not the least damage nor insult was offered any of the inhabitants. On the 25th ultimo, I arrived at Fort Schuyler, where refreshing the party, I proceeded down the river, and on the 29th effectually surprised the lower Mohawk Castle, making prisoners of every Indian inhabitant.

They then occupied but four houses. I was preparing, agreeable to my orders, to destroy them, but was interrupted by the intercessions and entreaties of several of the inhabitants of the frontiers, who have lately been driven from their settlements by the savages, praying they might have liberty to enter into the Mohawk's houses, whilst they could procure other habitations. And well knowing these persons to have lately lost their all, humanity tempted me, in this particular, to act in some degree, contrary to orders. At this I could not but be confident of your approbation, especially when you are informed that this Castle is in the heart of our settlements and abounds with every necessary, so that it is remarked, that these Indians live much better than most of the Mohawk river farmers. Their houses were well furnished with all necessary household utensils, and great plenty of grain; several horses, cows and wagons, of all which I have an inventory, leaving them in care of Major Nukerck of that place, who distributed the refugees in the several houses. Such being the situation, I did not allow the party to plunder.

The prisoners arrived at Albany the 2d inst., all closely secured in the fort. Yesterday, the 7th, I received a letter from General Schuyler, (I have enclosed a copy,) respecting those prisoners, and desiring the sending the prisoners down might be postponed until an express arrived from his Excellency, General Washington. Agreeable to this request, a

* The following is General Schuyler's letter to Colonel Gansevoort, dated Albany, October 7, 1779 :

DEAR SIR :—

Having perused General Sullivan's orders to you, respecting the Indians of the lower Mohawk Castle and their property, I conceive they are founded on misinformation given to that gentleman. Those Indians have peaceably remained there, under the sanction of the public faith, repeatedly given them by the Commissioners of Indian affairs on condition of peaceable demeanor; this contract they have not violated, to our knowledge. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us, as servants of the public to keep the public faith inviolate, and we therefore entreat you to postpone the sending the Indians from hence until the pleasure of his Excellency, General Washington, can be obtained; and a letter is already dispatched to him on the occasion, and in which we have mentioned this application to you.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

PIL. SCHUYLER.

President of the Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs. N. Dep't.

COLONEL GANSEVOORT.

Sergeant and twelve men are detained to keep charge of the prisoners until his Excellency's pleasure is known. * * *

I am, Dear Sir, with Respect,
Your Most Obedient and Very Humble Servant,

PETER GANSEVOORT.*

HONORABLE MAJOR GENERAL SULLIVAN.

At the same time (September 20th,) a detachment of six hundred men under the command of Lieutenant Colonel William Butler,† of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, was sent to lay waste the towns on the east side of the Cayuga lake. Thomas Grant accompanied this detachment, and his journal, which unfortunately ends abruptly September 25th, and the journal of George Grant, Sergeant Major of the Third New Jersey Regiment, with Sullivan's report, are the principal sources of information in regard to their movements.

It was 2 o'clock P. M., when the detachments of Gansevoort and Butler set out from Kanadesaga for Skoi-yase, which they reached at dark and encamped there for the night. The next morning several fields of corn were discovered about the town, which Major Scott,‡ with two hundred men, was detailed to destroy.

While Major Scott and his party were engaged in completing the destruction of Skoi-yase, the rest of the detachment pushed forward at seven o'clock in the morning. A march of eleven miles brought them to Cayuga lake, the outlet of which they crossed where it was seventy perches in width, wading up to their breasts in water. Just at the

* See biographical sketch accompanying steel engraving.

† Colonel William Butler was the second of five brothers of a family which came from Ireland and settled in Cumberland county, Pa., prior to 1760.

On the formation of the 4th Regiment he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel, October 25th, 1776. As a military officer he early acquired considerable distinction. When, in the spring of 1778, the whole frontier was threatened by Indians and Tories, Timothy Pickering wrote to Washington for "an officer of established reputation for bravery and capacity," and adds, "if we are not misinformed, Lieutenant Colonel William Butler has been most conversant with the Indians and their mode of fighting."

Immediately after the battle of Monmouth, in which both his regiment and himself bore an important part, his regiment, with four companies of Morgan's riflemen, was stationed at Schoharie, N. Y. Here his bravery and experience as an officer, which was second to none of his rank, rendered him greatly efficient in quieting the disaffected, and establishing confidence and courage among the people. In order to break up the haunts of the hostile Indians on the Susquehanna, Colonel Thomas Hartley, with the 11th Pennsylvania, ascended the river as far as Tioga, which he destroyed, together with Queen Esther's plantation and Wyalusing; and about the same time, Colonel Butler, the riflemen and a corps of twenty rangers, marched to the waters of the Delaware, descended that stream for two days, and then struck off the Susquehanna, which they reached at Unadilla. The Indians fled on their approach, leaving behind great quantities of corn, some cattle and much of their household goods. Butler pushed on to Oghkwaga, which was a well built Indian town, there being a number of good farm houses on each side of the river. Destroying both these towns, and an Indian castle three miles below, the mills at Unadilla, and the corn, Butler returned to Schoharie. He went down the river with Clinton in 1779, to Tioga, where he was transferred to Hand's Brigade. He served in the army until the close of the war, when he moved to Pittsburg. Here the remaining years of his life were spent in comparative quiet and comfort until his death, in 1789. He was buried in Trinity church-yard, Pittsburg, Pa. The inscription upon the tablet erected to his memory, has become well nigh effaced by the storms of nearly a century.

‡ Major William Scott, of Cilley's 1st New Hampshire Regiment, was of Scotch-Irish descent, his father, Alexander, being one of the first settlers of Peterborough, moving into that town in 1742. While preparing a permanent settlement, he left his wife in Townsend, Mass., where William was born, May, 1743. When seventeen years of age he became connected with Goff's Regiment, and was noted for his energy and courage. In 1776, he was a Lieutenant in one of the Massachusetts Regiments, and fought with desperate courage. His leg was fractured early in an engagement in which his regiment participated, but he continued fighting until, receiving other wounds, he fell and was taken prisoner. Upon the evacuation of Boston he was carried to Halifax and thrown into prison, but escaped by undermining its walls. He was in Fort Washington at the time of its surrender, November 17th, 1776, and was the only person who escaped, which he effected by swimming the Hudson by night, where it was a mile in width. He was promoted to a captaincy in a Massachusetts Regiment, but preferring the New Hampshire line, he accepted a captaincy in Cilley's Regiment. He was with the army until 1781, when he entered the naval service, in which he continued until the close of the war. He died at Litchfield, N. H., September 10th, 1786, aged fifty-three years.—*N. H. Hist. Coll.*

outlet of this lake, was the old Indian town, Tichero ; which the Jesuit fathers called St. Stephen. The journalist says, " Near the outlet destroyed two Indian houses. The name of the place is Choharo." The site was on the east side of the river, at a point where it was crossed by the great trail, and near where it was afterward crossed by the Northern Turnpike. While they were destroying this place, Major Scott and his party overtook them. Five and a half miles farther, or sixteen miles from Skoi-yase, the detachment encamped for the night at a small Indian settlement, a mile and a half from the Cayuga Castle, called Gewawga, located on the site of Union Springs. After leaving Choharo, the path kept near the lake shore, along which were several houses and corn-fields that the detachment destroyed as it passed along.

Early in the morning of Wednesday, September 22d, the detachment reached Cayuga Castle. Thomas Grant describes this town as containing fifteen very large square log houses, and adds, " I think the building superior to any I have yet seen." Two other towns were in the immediate neighborhood : one, a mile south from the Castle and called by our men Upper Cayuga, containing fourteen large houses, and the other, two miles north-east of the Castle, (Grant says,) called by our men Cayuga, sometimes East Cayuga, or Old Town. In the vicinity of the Castle, were one hundred and ten acres of corn ; besides apples, peaches, potatoes, turnips, onions, pumpkins, squashes and other vegetables in abundance. Major Grant describes Cayuga as a large and commodious town consisting of about fifty houses, but he evidently includes the three towns mentioned by Thomas Grant ; he also adds that the troops found salt here, manufactured by the Indians from the salt springs near Choharo, some United States muskets and a few regimental coats. The Oneidas, who accompanied the detachment of Colonel Butler on their return to their own country and who had besought clemency for the Cayugas, were somewhat displeased with General Sullivan's answer to their petition, but, on searching the houses at Cayuga, some fresh scalps were discovered, which, being shown to them, convinced them of the justice of the course pursued by General Sullivan. This town, the Cayuga Castle, probably was on or near one called by the French Jesuits, Goi-o-gouen, at which the mission of St. Joseph's was established, and which General John S. Clark locates on the north side of Great Gully Brook. This corresponds with the distance (ten miles,) recorded by Benjamin Lodge, the Surveyor of the expedition, who accompanied this detachment. On his map, Cayuga Castle is located on the north side of the stream, and Upper Cayuga on the south side of it.

The troops were employed until three o'clock P. M., of the next day, in destroying this place when they marched to Chonodote, four and a half miles from Cayuga Castle, and which Mr. Lodge notes as " remarkable for its peach trees." There were fifteen hundred of them, some apple trees, and a number of acres of corn. This town consisted of fourteen houses, chiefly old buildings, and stood on the site of the village of Aurora. Here the army encamped for the night. Early the next morning, September 24th, the work of destruction commenced. As remorseless as a cannon shot, the axe levelled every tree though burdened with its loads of luscious fruit, and the freshly ripened corn was gathered only to be destroyed. At 10 o'clock A. M., the torch was applied to the dwellings, and as the crackling flames lifted their fiery heads over this scene of havoc and destruction, the detachment resumed its march. It was an hour after dark before the next encampment was reached, which was sixteen and a half miles south of Chonodote, on a pleasant hill beside a fine stream of water.*

Early on Saturday morning, the 25th, the detachment resumed its march. After traveling seven miles, they reached the southern extremity of Cayuga lake ; going five miles farther, they came to the smoking ruins of a town destroyed by a party under Colonel Dearborn, the day before, of which I shall speak presently. Having destroyed the corn which was overlooked by the party who burned the town, the troops encamped here for the night.

* North of Ludlowville. This day they crossed two streams, the first of which Gen. Clark identifies as Mill creek, the second as near Lake Ridge in the town of Lansing.

On the 26th and 27th, the route for most of the way was a thorough pathless wilderness, where the sun and the surveyor's compass were the only guides. While on the march this day, a man of the party died suddenly. On the 28th, the detachment rejoined the main army at Fort Reed, erected at Kanawaholla.

In his report General Sullivan sums up the results of this branch of the expedition as follows: "Colonel Butler destroyed, in the Cayuga county, five principal towns and a number of scattering houses, the whole making about one hundred in number, exceedingly large and well built. He also destroyed two hundred acres of excellent corn, with a number of orchards, one of which had one thousand five hundred fruit trees." The five towns destroyed were Skoi-yase, the three Cayugas and Chonodote.

We left General Sullivan with the main army at Kanadesaga on the 20th. That day he crossed to the east side of the outlet and encamped. From this point on Tuesday morning, the 21st, Colonel Dearborn* with two hundred men was sent to lay waste the country on the west side of Cayuga lake. General Sullivan says: "I detached Colonel Dearborn to the west side of Cayuga lake, to destroy all the settlements which might be found there, and to intercept the Cayugas if they should attempt to escape Colonel Butler."

The journal of Colonel Dearborn and that of Major James Norris of the same Regiment, Third New Hampshire, and the Seneca County *Courier*, are the principal sources of information.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 21st, the detachment left the main army, and taking almost a direct easterly course, came to three wigwams in the woods, where were also several patches of corn, cucumbers, melons, peas, etc.; they also found near here fifteen horses. Advancing four miles farther, they reached the shore of Cayuga lake at a very pretty town consisting of ten houses, which, with a considerable quantity of corn, was destroyed. A mile south of this point was another town called Skanayutenate; going a mile farther south, they found a third village, described by Norris as a new town, consisting of nine houses, and a mile beyond, they found a large house, all which they burned, and Dearborn encamped for the night about two miles south of the large house. Counting the three wigwams a village, as both Dearborn and Norris do, and the results of this day's work were the destruction of four towns and numerous cornfields, and a march estimated at seventeen miles. The relative situation of these three towns on the west side of the lake was very similar to that of the three Cayugas on the opposite side. The first little cluster of wigwams was located near the reservation line on the small stream that enters the Seneca river above Seneca Falls, in the town of Fayette. Skanayutenate, the central one of the three, was situated on the bank of Canoga creek, the second, the one unnamed, being a mile north, and the one called Newtown on the Disinger farm, a mile south. This is a point hardly second in historical interest to Cayuga itself, and its destruction was a severe blow to the Cayuga nation. While it is not germane to my topic, to discuss questions of general history outside of this campaign, it may be allowed me to say, that Canoga was the birth-place of Red Jacket, the great Iroquois orator.

After marching five miles the next day, the detachment came to the ruins of a town burned by the packhorse drivers, connected with Colonel Gansevoort's Regiment. Beatty, under date of September 6th, says: "This evening came up four or five packhorsemen, who lost themselves, and told us that they took the wrong path, and went on till near night when they came to a small Indian town on Cayuga lake, which the Indians had abandoned. They then found out their mistake and came to us as soon as possible, after burning the houses. They likewise got a very fine horse, and a great number of peaches and apples which they brought to camp." Dr. Campfield adds, they were Colonel Gansevoort's servants. This town, Dearborn calls Swah-ya-wa-nah, and adds "a half mile distant found a large field of corn and three houses. We gathered the corn out and burnt it in the houses." This town was built on the banks of a stream which passes through the farm of Mr. Edward Dean, in Romulus, opposite to Aurora.

* For a biographical sketch of Col. Dearborn, see introduction to his journal.

The detachment pushed on about five miles where they found a hut occupied by three squaws and a crippled Indian lad. Two of the squaws were taken captive, the others were left. Three miles beyond this, they found another hut and a field of corn; both were destroyed and the party encamped four miles farther up the lake, twelve miles from Swah-ya-wa-nah, and seventeen from the last encampment.

The march on the 23d was one of great fatigue. Setting out at sunrise, without any path, or map, or guide, no one of the party having ever been there before, they advanced over what both journalists call, "a horribly rough country," which was so thickly covered with bushes that the men with great difficulty pushed their way through them. After traveling about nine miles, they found themselves at the end of a long cape, now known as Goodwin's Point or Taghanic, which they had mistaken for the end of the lake. The detachment then struck off two or three miles to the west, and after marching by point of compass, about eight miles farther, came to the end of the lake and encamped.

On the 24th, Dearborn put his force in motion at sunrise, and soon struck an old path which led to some huts and cornfields. Supposing that he was near an important Indian town, which was reported to be at the head of the lake, he divided his force into small parties and sent them in different directions to look for it. In their search several scattered houses and cornfields were discovered and destroyed. At length the town was found situated on the Inlet creek, about three miles from the lake. The town consisted of twenty-five houses, and, says Norris, is called Co-re-or-go-nel, who adds that "it is the capital of a small nation or tribe called —." Major Grant, who was in Butler's detachment and reached this town the next day after Dearborn, calls the place De Ho Riss Kanadai, says it was situated on the west side of the stream in a beautiful valley, and the creek was deep enough for canoes to pass from the town to the lake at any time. This site of this town has been identified by General Clark, at a point of rising ground, south of the school-house on the farm of Mr. James Flemming, and opposite to Butter-milk Falls. Dearborn's party was from nine o'clock in the morning until sunset, in destroying the crops and orchards about this place. The next day some of Colonel Butler's men found here the horse of the Rev. Dr. Kirkland, the missionary to the Oneidas, and one of the chaplains to the expedition.

The locality of this town is one of great interest to the antiquarian. In 1753, a remnant of the nation of the Catawbas called Christannas, having been nearly exterminated by the Iroquois, were planted here by the Cayugas. Soon after, a party of Monseys and the remnant of the nation of Tutelos, were allowed to settle here. In 1765, the Cayuga Sachem desired to remove the Christian Indians at Wyalusing, to the head of Cayuga lake, which he was forced to forego at the earnest persuasion of the missionaries. But now, as for nearly a century past, over their buried bones and slumbering ashes, the march of the white man's civilization goes sweeping by; and the glimmering water of the lake over which the Cayuga skimmed in his birchen canoe, are whitened by the sails of the white man's commerce.

Early in the morning of the 25th, Colonel Dearborn set out to join the main army, and by taking a due west course reached Catharine's about four o'clock P. M. Finding the army had passed that place, his men, though wearied by the difficult march, pushed on six miles farther and encamped on the edge of the swamp, and the next day reached the main army.

General Sullivan thus reports concerning this detachment: "Colonel Dearborn burnt in his route, six towns, which include one that had before been partly destroyed by a small party, destroying at the same time large quantities of corn. He took an Indian lad and three women, prisoners; one of the women being very ancient, and the lad a cripple, he left them and brought on the other two, and joined the army on the evening of the 26th." The six towns destroyed, were the four burned the first day, together with Swah-yawana, and Co-re-or-go-nel.

The main army which we left on the south side of the Seneca river on the morning of the 21st, after the departure of Colonel Dearborn, immediately resumed its march, and without special incident reached its camping place, two miles south of Kendaia, at four

o'clock in the afternoon, having traveled thirteen miles. A march of fifteen miles the next day brought them within six miles of the head of the lake, which was reached before noon of the day following. Catherine's town was reached about noon. Halting here to rest, they sought out the old squaw found on their advance, and left her a supply of food and comfortable quarters. Here Sullivan also expected the detachments of Butler and Dearborn, but they not arriving, the army proceeded three miles farther and encamped for the night. On Friday, the 24th, the army was in motion at seven o'clock in the morning. The dry weather which had prevailed for the past four weeks had rendered the passage of the swamp comparatively easy. Halting to kill a number of horses* that were so worn down that they were unable to go farther, the troops pushed forward to Kanawaholla, a distance of fifteen miles from their last camping place.

Captain Reed,† whom General Sullivan had sent in command of the detachment which escorted the sick and lame from Kanadesago on the 9th, had, in obedience to orders, erected a palisaded fort at the junction of Newtown creek with the Tioga, which was named Fort Reed, and which he had manned with his three-pounder, where he had gathered a hundred beef cattle and abundant stores of provisions and liquors, and awaited the return of the army. As the men emerged in sight, Captain Reed received them with a salute of thirteen rounds from his cannon, which was answered by the cohort, that being the piece in advance, and the next day received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief, in general orders. Full rations were now resumed, to the great joy of the men, who were heartily tired of their almost exclusive vegetable diet. The army remained here until the 29th.

The 25th was taken as a day of rest and rejoicing over the news of the alliance of Spain with the United States, and over the success of the expedition. Colonel Jenkins says, "Five oxen were barbecued, and a great plenty of liquor to drink." In General Hand's Brigade, thirteen fires and thirteen candles were kept burning, and thirteen toasts were drank.‡ A salute of thirteen cannon and a *feu-de-joie* were fired at evening.

About noon of the 26th, Colonel Dearborn reached Fort Reed in safety. The next day one party under Colonel Van Cortlandt§ went nine miles up the Tioga where they devastated cornfields and brought to camp nine boat loads of corn and vegetables and returned in the evening. About sundown, Mr. Lodge and five others from Colonel Butler's detachment now came into camp and reported the Colonel only ten miles distant, and that he would report at head-quarters the next morning.

Captain Simon Spalding|| was sent still farther up the Tioga, where he destroyed a

* Upon the return march of the army, it is said that a large number of worn out horses were killed or died at a camp not far from Newtown (Elmira), and that the Indians afterward collected the skulls and arranged them in a line by the side of the trail, from which it was named "The Valley of Horseheads," and now (1886) "Horseheads," a town of Chemung county. In 1887, North Elmira.

† Not to be confounded with Lieut. Col. George Reed. Under date of Sept. 14, Col. Shreve at Fort Sullivan, orders a "Detachment of 100 men, properly officered, one three pounder and artillery men sufficient to work it, twenty small boats with a hundred boatmen under the care of Major Morrison to be immediately turned out, the whole to be under the command of Captain Reed. Lieutenant Colbrath, from his knowledge of the ground, is requested to go with the party." They set out for Kanawaholla the next day. Captain John Reed belonged to the Mass. Reg't.

‡ The toasts are given by Col. Jenkins, see journal of Sept. 25, the thirteenth toast, however, was so unique that I cannot forbear transcribing it here :—

"May the enemies of America be metamorphosed into packhorses and sent on a western expedition against the Indians."

§ See biographical sketch of Col. Philip Van Cortlandt accompanying steel engraving

|| Simon Spalding, was born in Plainfield, Connecticut, in 1741. He early emigrated to Wyoming and had a settlement at Standing Stone before the Revolutionary war. He was made captain of the consolidated Wyoming Independent Companies and did active service on the frontiers from 1776, until the close of the war. Becoming acquainted with the fertile plains at Sheshequin, during the Sullivan Expedition, he raised a company and made a settlement, as soon as the war ended. He was well acquainted with and enjoyed the confidence of the Indians. He died at Sheshequin, January 24, 1814.

town,* ten acres of corn, fences, etc., and which bore unmistakable evidence of having been built by white people. Captain Spalding did not rejoin the main body until the evening of the 29th.

A party of three hundred under Colonel Dubois, was sent down the right bank of the Tioga, which destroyed three hundred acres of corn, and encamped for the night, three miles below Kanawaholla.

On the morning of the 29th, General Sullivan broke camp at Fort Reed, and having demolished the fortification, continued his homeward march, encamping for the night on the flat two miles below Chemung, and the next day reached Fort Sullivan at Tioga, where he was received by Colonel Shreve† with demonstrations of joy, amid thunders of artillery, lively strains of music by drum and fife and by Proctor's regimental band. After feasting both officers and men, and pouring out pretty free libations to Bacchus, the whole was concluded with an Indian dance, under the direction of an Oneida Chief, led off by General Hand. One of the journals says, the clothes of the men were torn into shreds by the bushes and brambles through which, for more than a month, they had been marching, and observes, that as the men joined in the dance, with their heads powdered with flour, their faces bedaubed with paint, and their fringed and shredded rifle frocks streaming in the wind, they presented an appearance at once weird and grotesque. One of the narrators of the story says: "Everybody laughed; even our grave chaplain could not repress a smile."

In this expedition, the army had burned forty Indian villages, destroyed 200,000 bushels of corn, besides thousands of fruit trees and great quantities of beans and potatoes. It might be said to be literally true of this army, that "The land was as the Garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness."

To Colonel Shreve, had been assigned duties involving great diligence and responsibility. When the army left Tioga, Fort Sullivan was hardly in a defensible condition, and the first work of the commandant was to strengthen its walls until they would be secure against any force the enemy might bring. Then in addition to the nine companies, (250 men)‡ as many more invalids were left in his care. It was also understood when the army set out on its march that a battle was imminent and provision must be made for hospital accommodations for those who could not be removed, and for the removal of such as could be carried to Wyoming in boats. Also many cattle strayed beyond their herds-men and the danger from skulking savages was too great to allow the men to go in quest of them. These must be collected for the sustenance of the troops on their return. Captain Reed gathered a hundred of them, that he took to Kanawaholla, while as many more were secured at Fort Sullivan. Colonel Shreve's responsibility was farther increased by the coming of three hundred sick and lame from Kanadesaga. In addition to these, the enlisted boatmen and the fleet were left in his care. His work was well done, and on the return of the army, General Sullivan in general orders commended his faithfulness, zeal and diligence.

From August 30th until the 26th of September, a period of twenty-seven days,§ the army voluntarily subsisted on a half ration of flour and meat the most of which they carried on their backs, supplementing their wants with the green corn and vegetables found in the fields, they devastated. This diet together with the exposure and early autumn

* No name has been given this town, which was probably about the neighborhood of Painted Post.

† Israel Shreve was made Lieutenant Colonel of the Second New Jersey Battalion, Nov. 8, 1775; Colonel of the Second Battalion, Nov. 23, 1776; Colonel of the Second Regiment, discharged at the close of the war. In the campaign, his son Lieut. John Shreve, was in command of one of the companies of his regiment.

‡ They were Captain Isaiah Wools' of the Artillery, Captain George Tudor's, 4th Penna., Captain John Myers', 2nd N. J. Captain Benjamin Weatherby's, Spencers, N. J., Captain Moody Dustin's, 1st N. H., Captain Amos Morrell's, 1st N. H., Captain Nathaniel Norton's, 4th N. Y., Captain McCluer's, and Captain Day's.

§ Mr. Youse, whose petition has been referred to on p. 369 is mistaken when he says, the army was on half rations, 41 days.

REV. DAVID CRAFT.

weather occasioned considerable sickness, especially in the latter part of the campaign. Notwithstanding the severity of their marches and the dangers to which they were exposed, the entire loss since leaving Wyoming until the return, was only forty-one men, of whom four died from sickness, one was accidentally drowned and one accidentally shot in camp, or one per cent of his entire force.

On the 3d of October, Fort Sullivan was demolished, and the next day the army set out for Wyoming, part on foot but the greater number in boats, reaching that place on the 7th. In obedience to orders from general head-quarters. General Sullivan left Wyoming, October 10th, and reached Easton the 15th, where a thanksgiving service was held, conducted by Rev. Mr. Hunter, and then the army hastened to join that of Washington. Congress* passed a vote of thanks in which the officers and men were complimented in the highest terms, and which is made a record of, as follows :

October 14th. On motion of Mr. Gerry, seconded by Mr. Morris, "The thanks of Congress were voted to his Excellency, General Washington, for directing and to Major General Sullivan and the brave officers and soldiers under his command, for effectually executing, an important expedition against such of the Indian Nations as, encouraged by the councils, and conducted by the officers, of his Britanic Majesty, had perfidiously waged an unprovoked and cruel war against these United States, laid waste many of their defenseless towns, and with savage barbarity, slaughtered the inhabitants thereof," and Washington did not hesitate to express his satisfaction with the management of the campaign, and its results, in flattering terms :

In General Orders from West Point, October 17th, General Washington congratulated the army, on General Sullivan's success, and that "The whole of the soldiery engaged in the expedition, merit and have the Commander-in-Chief's warmest acknowledgments, for their important services."

The expedition was more disastrous to the Indians than at first might appear. They returned to their blackened homes and wasted cornfields, and looked with despair upon the waste and ruin before them. They now began to feel the iron they had so ruthlessly thrust into the bosom of others. Mary Jemison says, there was nothing left, not enough to keep a child. Again they wended their way to Niagara, where huts were built for them around the fort. The winter following was the coldest ever known, and prevented the Indians going on their winter hunt. Cooped up in their little huts and obliged to subsist on salted provisions, the scurvy broke out amongst them, and hundreds of them died. Those the sword had spared, the pestilence destroyed.

The power of the Iroquois was broken. That great confederation, whose influence had once been so potent, crumbled under the iron heel of the invader, and the nation which had made so many tremble, itself quailed before the white man's steel. It is true, that as long as the war continued, they kept up their depredations, but it was in squads of five or six, seldom as many as twenty. We have no repetition of Wyoming or Cherry Valley. It was a terrible blow, but one which they brought upon themselves, by their own perfidy and treachery and cruelty. The sacking of so many homes, the destruction of so much that was valuable, awakens in every civilized heart, the sentiment of pity for their loss, but the act was as justifiable as that which slays the assassin at your door, or the man who is applying the torch to your dwelling.

Colonel Stone remarks : "With the exception of Newtown, the achievements of the army in battle were not great. But it had scoured a broad extent of country, and laid more towns in ashes than had ever been destroyed on the continent before. The red men were driven from their beautiful country—their habitations left in ruins, their fields laid waste, their orchards uprooted, and their altars and the tombs of their fathers overthrown."

To the New England troops, who had been accustomed to the rocky soil and the steep hillsides of their native states, these broad and fertile valleys seemed like another Eden,

* It was also ordered by Congress, that the second Thursday of December, 1779, should be set apart as a day of general Thanksgiving.

and no sooner had war furled her crimson banners, than these hardy sons of the east, shouldered knapsack and axe, and again bent their footsteps toward these beautiful valleys; here they built their homes and reared their children, planted the institutions of liberty and religion, and builded an empire whose exhaustless wealth and tireless enterprise and increasing grandeur, make it the crowning glory of this Empire State, and a living example of her glorious motto, *Excelsior*.

APPENDIX TO THE ADDRESS OF REV. DAVID CRAFT.

In General Sullivan's final official report, he claimed to have lost from all causes, only forty men, and to have destroyed forty towns, fourteen of which were burned by Gen. Clinton and himself, prior to the 30th of August. This statement has been doubted by some critics, and General Sullivan's veracity in his official report seriously questioned. A careful collating of the journals gives the following results:

LOSS OF MEN.

AUGUST 5.	A boatman fell overboard and drowned.....	Jenkins.
" "	One of the bullock guard died at Vanderlip....	"
" "	Serg't Martin Johnson at Wyalusing.....	Elmer.
" 13.	Seven at Chemung.....	Hubley and others.
" 15.	Jabez Elliott shot by Indians at Tioga.....	Jenkins.
" 17.	Philip Helter do.....	Dr. Rogers.
" 23.	Captain Benjamin Kimball.....	Do and others.
" 29.	3 killed and 5 died of wounds at Newtown,	Norris and others.
SEPT. 13.	Lieut. Boyd and party (seventeen).....	Fogg and others.
" "	Corporal Calhoun at Groveland.....	Thomas Grant.
" 27.	One of Col. Butler's detachment.....	George Grant.
" "	A soldier of the N. H. Troops.....	Jenkins.
Total :—Forty-one.		

TOWNS DESTROYED.

Of the following fourteen towns destroyed previous to the 31st of August, the forces under General Sullivan devastated the following seven :

1. Newtychanning, on the right bank of the Susquehanna, a little above the mouth of Sugar creek, by Col. Proctor, Aug. 9.
2. Old Chemung, near the present town, Aug. 13.
3. New Chemung, Aug. 13.

4. Small village at the fortifications, Aug. 29.
5. New buildings on Baldwin's creek, Aug. 29.
6. A small village on Seeley creek, Aug. 30.
7. Newtown, Aug. 31.

The following seven towns were destroyed by General Clinton :—

8. Albout, a Scotch Tory settlement on the left bank of the Unadilla, and about five miles above Unadilla, Aug. 12:

9. Shawhiangto, a Tuscarora town of 12 houses, located on the right bank of the Susquehanna, near Windsor, Broome county, N. Y., Aug. 17.

10. Ingaren, a Tuscarora town of 5 or 6 houses at Great Bend, Penna., Aug. 17.

11. Otsiningo, abandoned and partly destroyed by the Indians, destruction completed, Aug. 18.

12. Choconut or Chugnutt, on both sides the Susquehanna, mostly on the left bank near the mouth of Choconut creek, containing altogether fifty or sixty houses. Destroyed by Gen. Poor, Aug. 19.

13. Owegy, the main town, about twenty houses on Owego creek a mile above its mouth, and a small hamlet near the river, Aug. 19.

14. Mauckatawungum, or Red Bank, near an abandoned plantation known as Fitzgerald's Farm, near Barton, N. Y., Aug. 16, by Gen. Poor.

These towns were destroyed by the main army :—

15. Middletown. 3 miles above Newtown, August 31st.

16. Kanawaholla, site of Elmira, August 31st.

17. Runonyea, near Big Flats, August 31st, Colonel Dayton.

18. Sheoquaga, Havanna, September 1st.

19. Peach Orchard, September 3d.

20. Condawhaw, North Hector, September 4th.

21. Kendaia, or Appletown, September 5th.

22. Butler's Buildings, at the foot of Seneca lake, near the present canal bridge in the village of Geneva, September 7th.

23. Kanadesaga, near present Geneva, September 7th.

24. Gothseungquean, (Kershong), on the west side of Seneca lake, September 8th, by Colonel Smith and Major Parr.

25. Skoi-yase, now Waterloo, by Colonel Harper, September 8th.

26. Kanandaigua, September 10th.

27. Haneyaye, September 11th.

28. Kanaghsaws, September 13th.

29. Gathtsegwarohare, September 13th.

30. Chenandoanes, the Great Genesee castle, Little Beard's town, Sept. 15.

Besides completing the destruction of Skoi-yase, Sept. 21, Colonel Butler laid waste.

31. Choharo, at the foot of Cayuga lake, Sept. 21.
32. Gewauga, at Union Springs, Sept. 22.
33. Cayuga Town, Goiogouen which comprised—
 - (1) Cayuga Castle of fifteen large houses, built of squared logs, situated on the north bank of Great Gully Brook.
 - (2) East Cayuga, Old Town, of thirteen houses.
 - (3) Upper Cayuga, of fourteen houses, on the south bank of Great Gully Brook. George Grant speaks of the three as one town of fifty houses.

It was destroyed by Colonel Butler, Sept. 22.

34. Chonodote, Peach Tree Town, of fourteen houses, at Aurora on Cayuga Lake, Sept. 24.

Colonel Dearborn destroyed the following towns:—

35. A small hamlet of three houses on the Shankwiler farm, in Fayette, Seneca county, four miles from Cayuga lake, Sept. 21.

36. A small town of ten houses on the west shore of Cayuga lake, one mile north of Canoga creek, Sept. 21.

37. Skannayutenate, of ten houses, on the south bank of Cayuga creek, half a mile northeast of Canoga village, Sept. 21.

38. Newtown, of nine houses, a mile south of Skannayutenate, Sept. 21.

39. Swahyawana, on the farm of E. R. Dean, in the north-east corner of the town of Romulus, Sept. 22. This town was partially laid waste by some packhorsemen belonging to Colonel Gansevoort's Regiment, who, taking the wrong path, lost their way and came to this town Sept. 6, and set it on fire the next morning.

40. Coreogonel, of 25 houses on the left bank of Cayuga inlet, three miles from the head of the lake.

41. A small town up the Tioga river destroyed by a detachment under Captain Spaulding, Sept. 28.

WASHINGTON'S INSTRUCTIONS TO SULLIVAN.

The following letter from General Washington to General Sullivan, dated Head-Quarters, West Point, 15th Sept., 1779, will explain the idea of the commander-in-chief as to what the expedition should accomplish and to what extent it had already been done:

DEAR SIR:—

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 30th of August, and congratulate you sincerely on the success of the engagement at Newtown.* I immediately transmitted your account to Congress.

* See General Sullivan's Report of the Battle of Newtown in Elmira Centennial Proceedings.

The advantages we have already gained over the Indians, in the destruction of so many of their settlements, is very flattering to the expedition. But to make it as conclusive as the state of your provisions and the safety of your army will countenance, I would mention two points which I may not have sufficiently expressed in my general instructions, or if I have, which I wish to repeat. The one is the necessity of pushing the Indians to the greatest practicable distance from their own settlements and our frontiers; to the throwing them wholly on the British enemy. The other is the making the destruction of their settlements so final and complete as to put it out of their power to derive the smallest succor from them in case they should attempt to return this season.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your Most obt. Servt.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

Major General Sullivan.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

[APPENDIX NO. 1.]

MAJOR NICHOLAS FISH.

Nicholas Fish, of N. Y. Brigade, was born in New York city, August 28, 1758. He was commissioned, Aug. 16, 1776, as Major of Brigade of the State of New York, and in November of same year, was commissioned by Congress, as Major of the Second Battalion of New York forces. On the 28th of June, 1779, he was commissioned Major in the Second New York Regiment and served as Brigade Major in General Clinton's Brigade in Major General Sullivan's Indian Expedition in that year. In October, 1783, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel by brevet, in the army of the United States and in July, 1785, as Major in the First Regiment of the United States. In April, 1786, Governor George Clinton appointed him Adjutant General of the militia of the State of New York, which position he held for seven years, having resigned his commission in the United States Army.

In 1792, he declined the position of Adjutant General in the United States Army with the rank of Lieut. Colonel, tendered him by Presi-

dent Washington, but in May, 1793, accepted an appointment from the President, of Supervisor of Internal Revenue of the United States for the District of New York, which position he held until 1801. Subsequently he served for several years in the Common Council of the city of New York.

He was one of the original members of the order of the Cincinnati, and for several years President of the New York State Society of that order. He was the father of Hon. Hamilton Fish, who served as Governor of N. Y. State in 1849-50, and afterwards served in the Senate of the United States from this State, 1851-1857, and as Secretary of State of the United States, 1869-1877.

Major Nicholas Fish died in New York city, June 20, 1833.

[APPENDIX NO. 2.]

COLONEL LEWIS DUBOIS.

Lewis Dubois, was a descendant of the first Huguenot settler of that name, who located at New Paltz, Ulster county, in 1677. He was born Sept. 14th, 1728.

He entered the military service in the full vigor of manhood. He held the rank of Captain in Col. Clinton's Regiment in 1775; served in the Canada Campaign in that year, and was promoted as Major.

He was highly commended to Congress by his Superior officers, and commissioned in Nov., 1776, by direction of the Continental Congress of June 26th, of that year, as Colonel of the Fifth Regiment—and served with Major-General Sullivan, in Gen'l Clinton's Brigade, in the Indian Expedition of 1779.

He resigned his commission in the army in Dec., 1779, and died at his residence in Marlborough, Ulster county, Dec. 29, 1802.

(From address of E. M. Rittenber, Esq., before Newburgh, (N. Y.), Historical Society.)

[APPENDIX NO. 3.]

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WEISSENFELS.

Frederick Weissenfels, Baron de, was born in Prussia, and died in New Orleans, La., May 14, 1806, at the age of seventy-eight. He had formerly been an officer in the British service, settled in Dutchess county, N. Y., in 1763; was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the Third New York Battalion, March 8, 1776, Commander of the Second New York Battalion at White Plains, Trenton, the surrender of Burgoyne and at

Monmouth. He was Lieutenant Colonel, commandant of the Fourth New York Regiment in the Sullivan Expedition, and participated in the fight at Newtown. Impoverished by the war at its close, he held at the time of his death, a minor police office.

[APPENDIX NO. 4.]

REV. SAMUEL KIRKLAND.

Rev. Samuel Kirkland, accompanied the expedition, both as Chaplain and Interpreter. He was born in Norwich, Connecticut, December 1, 1741, and was educated in the school of Rev. Dr. E. Wheelock, where he became interested in evangelical work among the Indians, and devoted his life to preaching the gospel among them. He was familiar with the Indian language, which made him peculiarly useful in this campaign. He was employed by Congress to secure the friendship of the Six Nations, but succeeded only with the Oneidas. He was in the pay of the United States during the Revolution, and in 1779 was a Chaplain in Gen'l Sullivan's Army. He rendered much service to the State in the negotiations that were had with the Indians after the war, and in appreciation of his valuable services, he was granted, by a treaty with the Oneidas, Dec., 1788, the patent which is dated February 3, 1790, for a tract of land two miles square in the town of Kirkland, at Clinton, Oneida county, N. Y. In 1793, he made valuable donations of land to Hamilton-Oneida Academy, at Clinton, Oneida county, a school which had just been incorporated for the mutual benefit of the young and flourishing frontier settlements and the various tribes of confederated Indians. This Academy has since been incorporated as Hamilton College. He died February 28, 1808.

[APPENDIX NO. 5.]

REV. JOHN GANO.

Rev. John Gano, of French descent, was born at Hopewell, N. J., about 1729. Although from his youth his mind was deeply imbued with religious truth, he was not regularly licensed as a clergyman of the Baptist denomination, until he was twenty-seven years of age. In the following year, he was settled as pastor in North Carolina, but left on account of the Cherokee war in 1758, and spent a year in Philadelphia. He then went to New York where he gathered a church over which he was installed pastor in 1762, and continued in charge until the

British took possession of the city, and his congregation was scattered. He then entered the Continental Army as Chaplain, and joined Clinton's Brigade in 1778. In the transportation of the Brigade up the Mohawk, in preparing the roadway to lake Otsego, and conveying the boats and provisions over it, the fortitude and patience of the soldiers were severely taxed. Mr. Gano was constantly with them, giving them good counsel and encouragement. After continuing for a month at the mouth of the lake, the men became very uneasy at the delay. One Saturday he spoke to Gen'l Clinton on the subject, who informed him the army would move Monday, but he wished nothing said about it until the orders were issued. His text on the Sabbath was, "Being ready to depart on the morrow." At the close of the services, Gen'l Clinton announced that the army would move at sunrise the next day. Mr. Gano remained with the army until the close of the war. When the British evacuated New York city, he returned there only to find his church desolated and his flock scattered. After preaching here for a time, in 1788, he removed to Frankfort, Kentucky, where he continued to preach until his death, August 10, 1804, at the age of seventy-five years.

[APPENDIX NO. 6.]

COLONEL JOHN HARPER.

John Harper, was born in Boston, Mass., May 31, 1734. In 1768, the Colonial Government of New York made a grant to him and twenty-one others, his associates, of 22,000 acres of land on the Delaware river, purchased the year before of the Indians, and which was called Harpersfield, in honor of its founder. During the Revolution, Colonel Harper distinguished himself in the border wars in Montgomery, Schoharie, Delaware, Broome, and Otsego counties, as a brave soldier, an ardent patriot, and one thoroughly acquainted with Indian warfare. He is frequently mentioned in Campbell's Annals of Tryon County, and in Stone's Life of Brant. At one time, he was in command of a regiment raised for the defense of the frontiers, with the rank of Colonel. He was connected with the Sullivan Expedition, probably as a volunteer, without a distinct command, and was detailed for the expedition to Skoi-yase on account of his knowledge of the country as well as of Indian warfare. After the close of the war he returned to Harpersfield, where he continued to reside until his death, November 20, 1811. Some of his descendants are still living in Harpersfield, N. Y.



Ames Craton V. Gen^l

Biographical Sketch of Brigadier-General James Clinton.

BY REV. DAVID CRAFT.

JAMES CLINTON, is a name intimately connected with the civil and military history of the State of New York. The son of Colonel Charles Clinton, he was born in Orange county, N. Y., August 9, 1736. When only twenty years of age, in the French and Indian War, in 1756, he was an officer under Bralstreet, and distinguished himself at the capture of Fort Frontenac. In 1763, he was in command of the troops raised to defend the frontiers of Orange and Ulster counties, against Indian incursions. With the rank of Colonel, he was with Montgomery in the invasion of Canada in 1775. He was appointed Brigadier General, August 9, 1776, and was in command at Fort Clinton, when in October, 1777, it was attacked by Sir Henry Clinton; his brother George, afterward Governor of the State of New York, being in command at Fort Montgomery. The forts were carried by storm after a spirited defence against superior numbers, General Clinton being the last to leave the works. He was stationed at West Point during the greater part of 1778. He commanded the brigade of New York troops in the Sullivan Indian Expedition. His occupation was that of an Engineer and Surveyor, which enabled him to render valuable service in the passage of his army down the Susquehanna, which was made navigable by the erection of a dam across the outlet of Otsego lake. He was present at the siege of Yorktown and surrender of Cornwallis.

After the war he held several important civil positions, including service in the New York State Legislature, and as a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1801, &c., and was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati.

He died at Little Britain, Orange county, greatly beloved and honored, December 22, 1812. He was the father of Governor DeWitt Clinton, of New York.

Records and Proceedings

— of —

Centennial Celebrations.

Held in the Year 1879, Commemorative of Major
General John Sullivan's Indian
Expedition of 1779.

NEWTOWN.

(ELMIRA).

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE BATTLE OF NEWTOWN,
SUNDAY, AUGUST 29, 1779—HELD UPON THE BATTLE-
FIELD, AUGUST 29, 1879, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE NEWTOWN MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

PREPARED BY WM. FISKE WARNER AND ARIEL S. THURSTON.

Officers of "The Newtown Monument Association," organized pursuant to Chap. 139, Laws of the State of New York, 1879:

President—HON. HIRAM GRAY, Elmira, N. Y.

Vice-Pres.—HON. WILLIAM FISKE WARNER, Waverly, N. Y.

Secretary—HON. ARIEL S. THURSTON, Elmira, N. Y.

Treasurer—FRANK G. HALL, Elmira, N. Y.

Superintendent—R. C. LOCKWOOD, Wellsburg, N. Y.

Trustees—Hiram Gray, Ariel S. Thurston, Stephen T. Arnot, Jacob Lowman, Alexander S. Diven, Richard C. Lockwood, Frank G. Hall, Miles Baldwin, Daniel F. Pickering, William F. Warner, Charles J. Langdon, Frank Hall, H. C. Hoffman, U. S. Lowe.

On the 2nd day of October, 1878, the committee appointed at a meeting of citizens of the valleys of Susquehanna and Chemung, assembled at Wellsburg, situated near the battle-field of Newtown, met at the City Hall in the city of Elmira, when the following arrangements were inaugurated for commemorating the Centennial of the Sullivan Expedition against the Six Nations, in the summer and autumn of 1779, and the battle of Newtown, fought August 29th, 1779: Hon. Hiram Gray, of Elmira, was chosen president; Hon. George W. Clinton, of Buffalo, first vice-president; Gen. Alexander S. Diven, of Elmira, second vice-president; Hon. Wm. H. Bogart, of Aurora, third vice-president.

Gen'l William M. Gregg, of Elmira, was appointed Grand Marshal, with the following—

Assistant Marshals—Col. Henry C. Hoffman, Col. S. T. Arnot, Maj. Charles J. Langdon, Capt. Hugh J. Baldwin, Lieut. Arthur Fitch, Ja-

cob Lowman, Maj. Robt. McDowell, Maj. M. H. McGrath, Col. Henry Baldwin, Maj. Alexander Diven, Col. J. T. Harrower, Col. Eugene B. Greene.

The following were appointed as the—

Executive Committee—Wm. F. Warner, Charles G. Fairman, Richard C. Lockwood, Danl. F. Pickering, J. E. Allen.

The following persons were appointed a committee upon—

Monument and Grounds—R. C. Lockwood, Jacob Lowman, John G. Lowman, Miles C. Baldwin, Ariel S. Thurston, Stephen T. Arnot.

Military Committee—Col. Charles H. Thomas, Maj. E. O. Beers, Maj. H. B. Berry, Maj. Henry E. Drake, Lieut. G. Palmer.

Finance Committee—Frank G. Hall, J. T. Sawyer, M. H. Arnot, J. N. Hungerford, Dana F. Park, Tracy R. Morgan, Joseph Powell, Gen. G. J. Magee, T. S. Minier, E. W. Stone, John B. Brush, R. A. Elmer.

Committee on Addresses—W. F. Warner, J. Dorman Steele, Francis Hall, Hon. Douglass Boardman, George Sidney Camp.

By a joint resolution adopted by the first session of the 44th Congress, *1876, it was recommended that the Centennial of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776, should be celebrated, in addition to the usual manner, by procuring and publishing the history of the several counties of the States. Unfortunately, there was not a large response to this resolution, but many localities observed the recommendation, and among others the citizens of Tioga county, in the State of New York. The Historian appointed for that county, in developing the history of the century, brought to public attention the remarkable expedition of Gen. John Sullivan, in the summer and autumn of 1779, against the Six Nations, occupying central, northern and western New York, and known as the confederacy of the Iroquois. For reasons explained in the historical addresses, contained in the following pages of this work, this portion of the history of the colonial war, (called the Revolution of 1776,) was not given the prominence the subject deserved. It was, therefore, determined that an appropriate celebration of that event, and incidentally the centennial of the battle of Newtown, which was the principal contest of the campaign, should be observed on the 29th day of August, 1879, by the construction of a monument upon the battle-field with appropriate ceremonies. The action of the several committees having the matter in charge, culminated in one of the grandest centennial demonstrations of the period. Many of the most eminent men of the land, honored the occasion by their presence. From the obscurity of a century, the Sullivan Expedition was at once raised to the front rank of the military exploits of history, and took its place, and

* March 13, 1876.

will hereafter be recognized among the most important events of our revolutionary history.

The inscription upon the marble tablet inserted in the monument, sufficiently testifies to the importance of the event:

*Near this spot,
on Sunday, the 29th day of August, 1779,
the forces of the Six Nations, under the leadership of
JOSEPH BRANT,
assisted by British Regulars and Tories,
were met and defeated by the Americans under the command of
Major General JOHN SULLIVAN, of New Hampshire,
whose soldiers led by
Brig. Gen. James Clinton, of N. Y., Brig. Gen. Enoch Poor, of N. H.,
Brig. Gen. Edward Hand, of Pa., and Brig. Gen. Wm. Maxwell, of N. J.,
completely routed the enemy and accelerated the advent of the day,
which assured to the United States their existence as an
INDEPENDENT NATION.*

1779. 1879.

As usual at that period of the year, the 29th day of August was exceedingly warm, and by reason of a long absence of rainfall, the roads were deep with dust. But, notwithstanding these formidable obstacles the people assembled, by organized military and civic societies, and singly, in a vast multitude. The monument, standing upon Sullivan Hill, from which an immense district of country may be observed, was appropriately dedicated by the Masonic Fraternity. Then followed the addresses, delivered upon the battle-field from two platforms, around which was gathered the largest assemblage ever witnessed in this portion of the State, and estimated to be fifty thousand people.

It is a fact worthy of notice, that this vast multitude, gathered by private and public conveyance, assembled and dispersed without accident and without the slightest disturbance. Upon the evening of this centennial day, the city of Elmira was the scene of brilliant illuminations, fire-works, and notably, the dedication of a Masonic Temple. This brilliant spectacle was graced by the presence of Gov. Lucius Robinson of the State of New York, and his military staff, Gov. Henry P. Hoyt and staff of Pennsylvania, Gov. Natt Head and staff of New Hampshire, General W. T. Sherman, United States Army and staff, and numerous other officials, both State and National.

It is permitted to a few only, to be actors in great events shaping the destinies of a people; but one of the strong incentives to heroic action in behalf of the welfare of a nation in time of peril, is the consciousness that such action will not be unrecognized or forgotten by subsequent generations, which will be charged with the obligation and

duty of perpetuating knowledge of the noble patriots of their country and their deeds.

THE DEDICATION.

The first ceremony on the programme was the dedication of the monument, the plain shaft of stone that we hope will remain standing when another hundred years shall have rolled around. The sun was boiling hot, yet the people stayed. The ceremonies were in charge of the Masonic Fraternity of Elmira, and were performed by the following :

OFFICERS OF THE GRAND LODGE.

Grand Master.....	Chauncey N. Shipman
Deputy Grand Master.....	John D. Williams
Senior Grand Warden.....	Edward Herrick
Junior Grand Warden.....	George C. Moore
Grand Treasurer.....	Samuel D. Wadhams
Grand Secretary.....	Dr. George W. Pratt
Grand Chaplains.....	L. C. Queal..... C. M. Gardner.....
Grand Standard Bearer.....	John S. Earl
Grand Sword Bearer.....	John C. Fanton
Grand Steward.....	H. L. Estabrook
Senior Grand Deacon.....	William P. Burdick
Junior Grand Deacon.....	Thomas Hibbard
Grand Pursuivant.....	I. B. Poole
Grand Tyler.....	Darius Perry
Grand Marshal.....	Griff D. Palmer

The following Masonic Lodges were present from other places: Old Oak, of Millport; Myrtle, of Havana; Dundee, of Dundee; Southern Light, of Breesport; Horseheads, of Horseheads; Orange, of Monterey; Lamoka, of Tyrone; Big Flats, of Big Flats; Painted Post, of Corning; Milo, of Penn Yan, and the Rural Amity, of Athens, Pa. These all formed in a square around the monument, the crowd outside, when the ceremonies began, as follows:

Music by the Emmett and LaFrance bands.

The Deputy Grand Master then addressed the M. W. Grand Master: The Monument which has been erected by the Executive Committee of the Sullivan Centennial, to commemorate the victory achieved one hundred years ago this day, over the savages and their allies, by the American forces under the command of our brethren, is now ready for dedication.

The Grand Master replied: In behalf of the Fraternity of F. A. M., and at the request of the Executive Committee, I accept the charge you impose upon me, and will now proceed to dedicate the Monument raised

by the patriotic people of this community, to commemorate a great event in our history, in accordance with our ancient usages.

Before entering upon any great or important undertaking, we ought always to invoke the aid of Deity. We will now unite in prayer, with the Grand Chaplain.

A very fervent dedicatory prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. L. C. Queal, Grand Chaplain.

M. W. G. M.—R. W. Deputy Grand Master, apply the implement of your office to that portion of the Monument that needs to be proved, and make report.

R. W. D. G. M.—M. W. Grand Master, I find the Monument to be square.

M. W. G. M.—R. W. Senior G. W., apply the implement of your office to the Monument and make report.

R. W. S. G. W.—M. W. G. M., I find the Monument to be level.

M. W. G. M.—R. W. Junior G. W., apply the implement of your office to the Monument and make report.

R. W. J. G. W.—M. W. G. M., I find the monument to be plumb.

M. W. G. M.—This Monument has been tested by the proper implements of Masonry. I declare it to be well formed, true and trusty, and correctly laid, according to the rules of our Ancient Craft.

Music by the Emmett and LaFrance bands.

R. W. D. G. M.—Upon this monument I scatter this corn as an emblem of plenty. May the blessing of bounteous Heaven be showered upon us, and upon all like patriotic and benevolent undertakings, and inspire the hearts of the people with virtue, patriotism and gratitude.

R. W. S. G. W.—I pour this wine as an emblem of joy and gladness. May the Great Ruler of the Universe bless and prosper our national, State and city governments, preserve the union of the States, and may it be a bond of friendship and brotherly love, that shall endure through all time.

R. W. J. G. W.—I pour this oil as an emblem of peace. May its blessings abide with us continually, and may the Grand Master of Heaven and earth shelter and protect the widow and orphan, shield and defend them from the trials and vicissitudes of the world, and so bestow His mercy upon the bereaved, the afflicted and the sorrowing, that they may know sorrow and trouble no more.

M. W. G. M.—In the name of the Great Jehovah, to whom be ascribed all honor and glory, I dedicate this monument. May the work here begun one hundred years ago this day, under the direction of our brethren and so signally blessed by our Great Grand Master, by filling this valley with a patriotic, prosperous and contented people, be contin-

ued for all time; and may our descendants in the years to come find this monument an appropriate altar, around which to meet and renew the vows of universal brotherhood, which we here pledge.

[The sprinkling of the corn, wine and oil was performed twice, upon the top of the monument, and about its base.]

The Grand Marshal then gave the following proclamation :

In the presence of the Supreme Architect of the Universe, whose unnumbered blessings we humbly acknowledge, by order of R. W. Chauncey W. Shipman, D. D. G. M., and by the power invested in me by Most Worshipful Charles Roome, Grand Master of Masons in the State of New York, under the auspices of the Grand Lodge of the Most Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of F. A. M. of the State of New York, and the brethren owing it fealty and allegiance, I declare this monument

DEDICATED.

The following Masonic ode, composed by Hon. A. S. Thurston, was sung at the foot of the monument, with great power and effect, by the members of the order, led by Charles and Griff D. Palmer, and the Emmet and LaFrance bands, to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne."

One hundred years, one hundred years
Have fled on noiseless wing,
Here meet the sons of ancient seers
Memorial songs to sing.
One hundred years, one hundred years,
One hundred years ago—
We're met, my friends, to celebrate
One hundred years ago!

This mountain top, this smiling glade,
Once hid a treacherous foe,
This wild wood made their ambuscade,
One hundred years ago.
One hundred years, one hundred years,
One hundred years ago,
We reap in peace, joys sown in tears,
One hundred years ago!

This pile for those who fought and bled
May it forever stand,
Till Gabriel's trumpet wakes the dead,
In ocean and on land.

One hundred years, one hundred years,
 One hundred years ago,
 While time endures we'll celebrate
 One hundred years ago !

And when one hundred years have flown,
 May our sons' sons here meet
 Beneath the shadow of this stone,
 Upon this lofty seat.
 One hundred years, one hundred years,
 One hundred years from now,
 May our sons' sons re-consecrate
 This altar's moss-clad brow.

The Historical Address, by R. W. C. N. Shipman, D. D. G. M., was then delivered :

CHAUNCEY N. SHIPMAN'S ADDRESS.

BRETHREN :—

We have assembled upon this occasion, and have dedicated this monument in accordance with the customs of our ancient and honorable fraternity, upon invitation of the Executive Committee of the Sullivan Centennial.

The propriety of this work being placed in our hands, none will dispute, when it is understood that the advent of Sullivan's army into our beautiful valley, marked the date when Masonry may be said to have had its birth among us. This history of "Sullivan's Expedition," is happily well preserved ; and it is also highly satisfactory that the history of the "Military Lodge," connected with his army, is among the annals of the Grand Lodge in our sister State of Pennsylvania. I am indebted to our Brother, S. Hayden, for many of the facts I shall give. During the Revolutionary war, ten Military Lodges were instituted in the American army. The provincial Grand Lodge of this State, chartered one on the 24th of June, 1775, which was attached to the United States Battalion, and was called St. John's Regimental Lodge. Massachusetts chartered two, and Pennsylvania seven.

On the 18th of May, 1779, Col. Proctor received his commission in the regular army. When this fact became known, the brethren of his regiment resolved that a Military Lodge should be formed in it, and that he should be its Master. He was a zealous mason, of Irish descent, and was a Past Master of Lodge No. 2, which was the oldest lodge in Philadelphia.

The estimation in which he was held by his Masonic brethren was best expressed in an ode bearing date February 7th, 1779. The following stanza bears personal allusion to him :

"Thou firm oppressor of a tyrant king,
 Go imitate in fact our glorious head,
 And to the lodge, O Proctor, take the lead."

It was also well known that Gen. Sullivan was an eminent Mason, from the fact that the masons of Rhode Island presented him a congratulatory address on being appointed to the command of this expedition. After the close of the war, he became Governor, also the first Grand Master of Masons in New Hampshire.

Of the march of Gen. Sullivan's army from Easton, the point from which it set out, until its arrival in Wyoming Valley but little is known, suffice it to say, that it was through swamps and across woodland mountains, which were better known to the Indians than to them.

No incident worthy of note is preserved of their march, until they neared Wilkesbarre. It was near the closing days of April, when the detachment of two hundred men, under Major Powell, met with a sudden and severe check. Believing that all dangers were passed, because of their near approach to civilization, they were passing joyously along under the inspiring strains of music, when suddenly it was reported that a deer was seen in the front. Several of the command rushed forward, eager for the sport; but a volley from the muskets of the unseen foe, was the first recognition of their presence. Six of their number were slain. Two of them, Captain Davis of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, and Lieutenant Jones of a Delaware Regiment, were Masons.

Two months after this event, on the 23d of June, Gen. Sullivan arrived with his main army, and as they passed the place where these brethren lay buried, the regimental band played "Roslin Castle," in memory of them.

The following day was the festival of St. John the Baptist, and it was duly commemorated by one of the chaplains of the army, reading a sermon on Masonry.

The army remained at this point more than a month. Before taking up their line of march, it was resolved to re-inter the bodies of Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones in the public burial ground near the old fort, with appropriate Masonic and military ceremonies. The graphic pen of the historian has given the following account of this ceremony:

"Accompanied by the regimental band, brethren of Col. Porter's lodge proceeded to the mountain brow with mattock and spade, re-opened the graves of their fallen brothers, and with untold ceremonies, raised them from corruption there, and then with step to music, that melted their hearts in all the tenderness of woe, took their downward march to the valley.

Here they were received by the Military Lodge and the regiments of Colonel Proctor and Hubley, and by them were again consigned to the earth with military honors, and the peculiar rites and ceremonies of Masonry. A rude stone, the best the valley then afforded, was afterwards placed over their remains, bearing this inscription:

"In memory of Captain J. Davis of the 11th Pennsylvania; also of Lieutenant William Jones, who were murdered by the savages, on their march to the relief of the distressed inhabitants of Wyoming, on the 23d of April, 1779. Erected by a friend."

This was the first Masonic funeral in the valley of the Wyoming, and because of the sad and mournful memories that filled every household in that beautiful valley with the deepest gloom, it must have made a lasting impression. But a short year before was the Wyoming Massacre, when their homes were invaded, and fathers and brothers were stricken down with the terrible foe. Their graves were still wet with the bitter, blinding tears of the widow and fatherless; their hearts were tender, because of their baptism of sorrow, and we can easily imagine that when these new defenders came, and fell, and with mystic ceremonies were placed by the side of their sleeping ones, that their wounded hearts opened afresh the fountain of tears, and baptized anew the consecrated ground where they lay.

Two days after the scenes just narrated, the army proceeded northward, and on arriving at Tioga Point, now Athens, it halted, when, as history informs us, the brethren assembled on the 18th of August, and a Masonic funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Rogers, one of the chaplains of the army, from Job 7: 7, "Remember that my life is wind."

Beyond Tioga Point, there is no record to show that the lodge was opened for any purpose. The haste and the perils of the expedition, must have forbidden many opportunities for mystic labors.

During the first year of the existence of this lodge, it paid into the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, £150 or between \$700 and \$800, which shows that its work must have been considerable. Its organization continued until 1784, having had Col. Proctor, Gen. Hand and Capt. Isaac Craig as its masters.

We have already stated how St. John's Day, June 24th, 1779, was observed by the Military Lodge connected with Gen. Sullivan's army. Upon this same day, Gen. Washington was with his army upon the Hudson. The historian has written:

"These records, which are still fully preserved, show that the American Union Military lodges met that day at Nelson's Point, and being joined by a number of Masons from the brigades there and on Constitution Island, they proceeded to the Red House across the Hudson. The lodge was then opened in ample form, and after the usual ceremonies retired to a bower in front of the house, when, being joined by Gen. Washington and his family, an address was delivered to the brethren and others present on the occasion, by the Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, after which an address was delivered to the brethren in particular, by Capt. William Hull, afterward Gen. Hull, of the war of 1812. The lodge then dined, and toasts were drank with music and songs."

The record then states, "His Excellency, Brother Washington, returned to the barge, attended by the wardens and secretary of the lodge, amidst a crowd of brethren, the music playing 'God save America,' and embarked. His departure was announced by three cheers from the shore, and answered by three from the barge, the music beating the Grenadier's March.

"The brethren then returned to Gen. Patterson's head-quarters, in the reversed order of that in which the first procession was made, when the master with his wardens and secretary closed the lodge."

The record of this lodge shows that on the day above mentioned, the lodge was again opened for "work," when five candidates were made entered apprentices, and one was raised to the degree of Master Mason.

The object we have had in view thus far, has been to show that Masonry came into this valley with the army of redemption, when the primeval forest gave back the echoing tread of the advancing host, the voice of Masonry was heard proclaiming the grand old truths that have rung through the vaults of time for ages past. The "Lodge Room" was upon the highest hills, or in the lowest valleys. The mosaic pavement, was the green earth beneath their feet, and the covering of their lodge was the "cloudy canopy, or star-decked Heaven." Within the holy place of such a lodge, the "voice of God" must have struck upon the hearts of the brethren with thrilling force. The prayer that was offered for the kneeling candidate, surely must have ascended to the throne of the Most High God. The grip that was given, meant protection in the hour of danger, and a pure brotherly regard, wherever the stormy sea of life should cast them. And we are led to believe that the Masonry that was born with such surroundings, must have been a principle deep and abiding. We who are now standing here, surrounded with the civilization of a century, can but faintly realize the dangers and the hardships, of our Masonic forefathers. In the then wilderness, it required men of cool courage, and strong determination to go upon a "Master Mason's errand." A brother took his life in his hands, and Masonic history records many instances where a brother laid down his life for another. And this love born of deeds, not of words, has shed its influence throughout the land.

After the close of the revolutionary war, and the disbandment of the army, Masonry spread as civilization advanced. Undoubtedly those who had been imbued with its merciful spirit in the army, helped its spread by causing lodges to be built up in the hamlets that were springing up in the land. Very early in the history of our country, after its independence, we find that our Grand Lodge granted warrants to establish Masonic homes west of the Hudson river. The record shows as follows :

April 7th, 1792, Whitestown, near Utica.

October 12th, 1792, Canandaigua.

June 18th, 1793, Newtown, now Elmira.

August 14th, 1795, Cooperstown.

March 22nd, 1797, Bath.

Jan. 7th, 1799, Union, now Binghamton.

Thus it will be seen, that Masonry established itself very early in our valley, and has increased with succeeding years, until Elmira now stands the seventh city in our State in its number of Masons, having about seven hundred affiliated with our different Masonic bodies. But we have not alone increased in numbers, but in material prosperity and wealth. Near the place where our early brethren met, in the rude home of a brother, to

hold their lodge meetings, we have erected a beautiful Temple, which will soon be dedicated, and set apart for our use and enjoyment. And if it be that the victories of the past shall have come to us with their fruitage, and if it be that the graces that come from the bountiful hand of the great "I Am" shall adorn and beautify our lives, then it shall be that our Temple shall be like the one of old, where God spake to his people in the Holy of Holies, and this valley which lies at our feet, and these hills that surround it, as though to guard it from danger, shall give praise and thanksgiving to the "Ever Living God," because Masonry with its beautiful symbolism and its holy principles, found here a habitation and a home.

PUBLIC CELEBRATION.

At 12:25, Judge Hiram Gray, as President of the meeting, opened the exercises by the following remarks:

Fellow Citizens:—Gratitude to the brave and patriotic men who have maintained our government against foreign foes, as well as to those who have overcome and subdued a formidable and obstinate rebellion, restoring the government of the United States and reassuring its permanency, carries us back to the greater gratitude due to our revolutionary ancestors, whose sacrifices, courage and statesmanship wrought for us the best of all earthly governments, and reminds us of the revolutionary conflicts, one of which was the battle of Newtown, fought on the 29th day of August, 1779, upon or near the ground upon which we are now assembled, the 100th anniversary of which we have come to celebrate, and thus perpetuate the remembrance of the victory achieved in that battle, by forces under command of Major General John Sullivan, one of the most decisive and important battles of the Revolution.

In coming together to honor the brave men who achieved this victory, we honor ourselves.

Rev. W. E. Knox, D. D., then addressed the throne of grace and made an earnest invocation for the Divine presence and blessing.

President Gray then announced Ausburn Towner, of New York, who read:

VERSES OF WELCOME.

Bright and fragrant blooms our valley with rare memories to-day—
 Obscurity's darkening shadows and neglect's too sure decay
 By recollection's quickening touch have all been charmed away.
 The seed that on this ground was sown amidst fire and sword and tears,
 Almost forgot, with life teems once more and now its stalk uprears,
 Like the plant that yields its blossom only after five score years.
 Oh! these memories! Welcome them! What's here been hid hold high in view.
 History counts her decisive conflicts more precious since so few,
 And decks with laurels fadeless her Marathon and Waterloo.
 Six warrior tribes together linked in one long, bloody trail,

Here felt the shock that shattered them ; here saw their best hope fail ;
 Here changed their cries defiant to a homeless, hopeless wail.
 Could they have told the story that to us such great triumph yields,
 Or have limned the desolation that relentless swept these fields,
 Could they the sympathetic chords have struck with sad'ning appeals,
 They would have touched the world to tears, and their story would have swept
 Immortal across the page of time, transcending all, except
 Those who by Babylonish waters, despairing, sat and wept.
 Oh ! these memories ! Bid them welcome ! Mark the spot where brave men fell ;
 None too many monumental shafts, enduring, rise to tell
 Their silent stories of those souls who, for our sakes, strove so well.
 Not for themselves did these pioneers, by cruel outrage stung,
 Lay in waste the savage hives and haunts with fire and axe and gun—
 Not for themselves, but the thousands who now hold the lands they won.
 Oh ! these memories ! They are welcome ! As we can, let us repay
 The debt we owe those sturdy men for opening up the way
 To those fair fields of fruitfulness, just a century to-day.
 Mark well the view ! What other lands can more charming prospect make ?
 On every side new beauties smile, and new attractions wake
 From the hill-top clothed with verdure to the bosom of the lake.
 From yonder mount, when the autumn sun bathes with its golden sheen
 The ripened grain in the fields below and gilds the varying scene,
 The valley a jeweled picture becomes, framed in gold and green.
 Amidst these scenes of calm repose, that no signs of conflict show,
 We're met to hear the tale rehearsed of Sullivan and his foe
 And fight the battle o'er again of a hundred years ago.
 Strange faces mingle in the throng that has gathered at this call,
 Strange forms, with those familiar, greet the eyes where e'er they fall,
 But this valley, now and always, has a welcome for you all.
 You're to hear from those whose patient search, with ever zealous care,
 Has given those distant days and deeds a dear, familiar air,
 These and the stores they bring to you, will your generous welcome share,
 And one you'll welcome heartily whose deft hand heretofore
 Has traced with rhythmic rise and fall the battles' rattle and roar,
 And whose "ragged Continentals" will march on forevermore.
 Be ever welcome scenes like these. They bind the memory fast
 To those whose lives teach where our own most securely may be cast,
 For the future's safest when it seeks to emulate the past.
 What dearer privilege, indeed, than to do as our sires have done ;
 To follow in the paths they proved, to finish as they begun ;
 To give to our children, undefiled, all that our fathers won ?

POEM BY HON. GUY HUMPHREYS McMASTER, OF BATH, N. Y.

THE COMMANDERS.

CHEMUNG, August, 1779.

I.—SULLIVAN.

Night falls upon the wilderness,
 On mountain ridge and rocky glen,
 On forest, glade, and marsh and fen,
 On river tides, that sometimes press
 With crowding waters past the isles,
 But oftener lie motionless,
 As if in sleep or silent muse,
 In the long curves of avenues,
 That wind through forest-shaded miles.
 Within these sweet primeval woods,
 —The unsoiled remnant of a world
 Abraded elsewhere by the floods
 Of nations drifting east and west,
 Forever heaving in unrest,
 And grinding off earth's birthday bloom—
 The flag of Congress was unfurled,
 With drums saluting, and the boom
 Of guns that brought, with ruffian shocks,
 New echoes from the ancient rocks.
 —But now the legions lie in sleep,
 Encamped among the quiet pines ;
 And sentinels, without the lines,
 Their watch, with keen alertness keep,
 With ready rifle and naked steel,
 To hear the stir of the moccasined heel
 In yonder thicket, or cautious dip
 Of paddle in the eddy's gloom.

The leader of the sleeping hosts
 Is standing by his vacant tent
 In silence ; and his eyes are bent,
 Beyond his lines of sentry posts,
 Toward distant glimmerings of lights,
 Where Brant and Butler on the heights,
 With all the might of their alliance
 Have barred the passage of the column,
 And wait the assault with fierce defiance.

A man alert and resolute,
 Not wholly of the warrior stamp,
 As bred to arms alone, he looks ;
 For he, from shelves of brown-backed books,
 Went forth to wear the trooper's boot,
 And changed the court-house for the camp,
 For cannon fuse, the study lamp.
 Apt student in the soldier's school.

He bore him in the nation's fight
 A gallant gentleman—true knight,
 Content to serve, as fit to rule.
 Of ancient lineage of Erse,
 Its blood electric, took its course
 With Gaelic fervor through the veins
 But amid strands of steady nerve,
 That kept from waste the vivid spark,
 And held it in their coil—for work,
 As wires of steadfast iron serve
 To guide and to economise
 The fiery forces of the skies,
 Which else had gleamed with wasted light,
 An instant, glory—then, black night.

He turns his gaze from foes in front,
 And, looking southward, marks the point
 Where chasms, filled with moonlit haze,
 Lie in an interlocking maze,

—The Susquehanna water-gate.

Through this, with martial hardihood
 An entrance he has dared to force
 Into the treacherous solitude,
 Within the mighty Indian State—
 Republic of the Iroquois,
 The proud, the politic, the bold
 Ordainer of imperial law
 For western wilds, like one of old,
 That giant of the Tiber's strand,
 The single gesture of whose hand
 Struck the whole Eastern sphere with awe,
 These are his musings as he sees
 The vale where northern rivers met,
 One flowing east, the other west,
 Then, pressing with united breast
 Broke through the range of mountains, set
 As southern wall of that Long-House
 The great Ho-den-e sau-ne-ga.

“ This is the gateway of that savage Rome,
 The forest world's fierce mistress ; this the gate
 Whence the red consuls of that tyrant state,
 With their wild legionaries, on the foam (1)
 Of flooding rivers rode, while Death and Fate
 Guided the fleet along the watery halls,
 That pierced the forest, and through mountain walls
 Led to the happy plains where husbandry
 Covered the land with bloom, and where the grace
 Of Christian homes rose sweetly to the sky.
 From these dim dens, to ravage and deface,
 The forest-pack, still footed, oft has gone,
 And seized their prey before the startled dawn
 Stepped from the east, to see but smoke and blood,
 Disheveled wreck, death-stricken solitude,
 Where the last sunset strewed with softest shadows
 Orchard-flanked homesteads and elm-girdled meadows.

* * * * *

Though we are men of cool and temperate mind,
 And disciplined to keep down passions rude,
 And longing for the general brotherhood
 Of all the nations of the earth, yet we
 Have wrath that kindles to destroying flame,
 When patience longer bearing, would be shame.
 We have hard blows for bullying tyranny,
 Whether from marble courts beyond the sea
 It issue at the beck of scented lords
 In silken hose and golden-hilted swords.
 Chatting away a people's liberties
 In some rich council-chamber's cushioned ease ;
 Or from that savage senate at the lake (2)
 By the salt marshes yonder in the north,
 Dull-visaged butchers, coarsely blanketed,
 Squatted in a ring by their bark Council House ;
 And with strange mummary of pipes and belts,
 Decreeing, coldly, death—forever death !
 So now, at last, with righteous wrath we turn
 And seek, in their own lairs, the forest brood,
 The hatchet-wielders—murder's blood dyed sons.
 The silent hills of this far solitude
 Shall hear the sharp rebuke of shotted guns
 Which Congress utters to that tawny Cabinet
 Of councillors at Onondaga. Also let
 The Fort Niagara the challenge hear
 —That shop for British purchase and intrigue,
 Scalp-market *overt*, where a baronet (3)
 Is the shop-keeper, trading in the lives
 Of Yankee settlers and their babes and wives.
 It shall be tested whether that proud League
 Shall at its savage pleasure loose or bind
 The lightning of its burnished tomahawk.
 Forbid that I should rant in pompous talk
 Like one of their own orators—but, then,
 I know the hardy metal of my men,
 Now hammered by the German Baron's drill,
 To tough coherence—iron changed to steel ;
 Foresters, wit-sharpened for all Indian wiles,
 Young farmers, sprung from Britain's yeoman stock,
 True whelps of that old Lion of the Isles
 That now disowns them, with the stunning shock
 Of paws that would have stricken breath and sense
 From frames that were not an inheritance
 From his own self.
 Therefore I think (but, for the greater part,
 Because the righteous ruler of the world
 Gives answer to the question of my heart.)
 This tyrant power, fickle, whimsical,
 Bold, crafty, bloody, all implacable,
 Shall, like a heathen idol, down be hurled,
 The right arm of the Righteousness above
 Now being bared and ready for the blow.
 For vengeance not alone shall this be wrought.
 Hath not fore-seeing Wisdom here decreed

The great unfolding of another thought?
 And are we not preparers for the seed?
 War, with the ruthless hoof and brutal wheel,
 Drives headlong through the aged works of men,
 Breaks them with cruel ruin—but again
 War, itself God-smitten, drops the steel;
 The steel, corroding, adds its elements
 Unto the plant up-springing where 'tis cast.
 So e'en this vale now burdened by war's tents,
 May, when our work is done and our day past,
 Be strangely changed, and for this savagery
 A rich and glorious bloom may meet the eye."

* * * * *

II.—THAYENDANEGEA.

The scene is changed—the morning light
 Has touched the ridges in the west,
 And here, along their curving crest,
 The Indian League has massed its might.
 They range their forces for the strife,
 The braves, in their war livery
 Of battle-paint, and panoply
 Of rifle, tomahawk and knife.
 The British musket and the curve
 Of British sabre-blades appear;
 For soldiers of the King are here,
 A gentleman or two who serve
 With the stout valor of their race,
 Their sovereign, in this nameless place,
 As loyally as in the eye
 Of Europe's marshalled chivalry.
 A chieftain of majestic mein,
 With kingly front and warrior eye,
 With soul to dare and to endure,
 To hold, with purpose firm and sure,
 The cause of people and of home;
 Heroic, keeping curbed and pent
 The bounding passions of his breast,
 Which, loosed, in language eloquent
 Or hardy deed was manifest:
 He, for the battle girded, rose.
 He saw the camp smokes of his foes,
 Rising above the mists that hung
 Low on the broad vale of Chemung.
 Then unto the warriors turning,
 His kindled soul's heroic burning
 Broke out in vehement harangue:

"Ye braves of the Ancient League—the people's defenders!
 Here, in the gates of the South, the white foe comes,
 Daring his doom, yet marching with banners and splendors,
 With empty roar of cannon and rattle of drums.

These are the hungry eaters of land—the greedy
 Devourers of forest and lake and meadow and swamp ;
 Gorged with the soil they have robbed from the helpless and needy,
 The tribes that trembled before their martial pomp.

These are the rich, who covet the humble goods of the poor ;
 The wise, who with their cunning, the simple ensnare ;
 The strong, who trample the weak as weeds on the moor ;
 The great, who grudge with the small the earth to share.

But you are the valiant braves of Ho-de-no-sau-nee ;
 The tribes of the East were weaklings, with hearts of the deer ;
 Unconquered in war you are, and ever shall be,
 For your limbs are mighty—your hearts are void of fear.

Continue to listen ! these white men are liars who say
 That red men are faithless to treaty and heed not their pledge ;
 That they love but to ravage and burn, to torture and slay,
 And to ruin the towns with torch, and the hatchet's edge !

The Spirit above gave his red children these lands,
 The deer on the hills, the beaver and fowls in the ponds ;
 The bow and the hatchet and knife he placed in your hands,
 And bound your tribes together in mighty bonds.

Not for havoc and terror, the men of old
 Knitted our league of nations, so strong and great ;
 Not for bondage and fear did our fathers mould
 The laws that nourished the greatness of our State.

Their hearts were sickened to see the forest folk
 In childish warfare wasting possessions and life ;
 And so they wrought in wisdom the steady yoke
 That curbed the unruly, and ended the senseless strife.

And thus, wise order and custom ruled the lands ;
 With feasts and dances the people's hearts were rejoiced ;
 Justice was given to all from the Sachems' hands,
 And unto the world's last end their fame was voiced.

Faithful to friends, as the sky's Great Chief is true ;
 Dreadful to foes, as the spirit of evil might,
 So was their league ; therefore their glory grew ;
 The wisest in friendly council—the sternest in fight.

Continue to listen ! ye sons of buried braves,
 Who sounded, in other years, their battle cry,
 Where the Father of Rivers shuddered beneath his waves,
 And the tribes of the plains moaned faintly, *we die ! we die !*

Who drove from the fields to their drawbridged fortress, France's
 Bleeding battalions—their chieftain in horror gazed
 At night, from his tower, and saw the terrific war dances,
 Where the tortured prisoner's death-fire blazed.

Who are these farm-house curs, that foolishly rant
At you, the untameable cubs of the mountain cat ?
Who is this lawyer, that seeks on the war-path for Brant,
And struts with a new-bought sword and a general's hat ?

Why do these choppers of wood, these ox-driving toilers
Lust for the ancient homes of Ho-de-no-sau-nee ?
Why from their barnyards come these rustic despoilers ?
Shall the sweet wilderness like their vile farms e're be ?

Can the warrior become a farmer's hired clown ?
Shall he hoe like a squaw, or toss up grass on a fork ?
Will the panther churn milk in the pen of the treadmill hound ?
Or the bear wear an apron and do a scullion's work ?

Continue to listen ! ye are not fashioned for slaves !
And that these blue-eyed robbers at once shall know.
Want they your lands ?—they shall not even have graves,
Until their bodies are buried by winter's snow !

Smite them ! and smite them ! and smite them ! the wolves and the crow
Shall feast on their limbs ; their wealth shall be yours for a prey ;
Your land shall be free from the grasp of covetous foes,
Till the sun grows old and withered, and the moon is wrinkled and gray !"

III.—THE PROPHET.

You know the rest—that August afternoon,
Like August meadows were the placid skies,
Sedate and calm, an hundred years ago
With peace and musing quietness,
And mists that delicately veiled the sun ;
But on the earth two thunder clouds of battle
Rolled blackly, front to front, with angry roar,
Slow moving masses, venting vivid fires,
That met and mingled, heaved in whirlwind wrestle,
Each taking to its heart the other's lightnings.
The Indian's yell, the Tory's Saxon curse,
The soldier's cheer, the leader's sharp command,
The eager chorus of the passionate rifles,
Screaming the frantic scales of their shrill song,
The battery's dread bass, with solid undertones,
Upholding the mad symphony.
The strife was vain ! the army's steady lines
Bore with relentless pressure on the foe.
Up the steep ridges, through the creaking pines
The column moved with hard advance and slow,
Yet ever onward, through the thickening smoke.
The works were gained ; the hostile forces broke.
Then grimly moved away, in ordered flight,
The high-souled chieftain and the surly Tory.
The naked warrior and the English knight,
Undaunted, though undone—
Yea, all undone,

Between the rise and setting of one sun.
 Though but one day, it was a day of test ;
 The point adjudged, dominion of the west.
 Thus, once before, two grand ambitions clashed ;
 One rose triumphant, one to hapless wreck
 Fell, when the cause of France to earth was dashed
 And her last champion, lowering his crest,
 Found doom upon the summits of Quebec.

—An Indian Prophet, from yon mountain ledge
 Looked, as the sun, descending in the west,
 Closed the red record of that fatal day.

And saw, with gloomy eyes, beyond the edge
 Of cornfields, on the lowlands, where the trees
 Part from the river bank, a thing unblest.

A banner floated in the freshening breeze,
 —A flash of tangled colors high in air,
 Curling in sunlight like a flying snake,
 Red striped and crested as with silver stars,
 A thing alive ! that hovered with still wings
 And sportive toss of blue and crimson folds.
 The prophet uttered then the bitter wail :

“ Oh, deadly creature, wherefore comest thou ?
 Bright though thou art, and soft thy banded wing,
 Thou hidest in thy dragon jaws a sting
 To kill my race. Oh fatal, fatal flag !
 Thou hated spirit, thou, the white man's charm
 The prophet's craft hast beaten ! Endless harm
 To all the tribes thou bringest ! Thou shalt drag
 Thy serpent from across the people's land,
 And all shall wither ; the strong warrior's hand
 Shall drop the weapon, and the wise man's head
 Shall droop, naught knowing, and the League,
 That mighty tree, whose branches long have spread
 From sunrise to the forests, where the sound
 Of the great cataract goes up forever,
 Shall cast its sapless limbs upon the ground.”

* * * *

The Flag replied, from lowlands by the river :

“ Oh, prophet, cease thy chant of hard despair,
 Thy power is gone—thy curse is idle air.
 No serpent am I, nor a baneful thing ;
 Nor do I come with desolating wing.
 True, for a time, I go with fateful flight,
 For thus, at last, the stern decree is given ;
 What was, is not to be—thus heaven
 Has ordered, and I come. The blight
 Must fall ; the wilderness must wither ;
 The ancient race must disappear, and hither
 New men must come ; another tree must root,
 And grow and send its stately branches up,
 While your great tree lies prostrate at its foot,
 A crumbled trunk. Thus for time, but then,
 When hate is gone, and passion's fire is dead,
 And just compassion fills the hearts of men,
 In friendship shall the white hand meet the red,
 And over both my guardian wings shall spread.”

NOTES.

NOTE 1.—“ *On the foam of flooding rivers,*” &c.

The destroyers of Wyoming rendezvoused at the head waters of the Canisteo river, near the present village of Hornellsville, and descending that river in canoes on the June flood in 1778, passed into the Chemung, and thence entered the Susquehanna at Ta-yo-ga, (at the forks), or Tioga Point, and then floated on to Wyoming. At Ta-yo-ga, where the gathered waters of a great territory make their egress through the foot hills of the Allegheny mountains, a Cayuga chief was stationed (it is said), as the representative of the Iroquois confederacy, and Keeper of the Southern Door of the Long House.

NOTE 2.—“ *Or from that savage senate at the lake.*”

The French Jesuit Lafitau, (quoted by Parkman), describing the councillors of the confederacy at the Onondaga Castle, about two hundred years ago, pictures them as “ *sitting sur leur derriere*, crouched like apes, their knees as high as their ears, or lying, some on their bellies, some on their backs, each with a pipe in his mouth, discussing affairs of state with as much coolness and gravity, as the Spanish Junta or the Grand Council of Venice.”—Notwithstanding this uncomplimentary account of the body, as to externals, the missionary saw and acknowledged their keen political sagacity, and their native dignity. He “ *compares it to the Roman Senate in the early and rude age of the Republic, and affirms that it loses nothing by the comparison.*” (Parkman.) The scene, too, gives us the councillors in familiar discussion of public affairs. When in formal session, to receive embassies from other powers, nothing could surpass the ceremonious formality of the proceedings or the elaborate elegance of the senatorial attire.

NOTE 3.—“ *Scalp-market overt where a baronet,*” &c.

The commander here speaks the common belief of the American people of his time.—But, it is not true that the British Government or its responsible agents offered or paid bounties for American scalps. The employment of the savages by them, however, on any terms, to raid our frontier settlements, fully justifies the epithet of the line above cited. The Indians could not be restrained from making war in their own fashion, and the loyalists and renegades associated with them, carried revengeful and bitter feelings into the contest, which the mere professional soldiers could not share. In fact, the British officers at Fort Niagara, the royal head-quarters in the west, were most humane to the prisoners brought in from time to time by the Indians, and instances are recorded where at their own cost they ransomed, or by stratagem saved, captives destined for death or the gauntlet. The well known letter purporting to be written by one James Crauford, to the Canadian Governor, accompanying a schedule of assorted scalps of American soldiers, farmers, women and children, given in the appendix to Stone's Life of Brant, is a forgery.

American Indian History and American Indian Wars.

*AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT NEWTOWN, N. Y.,
AUGUST 29th, 1879.*

BY THE HON. ERASTUS BROOKS, OF RICHMOND CO., N. Y.

INTRODUCTION.

FELLOW CITIZENS :

Among our present duties and pleasures, there are none of a public kind more important, than from time to time to recall the past, and with clear eye and just judgment, to see the country as it was, the people as they were, and to place ourselves in the places of those who preceded us here and elsewhere, one hundred years ago* and from the past to trace the century onward, until we meet on common ground, as here to-day.

We are here, I trust, not so much to remember a long march to battle and to victory over a body of British Tories and Indians, as to contemplate the rise and growth of free states and a great republic, created from the hard trials, labors and sacrifices of the men of the past. The little one has become a thousand, and the small one a strong nation.

First, as in duty bound, we are to honor the memories of the brave who gave life, fortune, and all they had to the creation of a free government. Then we ought to bring out in prominent relief,—nothing extenuating and nothing boasting,—the times and principles which distinguished the occasion as well as the leading persons, friend and foe, who took part in the great struggle for independence. These may shine as stars in the firmament or prove dim from lack of lustre, but just as they are, let the light of truth shine upon them.

It so happens that the year 1779 was, in some respects, the most remarkable of the century. To the United States it was the most disastrous of the war of the Revolution. Our colonial life had practically ceased. Great events had just before culminated in the old world, and as England then, as later, had a finger in about every pie, her influence was felt in every part of the world. More than ever before, the mother country was resolved to conquer America, and the old thirteen common-wealths seemed less able than before, to dislodge armed men from the continent. France was our friend, but less our friend because she loved Liberty of America, than because she hated England, and desired to cripple English power both upon the land and upon the sea. As such enemy she entered into negotiations with Spain, and the United States with Spain also, the latter proposing that England, after peace, whenever it might come, should hold possession of Rhode Island and New York, and their sea coast; but the French government answered through her Minister, Vergennes: "We have contracted with the thirteen provinces that they shall be recognized as free and independent states, and without violating the contract, the King cannot consent."

The chief demand of the British Ministry was for complete submission; with the French it was for a limitation of territory to existing colonies, and with Spain, by negotiations with France, it was that in the colonies there should really be neither independ-

ent states nor colonies. American statesmen in that day never dreamed of territorial boundaries of one-half of the present area between the Atlantic and Pacific. Gouverneur Morris, as United States Commissioner, was ready to relinquish to Spain, the navigation of the Mississippi, and desired a law settling limits to American dominion, but asking at the same time for the possession of Canada and Nova Scotia, as part of the new government. John Jay, also as President of Congress, said : " Our empire is already too great to be well governed, and its Constitution is inconsistent with the passion of conquest."

Spain—and by force, if necessary—was for bridling the ambition of America ; and, to quiet her fears, Vergennes wrote from Paris that the people of America were not a race of conquerors, and that " They will never be anything more than a feeble body, capable of little activity ! " In the meantime, England relied upon the neutrality of Spain, and was resolved to grasp all. She would share in nothing respecting America, and so France and Spain combined to drive England from Pensacola, Mobile, the Bay of Honduras, the coast of Campeachy, and with an agreement that neither peace nor truce should come until Gibraltar should be restored to Spain—Gibraltar then suffering from a prolonged and intensified siege.

1779.—THE LAND OF THE REVOLUTION.

The year 1779 was also the year of armed neutrality of the Northern powers, and the year when 100,000 Irish volunteers assembled to improve the opportunity of existing depression in England, to secure, if they could, independence for Ireland, just as we now hear the self-same and earnest cry for home rule in Ireland. The naval victories off Cape Vincent and the West Indies changed all these bright expectations, and resulted abroad in the final treaties of peace at Paris and Versailles.

At home the year 1779 commenced the fifth year of the Revolution, and everywhere, from Canada to Florida, unmixed gloom pervaded the land. St. Augustine was held by the British. Georgia fell into the hands of the enemy, and a British colony was proclaimed there in the midst of the war. Moultrie was driven from Black Swamp into Charleston, which was saved, but for the time only, by the bravery of General Lincoln and Governor Rutledge. Virginia was ravaged ; Portsmouth and Gosport, Norfolk and Suffolk, burned to ashes, just as later on in the same year the infamous Governor Tryon, sent by Sir Henry Clinton, laid waste Connecticut, with orders to pillage and burn, as he did, Greenwich, Norwalk, Fairfield, and the shipping of New Haven. Here it was not only fire, sword and plunder, but the worst of all crimes, even in war, the unbridled license of town and camp, so that fleeing women were often frantic from the dread of personal brutality. But the only effect of this destruction of seaport towns and plantations was to cement the union of the people and to inspire them with fresh zeal for independence.

The contest was now chiefly at the south, but from thence, Sir Henry Clinton called back his dogs of war, intent upon the double purpose of cutting off all communication between North and South, and building a line of posts from New York to Canada. On the 1st of June, by sheer strength of numbers, he forced his way into the forts of Verplanck and Stony Point, but in just six weeks, or on the 15th of July, Stony Point, though bounded on two points by the river, protected by swamps and overflows, with double rows of abattis and palisades, and guarded, too, by six hundred picked men, was in possession of the so-called Mad Anthony Wayne, chosen by Washington as the fittest man in the army for an enterprise which required not only genius and skill, but prudence and pluck. He had climbed the highest hills, forced his way through resisting forests, narrow and rugged defiles, and after fourteen miles of hot summer's travel found himself with 1,200 men, within one mile of the fort, where the tide was up, the morass deep, and where to any but the most intrepid of men a further advance seemed impossible. In watches, as silent as the night, and as if angels alone were witnesses of the scene, with not a musket loaded, but with every bayonet fixed for the charge, Wayne led the way through swamp and morass, up the long steep. He had been asked by Washington, just before, if he were willing to undertake this desperate enterprise, and his answer was one which only

Mad Anthony possibly could have made : " General, I will storm h—ll, if you will plan the attack." Wayne knew no such word as fail.

You know the rest of the story. The leader fell shot in the head, while scaling the fort—but like Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham, before Quebec, his cry was, " On to the fort—I will die at the head of column." Happily for Wayne—but not for Wolfe—death did not follow.

This was only one of the three or four successful events of 1779. Later on came the storming of Savannah, where five hundred Americans and French, led by Lincoln and D'Estaing, found a soldier's grave. Here fell, too, the noble Pulaski, mortally wounded. Here died the gallant Jasper, holding in his death-grasp the flag presented to his men for their bravery at Charleston, and here the column led by Lawrence was literally hewn to pieces.

It was in the year 1779, also, that Parliament voted 120,000 men and fifty millions of dollars to prosecute the war against the Colonies, and before the close of the year Sir Henry Clinton sailed with 7,000 men from New York to force the surrender of Charleston, a surrender which soon followed, with the loss of the whole army of Lincoln, 400 pieces of artillery, and which the next year led to the victories of Cornwallis and Rawdon at Camden. No wonder Sir Henry Clinton now wrote home, " South Carolina is English again."

Another, and one of the saddest incidents of the year 1779 was the failure of the expedition from Boston (composed of 3,000 troops, nineteen vessels, ten of them ships), to drive the British from Castine, in Maine, then a part of the territory of Massachusetts. It began in great but quiet preparation, moved on with large expectation and much boasting, and finally ended in utter defeat from a much inferior force, the cause being jealousy and incapacity between the two branches of service, and the finality, a mutiny ending in great loss of life. Those who were saved upon the land retreated through the wilderness from the Penobscot to the Kennebec ; and these owed their lives and safety to a band of faithful Indians. Neither Washington nor Gates, nor the General Assembly of the Colonies counseled this expedition, the end of which gave intense delight and hope to the enemy. Two weeks later came the battle of Newtown, the victory over the British Tories and Indians, and this in turn sounded upon the public ear, like good news from a far country.

The finances of the country during the year 1779, were, if possible, more hopeless than its military campaign. It took \$100 in paper to secure three dollars in specie, and one of the skillful artifices of the British, to whom counterfeiting was now no crime, was to print millions of these American bills in London, and circulate them all through the Colonies.

Upon the sea alone, with one solitary exception, appeared even a sign of dawning light. On the sea just in sight of land, Paul Jones fought and overcame two frigates, the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, lashing ship to ship, muzzle to muzzle, and almost man to man. This one exception was the Sullivan campaign, celebrated here to-day and which for a time broke the chain that seemed to hold the British and Indians in an inseparable union.

As, in the Gospel, where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty ; so in history, where the spirit of truth is, there must be perfect freedom of expression ; and so—passing by the fact, that some eleven years after the battle of Newtown the land of what is now Elmira city, was sold to Irish settlers for eighteen pence, as New York city was for a few shillings, the old council-tree being in your case the place of the contract, and Timothy Pickering the United States Commissioner, and Augustus Maxwell his secretary, with Red Jacket, French Peter, Big Tree, and others acting for the Indians—I come to subjects more appropriate to this day and these historical grounds.

July 3d and 5th, 1778, the days of the massacre at Wyoming, and August 29, 1779, the day which was the beginning of the end of Indian rule in the colony of New York, also a day of havoc and slaughter, are among the memorable events in the history of the last century. The first witnessed, perhaps, the most bloody massacre of the century, and the second hinged upon the first in the abandonment of all that had been peaceful and

hopeful between the white settlers and the natives. If the Indians in the fair valley of Wyoming killed all those who sought protection in "The Forty Fort," as it was called (in memory of the number who fled there for safety), sparing neither sex nor age, (Queen Esther, a half-breed, alone tomahawking fourteen persons in revenge for her one son killed), it must be remembered that they were in part, at least, and chiefly, I think, inspired by the small army of Tories and British, led by Colonel John Butler, of long enduring notoriety. As the youth who fired the Ephesian dome, will live for all time as the destroyer of that world-famed temple, so at least one of the English Butlers will live, as long as there is a settlement in this part of America to tell of the bloody work inspired by his ferocity.

WASHINGTON WITH BRADDOCK.

Why the Indians all through the war of the Revolution, and long before, with rare exceptions, were more loyal to the English than to Americans, I will not now pause to consider. Montcalm, who fell at Quebec, the truest, manliest and best of his then countrymen, not many years before the battle here, was successful in attaching the bulk of the Indian tribes, from Canada to the Mississippi, alike to himself, his army, and his people, scattering like chaff before the wind the British under Braddock, on the Monongahela, where Washington, by his masterly retreat, saved the remnant of the British army, after two horses had been shot under him and four bullets passed through his coat. An Indian chief declared, fifteen years after the battle, that he had fired his rifle fifteen times at him during the battle. Well did Washington say in a letter to his brother: "By the all-powerful dispensation of Providence, I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation, * * * although death was leveling my companions on every side." It is enough for my purpose to say, that during the greater part of the war, the Indians were most effective allies of the invading enemy. They knew every by-path, clearing, and water-course of the wilderness. They were brave, crafty, enduring, generally faithful to each other, patient and revengeful; and while no one will question the good intentions of those who in Congress pressed the order of retaliation for what had been done at Wyoming, I must think that the greatest enemies of all, were the white men who first fired the hearts of the Indians to take the lives of their American brethren. If I am not wrong, also, the work of vengeance in 1779 was greatly overdone. The consequences of the Indian campaign of that year have, it is held, been visited upon the people of the present generation. After the battle of Newtown, the axe and the torch destroyed the now as then, beautiful Genesee Valley. Not a blade of corn in all the extended orchards, not a dwelling in all the habitations of the Six Nations were spared. Everywhere on the line of march, there was waste and devastation in the worst forms of war.

INDIAN MODES OF WARFARE.

Nathan Davis, as one of the soldiers under General Sullivan, wrote of the campaign that, after firing every house and cabin in town, "The sight of so many buildings on fire, the murky clouds of black smoke, and the curling pillars bristling through them formed an awful and sublime spectacle," and this same Nathan Davis, pricked in his conscience and his manhood, adds to these words this record, as a possible vindication for a work performed with no seeming regard of ultimate consequences: "When we reflected on the inhuman barbarity they had inflicted on our people, the scalps that we had seen hanging around their wigwams, from the aged parent of gray hairs down to the helpless infant, we could but feel justified in the act, whilst we lamented the dreadful necessity that impelled us to it."

Cruel indeed have been the excesses of Indian warfare, and far worse in Massachusetts and Virginia than at Wyoming; but in this campaign of 1779, the Indians spared the lives of Lieutenant Boyd and his sergeant (of a party of twenty or more seeking Indian life and homes), and the two were saved, we are told, because Brandt, the Indian, and Boyd,

the American, were Masons, whilst the Loyalist Butler, at a later hour, calmly looked on and beheld Lieutenant Boyd and his sergeant stripped and whipped, and in the case of Boyd, "His nose cut off, his tongue cut out, his toe-nails drawn from their sockets, one of his eyes plucked out, his breast cut open, and his heart taken out and placed in his right hand."*

Thomas Grant, another of General Sullivan's party, tells us of barbarities on the other side, and how and where on the battle-ground the Indians left twelve of their number dead, and that these twelve "were scalped" (scalped), and later on how "that poor Boyd and his sergeant had their heads cut off, their bodies skinned, their toe-nails pulled off," and he adds, "in short, it was the most shocking sight my eyes ever saw."

I have been slow to believe that the white race ever engaged in the useless and torturing work of scalping their enemies, but the evidence is too complete to doubt the fact. Men of war when the blood is hot and the passions revengeful, are capable of any cruelty, and especially is this true if there is the excuse of retaliation. It is then races and nations, almost regardless of civilization, thirst for blood. One may forgive, when all provocations are considered, the forty Indian towns destroyed one hundred years ago in the Genesee Valley, and the one hundred and twenty-eight houses burned in these towns, most of them as we read, "large and elegant," and we can well believe, with old Nathan Davis, that it was an awful spectacle to see every dwelling, cabin, blade of corn, and tree bearing fruit on fire, and the black smoke ascending, like the torments of hell, from the regions of the damned, but to regions, let us hope, where the wrath of man may, by repentance, be turned into praises to Almighty God.

The settlers who preceded General Sullivan's march, no doubt suffered great provocations, and those who took part in his campaign also endured great sufferings. We are told the men were often hungry; that they had no meat, little flour or salt, and that they lived on boiled or roasted corn, and every fourth man was obliged to sit up all night and grate corn, which made a sort of hominy. This was mixed with boiled squash or pumpkin, and formed a wholesome, if not tempting, repast. General Sullivan describes the fields of corn he met with as of immense size, and some of the ears were twenty-two inches in length. We rarely think of the millions upon millions of bushels of corn grown in the United States as almost entirely an American, and originally a purely Indian, culture. It really thrives nowhere north of the basin of the Mediterranean, and, for lack of our long summer days, nowhere in the British Islands.

Of the tribes known as "The Six Nations," Big Tree was the capital. The grand council-house was built of peeled logs, two stories high, with gable ends painted red; the dwellings giving the appearance of both thrift and comfort. One hundred and twenty-two of these cabins, all well provisioned, were in an hour swept off by the torch. The bloody record at Wyoming, some fourteen months before, was the impelling motive for the greater desolation of 1779, greater almost in every way except in the taking of human lives.

The red men of this State, and of that day,—if I at all understand the Indian race of the past one hundred years and more,—were in great advance of their contemporaries anywhere else in the land. How they would compare with the Indian races under Cortez, I am not prepared to say. De Witt Clinton, in an address before the New York Historical Society sixty-eight years ago, said of the Six Nations that "They were a peculiar and extraordinary people, contra-distinguished from the mass of Indian nations by great attainments in polity, by negotiations, in eloquence, and in war."

In an address at the opening of the new Capitol in February last, I took occasion to say, and now I repeat, that "No Indian treaty or agreement was ever broken while the Dutch held power in New York. The Indians had no quarrel with the English of their day, though all possible causes of disagreement, which might have made them enemies. The Americans were seeking the very independence which, in perfect freedom, the intelli-

* In all this world's history, I hope there is no excess, if, indeed, any parallel to, this piece of barbarity, but just as it is, with all its monstrosity, an English officer is in part, if not wholly, responsible.

gent men of the Indian race desired. They had lived not only peaceably but profitably with the early Dutch settlers, with whom they were in constant intercourse at Albany and Schenectady and elsewhere. They had had little or no trouble with the Apostle Elliot and Daniel Gookin in Massachusetts, with Roger Williams in Rhode Island, with Lord Baltimore in Maryland, with John Smith or Robert Berry in Virginia. Such men could have kept the peace without sacrifice of principle through all time.

THE SIX NATIONS.

The Six Nations, indeed, seemed to possess most of the nobler qualities of the older Peruvian and Mexican Indians, but without their wealth, refinement and skill in works of thrift and art. They were brave, manly, and, with proper considerations, reasonably amicable and faithful, and they were free from the idolatry of the Aztecs and Peruvians. As late as 1792, the Chief Corn Planter, referring to the desolations of 1779, made this brief and eloquent address to President Washington in person :

" Father, the voice of the nation speaks to you, the great counselor, in whose heart the wise men of the thirteen fires have placed their wisdom. It may be very small in your ears, and we therefore entreat you to hearken with attention, for we are about to speak to you, of things which to us are very great. When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you the Town-Destroyer ; and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the sides of their mothers. Our counselors and warriors are men, and cannot be afraid ; but their hearts are grieved with fear for their women and children, and desire the past may be buried so deep as to be heard no more."

It was 800 Senecas and 400 British, chiefly Tories, who committed the frightful massacre at Wyoming ; but the expedition of Gen. Sullivan was practically against the whole confederacy of Senecas, Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, and Onondagas, though the Oneidas and Onondagas took no part in the campaign of Brandt and the Johnsons, and some sixty of the Onondagas were in the field on the American side. Burning villages and destroying crops was the one great purpose of the campaign of 1779, and General Sullivan must have done his work thoroughly when forty villages were destroyed, five of them very large, known as Catharinestown, Kanadesaga, (the present Geneva), Canandai-gua, Honeoye, and Geneseo, the last being the capital of the western tribe of the confederacy.

I leave it to the careful historians of the day—for General Sullivan's patriotism and bravery no one will question—to answer the query : Why, the chief of the campaign of 1779, paused at Wyoming from the month of May—the time he was ordered to move with two regiments to the Indian country—after commanding his subordinate, General James Clinton, on the 2d of June, to go down the Susquehanna ; and, also, why Clinton had to wait from the 1st of July to the 9th of August before receiving orders to march.

It was the 22d of August before the two divisions met, and then the work became rapid enough ; but the long delay—each movement being known to the Indians—gave the enemy every possible advantage of combination and position. In the battle, it was about 5,000 Americans against 1,000 of the picked warriors of Brandt and 500 selected British and Tory soldiers, and of course the result could not long be doubtful.

THE BATTLE AT NEWTOWN, AND WHAT FOLLOWED IT.

The story of the battle of Newtown is, or will be made, familiar with every one here to-day. With all the odds against them, the enemy held their advantage the best part of a summer's day. Brant was in command of the Indian forces, and his inspiring voice could be heard above the din of arms. Though assisted by the Johnsons—Sir John and Sir Guy—by the two Butlers and by MacDonald, the last in special command of the Tories, he was the real master of the enemy, whose breastworks and intrenchments extended for half a mile, while their chosen field was in a heavily wooded country. But in numbers the future was all on the side of the Americans. The enemy was in due time out-

flanked, and this was the first advantage gained ; and the second was the stand taken when Brant and the rest of his men formed at the so-called " Narrows " near by, with no better success than at the first resistance. All was now lost, British Tory and Indian alike, made their way to their accustomed haunts at Niagara, whence originated nearly all the frontier expeditions.

Niagara was one of the strong points which Washington most desired to possess, and one of his three points of attack ; and why the enemy were not pursued thither was the unfortunate fact of the campaign, the great complaint of Congress, and is still one of the problems of the day, which others may solve if they can. The march to the Genesee Valley had been over 280 miles, by a roadway which had to be cut through the wilderness, from the Delaware at Stroudsburg to the Susquehanna at Wyoming ; while the distance was a shorter one from the Genesee Valley to Canada, and the road more familiar than the one already traveled, to gain a battle which had been won, and which ought also to have proved the prestige of still further success. Equally mysterious was Gen. Sullivan's order to destroy the homes and make prisoners of the Mohawks at Johnson Castle. They were, and had been, neutral in war, peaceable as neighbors, and had openly refused all appeal to follow the warriors of their own tribe into Canada. General Sullivan, however, held that they were giving information to the enemy, but it was assertion without proof. We know that war is merciless, and that a good soldier will check treason in the bud, or before it can blossom into flower. But we know, also, some of the qualities of a wise forecast in the use of the expedients known, mercy with justice, and that more is often lost by false suspicions and personal wrongs than can be gained by unjust assumptions and harsh treatment. This was the real effect, of the order to arrest the Mohawks and to destroy their homes.

Excepting in the use of telegraph and steam, nothing has ever equaled the Indian celerity of motion in communicating one with another. They snuffed danger afar off, and when equal to their foes, met it on the threshold. To their credit, be it said, neither the Six Nations, nor, as I believe, any of the Indian race, ever destroyed the growing crops, gardens or fruit trees. By inheritance, or otherwise, they had heard or remembered that Moses forbade the destruction of all meat-bearing trees, and perhaps, also, in some mysterious way, of the law of the Koran, still observed by the Turks, if not by Christians, that no palm tree or fruit tree should be cut down or destroyed, no field of corn burned, nor any mischief done to cattle—" Only may you kill to eat." Upon a more delicate subject even, on this very Sullivan Expedition, James Clinton, the brother of the Governor, in April, 1779, wrote to Colonel Van Schaick, then leading the troops against the Onondagas : " Bad as the savages are, they never violate the chastity of any woman, their prisoners." And after a timely and forcible admonition he adds : " It would be well to take measures to prevent a stain upon our army."

COMPARATIVE CRUELTY OF THE RACES.

The Indians have some qualities, for which the world gives them little or know credit, Their women, in keeping secrets and in being close-mouthed, excel all the other women of the world. Rubens nor Titian could hardly equal them in the skill of coloring their robes, belts of wampum, or birch boxes in red, blue or yellow. They used quills of porcupines as their pencils, and selected for their colors the leaves and blossoms of plants, and chiefly the forest sumac and the juice of berries. They were skilled in strategy also, as when they placed the lighted torches upon the tips of their arrows and shot them into the stockades and block-houses of their enemies. In disguises and ambush, in subtlety and persistence, in hiding in the brush, in the hollow logs, in clumps of trees, behind the rocks and beneath the grass, they were equally expert, whether in hunting men or bears, wolves or raccoons. They spared the white man's cattle at times, but with the purpose of entrapping the owner in ambush in order to hold him as a hostage, if not in revenge to kill him upon the spot. A hundred and seventy-two years before Gen. Sullivan, Captain John Smith painted a party of sixty of these Susquehatnock Indians in most graphic colors,

as men of huge shapes, strange costumes, seeming like giants to the English, yet of simple minds, and honest purposes. Their voices came as from the vaults of earth. Their dresses were the skins of wolves and bears. One wore the head of a wolf dangling by a chain as if it were a jewel, with a tobacco pipe three-quarters of a yard long. Others carried clubs, bows and arrows. The calf of the leg of the greatest, says this artist, who was the first to write from America, was three-quarters of a yard about, the rest of his limbs in proportion, so that "He seemed the goodliest man we ever saw." No wonder these people were looked upon in England and here, as mysterious beings, and that the cry on both continents was: "Who are they?" "What are they?" "Whence did they come, and when did they come?" "Are they indeed descendants from Adam?" and "Have they souls which can be reached by Christian men?"

While it is proper to celebrate the anniversaries of our recently restored national life, and especially our centennial anniversaries—and doubly so the great transactions which took place in our own colonial history—we have to recall the fact again, that the year of our Lord, 1779, was, all in all, the most unfortunate of all the years between 1775 and 1783. The condition of New York at the opening of the year 1779, was sad indeed. It was a year of war with about all of the Indian race elsewhere, as well as the Six Nations, then the bravest and most capable of their race in North America. The thirteen united colonies, in time to become thirteen inter-independent and yet independent states, were then incensed by the fact that the American Indians were the allies of the British. They were enraged also by the memories of Wyoming, and they were alarmed by the successful aggressions of Indians and British and Hessians and Tories. They beheld west of the Hudson, only abandoned homes, and so resolved, in their turn, upon just such a war of extermination as took place in New England under King Phillip, and in Virginia, a few years after the death of Powhatan. In story and song, you hear to-day upon the battlefield the general record of the hundred years ago, but the consequences of the events of that year, the most ruthless of all the war, have been, in the judgment of thoughtful men, apparent almost every year since the Continental Congress directed, in so many words, the Commander-in-Chief "To carry the war into the country of the Six Nations, cut off their settlements, destroy the next year's crops, and do them every other mischief which time and circumstances will permit."

General Gates, to whom these orders were given, declining to accept the command, for reasons not stated, but probably because the service was not congenial to him, and the command was committed to General Sullivan, who, it is said, accepted the order with alacrity, and who, beyond all dispute, performed his part of it with a vigor and success that the Indian race will never forget. Just as the continued oppressions of King George and the British parliament added fuel to the fire of hatred through all the American colonies, just as the mission of vengeance always inspires retaliation, never resting short of the Hebrew judgment of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, just as, in the orders of Providence, there is rarely any escape for our mistakes, and much less for our bad intentions, so the Indians never forgave, and have never forgotten, the act of Congress of 1779, or the effect of that act upon the bravest and wisest of all the North American Indians. It is due to the patriotism, the intelligence, the humanity, and therefore, to the memory of Washington, to say that the orders received by him as Commander-in-Chief, and transmitted by him first to General Gates and then to General Sullivan, did not originate with him, and never had his hearty approval.

THIS BATTLE WON NO LASTING VICTORY.

The battle of Newtown was beyond question, for the time and for the year, a victory over the Indians. It was followed, as we have seen, by the destruction of all their homes, all their crops, all their possessions. It changed cultivated fields, ripe for the harvest, into the desolations of the three furies—ferocity, fire and famine. Not a cabin, not a roof, from the Genesee Valley to the Susquehanna, was left for those who had proved capable

of friendship with the early settlers from Holland and with the later English visitors, with the Johnsons. In a few days fifteen hundred peach trees, burdened with their luscious fruit, all the fields prepared for forage, and a hundred and fifty thousand bushels of wheat, were destroyed. As in the memorable seventeen years' German war, it could be said, the very seed-corn was consumed, but there the consumption was for needed food. Here it was willful waste, and chiefly to starve, not only men but hungry women and children. The invaders found what the prophet Joel found in olden time when the locusts devoured the land. The Garden of Eden was before them, but behind them they left only a wilderness. Reaction came in time. Reaction, indeed, always comes, but it came only too speedily. Now the torch and the scalping-knife followed in quick and terrible retributions! Fearful was the retaliation in 1779-'80-'81-'82, and on, until the war closed; and, since then, at Fort Wayne, St. Joseph, Miami, on to the everglades of Florida, St. Clair, Dade's, and the massacre and slaughter of Custer and the brave men who followed him into the very jaws of death! The Indians lost, as I have said, forty towns and two hundred cabins in the Sullivan Campaign. The whites lost as many dwellings, besides 150,000 bushels of grain, their forage and fruit, and many lives. The Indians were not conquered in 1779. They are not conquered in 1879. And the sword alone, will never be their master.

Comparing race with race, no cruelty of the red man has ever equalled the march and deeds of Pizarro and Cortez, nor the crimes of some of their successors. The Indians of their day took life, and made human sacrifices; but the pale-faces have improved upon all this, and it is no fiction to say that the trio of partners—Indian agents, contractors, and avarice—have caused more crimes and bloodshed than any triumvirate the world has ever seen. Aztecs and Peruvians adored the sun, but the Spaniards, in the name of Christ and under the banner of the cross, stole all they could carry away, and spared neither age nor sex in the murder of the innocents. They found in Mexico, great wealth, walled cities, palaces, sumptuous homes, arts and arms, agriculture, mines and manufactures, and an Emperor who was an honored ruler of his people. Such were the Aztec race. A few years later, Pizarro came with fire and sword among the Incas of Peru, and Aymaras, the last a people subjugated two or three centuries before by the Incas themselves. There, too, was found wealth, power, numbers, and a remarkable civilization. Like the former, these also were conquered by the Spaniards, as were the Moors—once Masters, but in time a subservient race.

Such, indeed, seems to be the fate of all races. The stronger in arms, the superior in skill, the wiser in craft, rule the simpler in life, the truer in nature, and, may we not say, the better of their fellow-men. The untutored mind which had never heard of God, nor of the Saviour of the world, whose eyes were blinded by the glories of the sun, and whose ears listened at times to the gentlest whisperings of the breeze, and at other times to the rushing of the mighty winds, could well believe that the god of day was the symbol of God Almighty, and the noise of the mountains, the rivers, and the plains, the thunder and the lightning, the voice of the great Spirit. As far as the heavens are from the earth, so far is civilization from Christianity, when the so-called wise, and great, and good, ensnare the trusting, deceive the ignorant with promises made only to be broken, and by performances which end either in the destruction of human life, or in the absence of all that gives virtue and grace to the Christian name. The believers in the inquisition, were the so-called teachers and benefactors of the Indians west of the Mississippi, while east of that majestic river they were chiefly, I am sorry to say, either the pale-faced Pilgrims who fled from England and Holland to escape religious persecution, or those higher-toned enterprising knights and cavaliers who pinned their faith to the voluptuous court of King Charles.

INDIAN PRECEDENTS TO SULLIVAN'S MARCH AND BATTLE.

Thirty-four years before the battle of Newtown, when the French and Indians were in arms, and the earliest English settlers were the victims of Indian warfare and the Narragansetts and Penobscots continued to drive the English from their homes in Maine, Eliz-

abeth McLellan, of Maine, a woman of rare courage, affection and piety, who practiced what she taught, and whose husband was also brave, humane and manly, the two acting as one, and as those whom God had joined together for an eternal union, gave this utterance of her own experience, and in the midst of many hostile Indians :

"I don't blame the Indians for defending their property. It's my opinion they have had bad usage. We never make a treaty with them but to break it. We never agree with them upon a line, but we are the first to step over it. We tread on them, and when they turn on us we call them wolves."

These words were spoken 134 years ago, and they are as appropriate now as they were in 1745. What was true of Maine on the Saco, was no doubt true on the Delaware and Susquehanna. The havoc in the forests did not please the red men. As the trees disappeared, they were wont to say even to the most friendly white settlers : "White men cut much trees ; much trees, much bear ; no trees, no bear, no moose, Indian starve." And then with sullen silence they wrapped their blankets about them and disappeared to brood over a change of country and people, which in no way improved their condition.

The Sullivan Campaign, while it was child's play compared with what had gone before—the Pequot war or the King Phillip war, for example—served, as I have said, to intensify the Indian's hatred of the white race. The settlements in Virginia, New England and New York, all first commenced in the shedding of Indian blood. It was guns and gunpowder against bows and arrows, and of course the Indian went to the wall. The Pequots fought for their homes in 1637, and this was their final fate at Fort Mystic, and Captain John Mason, the hero of that flight, tells us, as the historian, how at daybreak the work was done ; that sword and musket did their work too slowly. "We must burn them," said the captain, and immediately brought out a fire brand and put it into the mats with which they were covered and set the wigwams on fire. The Indians were as men dreadfully amazed. "And, indeed, such a dreadful terror did the Almighty let fall upon their spirits that they would fly from us and rush into the very flames." And this historian adds, with a true English glee, that all who were not burned perished by the sword, and that in the space of an hour, six or seven hundred were killed, seven received as captives, and only seven escaped. The Lord being duly thanked by what has been called "A David chant of exultation to Jehovah," the Mystic fight put an end for all time to the Pequots.

In King Phillip's war, the slaughter was greater, but not so rapid. Phillip was the son of the Massasoit who had welcomed the Pilgrims of the New World, and opened his cabin in Rhode Island to shelter Roger Williams. Our English ancestors then, as later, had not only crowded the red men into a narrow space, but made them believe that their best abodes were in certain tongues of land, where they could be best watched and controlled, and soon, with their fields gone and their fisheries seized, they were compelled to choose between being driven into the sea and the wilderness, or war. War came. Brookfield, Deerfield and Springfield were burned. Then came the terrible retaliation at Kingston, upon a cold December day, where Indian women and children perished by fire, where hundreds were taken prisoners, and a thousand of King Philip's men of war were killed or wounded. But the end was not yet, and the next year the Indians glutted their vengeance over three hundred miles of settled territory. Providence, Warwick, Medfield, Lancaster, Weymouth, Marlboro and Groton all were laid in ashes. Then too, came the national cry for extermination, and soon from 2,000 to 3,000 more of the Indians were made to bite the dust. Philip was pursued to Mount Hope, the home of his fathers, where his wife and sons were made prisoners, and as they were led away he cried out in his agony of soul, "My heart breaks. I am ready to die." A traitor of his own tribe shot him dead, when Captain Church struck off his head and exclaimed, as he bore off the trophy, with entire truth : "This ends the King Phillip war."

But, let me for a moment, go back more than one hundred years earlier than this, and take a retrospect of what was then attempted in connection with the Indians. I see in 1631, two men among the most remarkable in the early history of New England and of America, each of them a century ahead of their time—the one, the Rev. John Eliot, later engaged in Apostolic labors among the Indians, and the other Roger Williams, who held

a faith, fiercely opposed in that day, which held that "The power of the civil magistrates extends only to the bodies, goods, and outward states of men," and not to conscience. He had lodged with the Indians in their filthy, smoky holes, we read, "To gain their tongue." "My soul's desire," he wrote, "Was to do them good;" and so he preached to them in their own language, and translated it into English for the benefit of others. He knew, as did Eliot, that it was possible to live peaceably with the Indian tribes. He had made converts of them, and so he writes to the Governor of Massachusetts: "Some of the chiefs of Connecticut * * * * are almost adverse from killing women and children. Mercy outshines all the works and attributes of Him who is the Father of Mercies." In that day the white Christians made slaves of the Pequots, and he prays that the English slave-holders may so treat their captives as to "Make mercy eminent," "As the Most High delights in mercy, and great revenge hath been already taken." Most certainly, yes, if the killing of six hundred warriors and people in one day, is revenge enough. One of the four charges against Williams was, that he did not believe that the white race should help themselves to the lands of the red man, and that the King of England could not give away what did not belong to him.

PLEASANT TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS.

We often hear from Washington and beyond the Mississippi of the extinguishment of Indian titles, and of the performances of Indian agents and Government contractors, but we too often forget—wholly apart from the wrongs of these classes—that the extinguishment of Indian titles or reservations of the lands set apart by the government, means the loss of the long-loved, long-possessed home and hunting grounds of a family and tribe whose ancestors occupied the same lands, fished in the same streams, and were buried in the same soil, and with the final happy land in view. "We bought and paid for our land and property," said the Elizabeth McLellan I have quoted, "And we would defend it; but I would be willing to buy it over again if I could have the names of the Indians that owned it at the bottom of the title deed."

If any of us were to change places with the Indians, who can doubt that we would resist each and every attempt, either by treaty, contract, or force, to drive us from our own and the land of our fathers.

Recently two hundred Cheyenne warriors prayed to their "Great Father," the President of the United States, for permission to return to their old homes. Their prayer was not granted, but recently also, I believe, a United States Judge in Omaha has decided in behalf of the Ponca Indians—among the most deserving and unfortunate of their race—that Indians have the same rights as the white people, to go where they please and reside where they please, if they obey the laws, and that there is no rightful authority to remove them against their will.

For one, I pray that the United States Supreme Court, as the highest court of the land, may confirm this most righteous judgment. If from China and Japan in the east, to the European of every clime and land, our doors are wide open for settlement, who are they who, on moral or other grounds, will close their doors to the native American race of Indians? If need be, in a case like this, may not one appeal, from the government to the people?

CONCLUSIONS.

History to-day and here, bids us remember the fact that following Gen. Sullivan's victory at Newtown, came Gen. Sullivan's resignation to Congress, which was accepted by that body almost as soon as it was tendered, or on the 30th of November, 1779—three months after the battle. It was asked for on grounds of physical indisposition. It was granted on the ground, I think, of double disappointment, first, in the results of the campaign, and, secondly, in the chief of the command. General Sullivan found, as I have said, a paradise of beauty all through the September days of 1779, and changed the abounding

harvest, and the richly-laden fruit trees of the waiting orchards, into a wilderness. In fields of plenty he sowed dragons' teeth, which literally sprung forth armed men. "The Indians shall see," said General Sullivan in his report to Congress, "That there is malice enough in our hearts to destroy everything that contributes to their support." And this, in one sentence, tells the whole story of the campaign. This day, and the occasion of it, also suggests some reflections, which I hope will be received without the censure of those who hear me :

First. The massacres of Wyoming, while they were amply avenged, produced increased, if not inextinguishable, exasperations on the part of the Indians, and renewed atrocities on the part of the Tories, who, to the shame of their King and the dishonor of his chiefs, did not hesitate to pay for the use of the scalping-knife, even to the extent of offering a large premium for every American scalp. They forgot that not many years before, in the French and Indian wars, at times \$100 and \$150 were paid for English scalps.

Secondly. The Indians, it has been said, and with truth, I think, received one hundred years ago, kindness from the English, favors from the French and prejudices and war from the Americans. The qualities of the Indians who were engaged in war in the colony of New York, were intense energy, uncommon reflection, strong feeling, wonderful endurance and perseverance, but with an absence of all that is social, and the presence of about every thing which indicated hatred and revenge, and all this was generally mingled with a marvelous apathy unless provoked to retaliation. This, however, is the natural type of the Indian, whether in war or peace.

Third. In legislation, blunders are crimes, and the act of Congress of February 25th, 1779, proves, I think, that the highest statesmanship is, even in war, not vengeance nor retaliation, but rather foresight and skill, whether in the use of the pen or the sword. Let us hope, indeed, that in good hands the pen, especially when it subscribes to solemn treaties, may oftener than it does, prove mightier than the sword, and that the tongue is not of necessity an unruly member. England would have found this true of both in 1775 and in 1779, had she heeded the advice of Chatham, Fox and Burke, rather than the temper of King George, Lord Grenville, and Lord North. It was too late, when she gave up the principle of taxation without representation, and it was also too late, when Chatham hobbled to the House of Commons on crutches, where his whole soul seemed to speak, when in one breath he said, "My Lords, you cannot conquer America," and his whole heart also spoke, when the patriot plead, that there should be no separation of the mother country from her colonies in America. No American I think, will ever forget Lord Chatham's startling reply to Lord Suffolk in November, 1777, when the latter ventured to defend the necessity, policy, and principle of using "All the means that God and nature had put into British hands by the employment of the Indians" for crushing America. One or two sentences, I must quote :

"My Lords—I cannot repress my indignation. I feel myself impelled by every duty.

* * My Lords, we are called upon as members of this House, as men, as Christian men, to protest against such notions. * * I know not what ideas that Lords may entertain of God and nature, but I know that such abominable principles are abhorrent to religion and humanity. What ! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife, to the cannibal savage torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating, literally eating, my Lords, the mangled victims of his barbarous battles. Such horrible notions shock every prospect of religion, divine or natural, and every generous feeling of humanity. And, my Lords, they shock every sentiment of honor ; they shock me as a lover of honorable war and a detester of murderous barbarity."

And yet an appeal like this, received but twenty-four votes to ninety-seven for the Crown and for continued Indian warfare. The voice of Chatham fell upon ears as dull and a heart as hard, as when Moses plead in vain with Pharoah, to let the children depart from Egypt into the promised land.

Fourth. If it is a reasonable conclusion that there were great or even small mistakes made in the year 1779, or in any year before or since, is it not the highest duty to confess and correct the error, and admitting that the world may grow in morals and manners, as

it has grown in accumulation, science and truth, to make, as far as possible, the future wiser than the past ; in this way alone can history be to us philosophy, teaching by the examples of the past ? Herodotus, the first of our civil historians, was also the first to reveal to us, that the *Historia* or *Istorie* of the Greeks, was *an inquiry into the past*. May we not also inquire, if there be not some way better than the old, for substituting right for wrong, and peace for war.

Fifth. Our Fourth of July orators, wisely enough, no doubt, dwell chiefly upon the revolution of the past century, and our Decoration Day orators upon the strange and eventful causes and incidents of the civil war. Surely it is wise upon occasions like the present to consider less the glories and failures of the past, and to compass and solve, if we can, the problems which forewarn us of the future ; let us, as Americans, answer these questions :

To what end were all the Indian wars, French, Canadian, English, prior to and in the war of the Revolution ? To what end the war of Independence ? The war of 1812-'15 the free ships and sailors' rights, and which, in their best intent, meant as well the absolute right of man to himself and to his country, whether upon the land or upon the sea ; and, still later, that civil war, born of concentrated sectional hate and bitterness, which cost the nation at least, all in all, a million of lives from death, wounds and disease, and ten thousand millions of dollars in money, yet with a Union preserved by decent affection and justice to one another, which was worth it all ? Wise is the man, truest to himself, to posterity, and to mankind, who remembers, that as all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction, so all history should be interpreted, as the Providence of God meant it should be, for the correction and improvement of mankind all over the world, but especially to the people of the United States, to whom almost every year in the future, will now bring some national or State centennial birthday or memorial, like the present.

Sixth. When we think or speak of war, even when we commemorate our victories of to-day, let us remember what war means. It is not alone the first cost, nor all that belongs to mutual support and strong affections ; nor alone the second cost of material waste, as where we create to pull down, and not to build up ; nor the third cost, in that moral and physical depression which checks human progress ; but rather let us remember, that war means personal and national demoralization, enormous debts, oppressive taxation, jobbery and corruption in the State and federal governments, old grudges never quite effaced from the tablets of our memory, as when we recall the fact that General St. Leger, on the highest authority, offered \$20 for the scalp of any and every American ; but, most of all, war means a country for a time, and for a long time, turned upside down by the formation of new vices, the revival of old evils, and a general spirit of discontent. The necessities of war, command us to kill, burn, and pillage. Nor is this all.

War's argus eyes and Briarean arms, mean men and women whose wits have been put to work for the saving of labor at home, by the invention of countless machines, which in time of peace, as now, take the place of strong limbs and sinews. Necessity knows no law, and the skill and craft which in war required machinery for work at home, is used to-day, to reduce alike the income from capital and the wages of labor. But if invention has been a successful agent against rebellion and in maintaining the Union, let us thank God for it, and give here and now a double benediction both upon its recent fruits and upon the great work, which was in the midst of its most serious prosecution one hundred years ago ; not forgetting, however, that it was the more recent and more terrible war, and the consequences of that war, which largely substituted water-power and steam-power and skill-power for old time hand labor, so that one man to-day often does the work of ten or twenty, and thereby displaces nine or twice nine pairs of hands from their once accustomed work. And of the spirit of war, which so much pervades the world, may we not at least in these fair days of peace at home, feel that we are here commemorating, not so much a battle and a victory, as our peaceful growth, and therefore say :

" Put up the sword.
States can do without it "

With us the past is secure. The present is all and only our own ; and as we look out upon the future,

"The world is all before us,
Where to choose our place of rest.
And Providence our guide."

LETTER FROM EX-GOVERNOR HORATIO SEYMOUR.

The following letter from Ex-Governor Horatio Seymour, was read to the audience, by Hon. Wm. H. Bogart, of Aurora :

UTICA, Aug. 25. 1879.

To Hon. Hiram Gray, President, &c.:

I am very much disappointed, that I shall not be able to attend the centennial celebration of the battle of Newtown. As a descendent of one who bore an honorable commission in the army of General Sullivan, I feel deep interest in the ceremonies of that day. One hundred years ago, animated by a love of liberty, he served, with others, thro' the revolutionary war, looking with hope for the growth and greatness of his country in the future. We look back thro' the century, over the succession of events which has made our country more great and glorious, than the hopes excited by patriotic zeal ever pictured to the minds of those who here periled their lives in their country's service.

The campaign under Gen. Sullivan was a military necessity. It was something more than a mere raid upon savage tribes. It was a movement against a powerful confederacy, which had exerted great influence thro' more than two centuries of warfare. The Six Nations were never regarded in the same light as other Indian races by the government of Europe. As a rule they held, that the mere act of discovery, gave all rights of control over the persons and territories of other savage tribes. But no such claim was put forth against the Iroquois. The power of their confederacy, their victories in war, their policy in peace, lifted them in the eyes of the world, to a position in which they were treated with all the forms and consideration ever accorded to independent, powerful governments. The monarchs of France and Britain had sued for their favors, had courted their alliance. They looked upon the Iroquois as the arbiters, who had the power to decide whether the civilization of this continent should be French or English in its aspects. It was to them, that the agents of the colonies from Nova Scotia to the Carolinas sent ambassadors, to invoke aid to check or punish other Indians, when they attacked the borders of the whites. It was to the Iroquois that New England appealed, when King Phillip threatened the existence of its colonies. Nor did they appeal in vain. For when his forces gathered near the banks of the Hudson, they were driven back by the Mohawks, and he was forced to stake his fortunes in open battle with his civilized enemies. The physical and mental energy of the Iroquois, are best shown by the fact that while other tribes perish when brought into contract with white men, the Six Nations are more numerous to-day than at the close of the revolution. Each census shows an increase in their numbers. I speak of their power, for there has been some criticism upon the campaign which sought to cut off the resources of these formidable and fierce enemies, who inflicted upon the settlers of New York and Pennsylvania more horrors by torch and tomahawk, than were felt elsewhere during the revolutionary struggle.

But my purpose is not to tell of events upon the battle-field. These will be the themes of those who address you. I wish to speak of our duty to ourselves and to our country, in cherishing the history of the past.

We do not on this occasion merely honor the dead—we teach and elevate the living. We lift up higher standards of duty and patriotism, and we place our government upon firmer foundations, when we present to the minds of our people, examples of self-sacrificing patriotism.

Your celebration is not a mere holiday affair which recalls for a day, events which will fade out of our minds or will be recalled occasionally with waning interest. As the story

of what took place is told, and all their bearings upon our country are unfolded, the ground on which you meet will grow sacred in the eyes of the public. Indifference to history and to the features of our country which have shaped it, is the offspring of ignorance. No man can know them and not care for them. There is a power in the knowledge which gives value and interest to places otherwise dull and repulsive. Perchance you stand upon a bare hill and look out upon wide spread desolation, save where a half ruined city, and a few wondering natives add to the general gloom, and you turn away to seek more inviting scenes. But a voice tells you that you are in Judea, that the broken walls are those of Jerusalem, and if God should touch the landscape and make it glorious with fertile fields, with flowers and lofty forests, it would not be so changed to your eyes as when you look upon it in the light of its history.

Why should we cheat and wrong ourselves, by failing to make the scenes in which we live, of interest, by a knowledge of their events? No people can rise to a high degree of patriotism, who do not cherish the memory of their fathers' deeds. To stir our minds it is not enough that we gain a mere memory of the names of places and events. We must have a clear and full perception of their nature and influences, that they may shape our thoughts, and give up standards of duty and rules of action. Popular celebrations arrest the public attention, and call out addresses which make appeals to our higher sentiments. Your celebration and the memorial you erect, will give to the hills and valleys around a sacredness in the eyes of residents and strangers, which they have not had in the dim light of imperfect histories and traditions.

The value of events are not seen at the time they take place. They can only be estimated in the light of their influences. Some which shake the world when they happen, pass away without result. Others which seem insignificant, grow grand and far-reaching in the course of time, like streams springing from the mountain ranges of our State deepen their courses, widen into great rivers, some finding their outlets in northern and some in southern seas. As these have directed the march of armies, have controlled the flow of commerce, so facts of war and peace upon our continent, have proved in the lapse of years to have had influences unthought of by those engaged in them. A century has taught us much our fathers could not foresee. They did not dream of our present greatness and power. They did know that they were working out results so grand that time will add to their luster in centuries yet to come. We can not forecast the future, but we know that the battle fought upon the grounds where you meet, was one of those which did much to make us an independent people; that within a century we have grown to a place in the front rank of great nations. Many now living will see our people increase to more than one hundred millions. In that phrase of civilization, which we deem superior to others, no other country will have a population equal to ours. We hardly dare to state the progress, which the ratio of the past teaches us we shall make in a single century. To preserve the memory of early events, to mark the spots on which they occurred, is a duty which we owe to the future and to the vast multitudes who are to come after us. In the light of grand consequences, they will see in them germs of greatness which no mental efforts of ours enable us to grasp or measure. They will trace out all of the first steps in their country's progress, with a reverence surpassing that which we can feel.

All should be grateful to the citizens of New York and Pennsylvania, who have been active in getting up the demonstration of patriotic intelligence. Your example may lead those living elsewhere, to put up monuments which will tell of the struggles of two centuries of Indian warfare, of French and English contests, of our battles for freedom and of great facts in our civil progress. History does not only give to sacred scenes or to battle-fields, ennobling influences. Its power is not lost in the marts of commerce. While the people in the rural districts are marking the places of historic interest, it is strange that the city of New York, where more than elsewhere the benefits of our government are seen, should be so indifferent to great events within its limits. There the government of our union felt the first pulsations of its life, when George Washington, in 1789, took his oath of office as President. This completed its organization. It was the last step in its creation, the first act which started the currents of its existence. It was on the spot

where stand the marble structures, which guard the treasures of our government. If upon its portals there was even a simple tablet which told of this fact, of more value than the gold heaped up within its walls, a different atmosphere would pervade the scene ! Would not the mind of the passing stranger, feel influences higher than the display of wealth can give ? Would not the men who toil like slaves for gold, sometimes think how base it is, compared with lofty patriotism ? Yet the thought seems never to have entered the minds of those, who enjoy in the largest measure, the protection of our Union, that there is a debt of gratitude due to him who beyond all others wrought out our liberties ; that he completed the organization of our government, by his oath to uphold it, solemnly administered and reverently uttered upon the very ground where they conduct their gainful pursuits. Can it be that the self-sacrificing patriotism of George Washington, rebukes selfish struggle for wealth ? A fitting monument should mark the spot where our government began its greatness. Wall street would elevate itself in the eyes of the world, if a trifle from its vast wealth was given, to prove that virtue and patriotism are honored by its occupants.

I am truly yours, &c.,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

ADDRESS BY HON. ELLIS H. ROBERTS, OF UTICA.

This vast crowd is gathered from two States, to celebrate an event of a hundred years ago. This height crowned with an enduring monument, is local, but it rises out of the rock and soil of a great Commonwealth, and over it floats the flag of a nation of fifty million free citizens. Fitly is the great State of Pennsylvania represented here ; for her infant colony had been a martyr to the prowess of the tribes who met defeat on this spot ; and over Pennsylvania roads, General Sullivan marched, and Pennsylvania troops were with him, on that trying August Sunday, when the forces of the Continental Congress fought and scattered here the red allies of the British crown.

You, Mr. President, and fellow citizens of Tioga and Chemung, inherit this soil made historic by the deeds of the expedition which you commemorate. But the event which you celebrate, had more than a local bearing. It was part of a Continental war. So testifies the presence here to-day, of the Governor of this imperial State. The executive head of the sister Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, honors us by coming to add his testimony. The Governor of New Hampshire, home of General John Sullivan, is here to celebrate with us no petty conflict. The General of the armies of the United States, himself a foremost captain in the world's annals, the hero of the " March to the Sea," bears witness to the importance of the events, which this day recalls. Witnesses also of their historic value, making this platform notable, are Henry W. Slocum, Commander of Sherman's right wing, gallant soldier and worthy citizen, whom Central New York gave to the Republic ; and with him, so many other soldiers of the Union, who have on so many fields approved their patriotism, and helped to save the nation, whose infant fortunes were involved in the old struggle on this field. For them Cherry Valley and Wyoming cried aloud for defense, if not for vengeance. The valley of the Mohawk has a share in your exercise, and its voice may well be heard now, for among the actors here a hundred years ago, were combatants on both sides, from the banks of that blood-stained river.

THE COMBATANTS.

The red men gathered here, numbered no better fighters than the Mohawks. The chief of all the tribes on that fatal day was Thayerdanegea Joseph Brant, trained in all the arts of forest warfare, and educated in the schools of civilization. With the red men, were John Johnson and John Butler, his brother-in-law, with five companies of the Tory rangers,

gathered from the Mohawk valley from Schoharie and Johnstown westward, and strengthened by some recruits from Canada. These all had been with St. Leger at Oriskany, and they and the tribes were yet reeling from their hard defeat in that bloody fight. With General Sullivan's expedition were settlers from the homes which had been so often threatened, from Fort Stanwix to Albany. Clinton had with him Gansevoort and Willett, who had put St. Leger to flight. He had of New York regiments, the third, fourth and fifth, with the fourth Pennsylvania, and the sixth Massachusetts, with a company of artillery and riflemen. With General Sullivan's own column was the second New York regiment, afterwards transferred to Clinton's force, while his three brigades, of Pennsylvania, New Hampshire and New Jersey troops, were commanded by Generals Maxwell, Poor and Hand. Some independent Pennsylvania companies assigned to the expedition, did not appear in the actual operations. The States of New York and Pennsylvania furnished the larger part of the force engaged in the invasion. The country of the Mohawks and Oneidas sent their best sons, and the valley of the Hudson joined its strength with the south-western region.

The Oneidas were expected to help the continental forces, but the other tribes were able to force them back to protect their own homes and castles. A few of them were here with the invading army; and the main part of the tribe at home lay as a breakwater, to prevent the reflux of Indian slaughter into the lower settlements.

The Mohawk valley was heard, and felt, in the events of a hundred years ago, on the soil on which you stand. You have deemed it fitting that the home of the Mohawks and Oneidas, shall have some part in your commemoration to-day. One voice more than another, has made real to this generation the history and position of the Empire State. Himself an ornament to its annals, he has done justice to its topography, and has shed light upon its beginnings, while he has conveyed to others some of his own appreciation of the majestic career and possibilities of New York. That eloquent voice you miss to-day, and the absence of Horatio Seymour no one can make up. By the courtesy of your committee, the privilege and the task are mine to draw from the event which you celebrate, the meaning which it possesses, as a chapter in the history of New York, and to weigh the actors in it, in the spirit which becomes sons of the land of the Iroquois.

THE PLAN OF SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION.

The purpose of Sullivan's expedition, and the way in which it was carried out, are easily recalled. The policy was the extermination of the original lords of this vast empire. The blow was aimed first at the Senecas, the most numerous of the Six Nations, and next at the Cayugas, Onondagas, Tuscaroras and Mohawks, and any Oneidas acting with them.

No mistake can exist as to the plan of the campaign. General Washington wrote to General Gates: "It is proposed to carry the war into the heart of the country of the Six Nations, to cut off their settlements, destroy their next year's crops, and do them every other mischief which time and circumstances will permit." And in the order to General Sullivan, Washington said: "The immediate objects are the total destruction of the hostile tribes of the Six Nations, and the devastation of their settlements, and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible." Sullivan was directed "to lay waste all the settlements around, so that the country may not only be overrun but destroyed." Writing to the President of Congress, Washington used these words: "The council are fully sensible of the importance of success in the present expedition, and the fatal mischiefs which would attend a defeat. We should perhaps lose an army, and our frontiers would be deluged in blood."

THE COMMANDERS.

Washington knew the Iroquois, and recognized their power. He tendered the command of the expedition against them, to his foremost generals. Gates was covered with glory at Saratoga, although that battle was won through the preparations of Schuyler and

the moral effect of Oriskany in no small degree ; and to Gates was offered the command of the movement into the country where were gathered the tribes of that proud aboriginal nation. Others of the chiefs of the colonial forces had been considered in connection with the position, which fell to Sullivan by reason of his seniority and his reputation. John Sullivan was born in Maine, of Irish parents, in 1740, and was educated for the law. He sat as a delegate in the first and in the second Congress. In 1774, he was one of the leaders of a party at Portsmouth, for seizing and concealing the arms which the British troops came to seek for in vain. Among the first brigadier generals appointed in the colonial army, he served in the unfortunate movement against Canada in 1776, and after the death of General Thomas, attained to its chief command. He was taken prisoner on Long Island. At Trenton and Princeton he served in positions becoming his rank. At Brandywine his conduct subjected him to a court of inquiry, but Washington and LaFayette commended him. After the war, he returned to Congress, and became Governor of New Hampshire.

General James Clinton, who led the co-operating column, was commander of the northern department. So important was the expedition, that until the last moment Governor George Clinton meant to accompany it, but was prevented by State affairs.

THE MOVEMENT.

Prompt and decisive action had been urged at the beginning of spring. General Washington's instructions for the expedition, bear date May 31st. General Clinton found his column at Canajoharie on the 15th of June. He reached Otsego lake at the close of that month. He remained there until the 7th of August, collecting boats and provisions, and waiting for a rise in the waters of the Susquehanna. In the meantime, General Sullivan proceeded thro' Pennsylvania to Easton and Wyoming. He charged that the dishonesty of contractors delayed him there, and that "of salted meat he had not a pound fit to be eaten." It was the last day of July before, with inadequate supplies, he was able to advance, and only on the 11th of August did he reach Tioga Point. The next day, at Chemung, an Indian village was burned. His orders to General Clinton to join him, bear date the 9th of August. On the 22d of August, Clinton arrived at Fort Sullivan, which had been built in a bend of the Tioga, near its union with the Susquehanna. A week later, the real business of the expedition began. Clinton's forethought did not prove excessive. After all his care, the provisions fell short. Fort Sullivan was the base of operations. The general orders of this fort are preserved, in part at least, in manuscript. The stress of necessity appears in an appeal to this little garrison, dated on the very day of the battle, to accept reduced rations, owing to the scarcity of flour, and as an alternative preferable to living several days without any bread.

The plan had been to give General Sullivan five thousand men, and the whole strength of the Six Nations, with the Tory rangers of Johnson and Butler, was reckoned at three thousand. Not the whole of this force appeared in the field on either side, in any single operation. On the 26th of August, the march of devastation began. Two days later an Indian village, with its harvest, was burned.

BATTLE OF NEWTOWN.

Not far from the mouth of Butler's creek, the red men and their allies had built a breastwork, shielded by a bend in the river. Here, on Sunday, the 29th of August, the red men were found. An artillery fire was directed against the breastwork, while the brigades of Clinton and Poor gained the left flank of the enemy. This movement rendered the work untenable, and Brant, after trying to rally his forces, fled, and the pursuit was continued for two miles. The Americans lost only five or six killed, and from forty to fifty wounded. Brant's force was estimated by General Sullivan at fifteen hundred, by prisoners it was reported at eight hundred. Their loss was concealed. The shadow of the defeat at Oriskany, was over the red men and their allies. Their strategy was adroit, calculating, looking to rash assault on the part of the Americans. Failing thus to gain advantage,

they scattered and fled. Their whole country lay open to the invaders. The torch was borne everywhere, and the vengeance of years was consummated in weeks. Of real fighting there was little. The work was ruin and extermination.

RUIN OF TOWNS.

Catharinetown was destroyed on the 3d of September ; Kendaia on the 5th ; Kanada-seaga, the capital of the Senecas, suffered the same fate on the next day. Two days later Canandaigua was ravaged ; then Honeoye ; then Koneghsaws. On the 12th, a detachment of fourteen, under Lieutenant Boyd, was cut off and killed. In the valley of the Genesee the Indians seemed to rally for another contest. But they retired, and General Sullivan met no one to resist his torch of ruin. On the 16th of September, he re-crossed the Genesee river on his return. The work of fire and destruction was continued among the Cayugas and Onondagas. On the 30th of September, the expedition re-assembled at Fort Sullivan, and on the 15th of October, it was in its quarters at Easton. Its total loss had been only about forty men killed.

Eighteen Indian villages had been annihilated, and 150,000 bushels of corn and immense quantities of other provisions were destroyed. The tribes were stripped of their homes, and for the purposes of the revolution, the Six Nations ceased to be organized allies of the British crown. They were reduced to wandering pillagers, to revengeful, uncompromising warriors, who struck where they could, and sought to wreak vengeance on all the settlements, while they no longer had homes to be assailed.

THE RUIN OFFICIALLY APPROVED.

The thoroughness with which General Sullivan did his work, met with the full approval of Washington. To the President of Congress, he wrote : " I congratulate Congress on his (General Sullivan's) having completed so effectually the destruction of the whole of the towns and settlements of the hostile Indians in so short a time, and with so inconsiderable a loss of men." Washington also informed LaFayette, (October 20,) " General Sullivan has completed the entire destruction of the country of the Six Nations ; driven all the inhabitants, men, women and children out of it ;" and he rejoices that thus the tribes have had " proofs that Great Britain can not protect them, and it is in our power to chastise them." General Washington officially " congratulated the army on the complete and full success of Major General Sullivan and the troops under his command, against the Senecas and other tribes of the Six Nations, as a just and necessary punishment for their wanton depredations, their unparalleled and innumerable cruelties, and their deafness to all entreaties." Congress, in a formal resolution passed October 14, 1779, declared, " that the thanks of Congress be given to His Excellency, General Washington, for directing, and to Major General Sullivan and the brave officers and soldiers under his command, for effectually executing an important expedition against such of the Indian nations as, encouraged by the officers of his Britannic majesty, had perfidiously waged an unprovoked and cruel war against these United States, laid waste their defenseless towns, and with savage cruelty slaughtered the inhabitants thereof."

This terrible vengeance on the Six Nations, is the fact which we celebrate. The battle of Newtown opened the way to it, removed the last defense of their villages and homes. Bloody were the raids on the lower Mohawk, on Cherry Valley, on Wyoming, and sweeping and vengeful was the punishment which General Sullivan wreaked on the tribes.

THE NEED FOR THE EXPEDITION.

Remember the emergency. Young colonies were struggling for independence against the colossal power of Great Britain. Three years of conflict had drawn heavily on their resources. The rebellion had grown into revolution. The nation had begun to be. The darkness before the dawn was upon the land. Trenton and Fort Moultrie had

found a place in enduring annals. The battle summer of 1777 had blossomed through disasters elsewhere in the scarlet harvests of Oriskany, Bennington and Saratoga. Washington had been the next year victorious at Monmouth, and in 1779, Anthony Wayne had recovered Stony Point, but the British held Philadelphia and Savannah, as well as New York, and the war had ceased to be a novelty, while its burdens grew daily more heavy and complaints were loud and numerous. So deep was the gloom that in the December preceding, Washington had written: "Our affairs are in a more distressed, ruinous and deplorable condition than they have been since the commencement of the war." The French fleet had arrived, to be sure, and its moral effect was very great. Hostilities were in the stage of dull persistent conflict; of wearing, steady blood-letting. The American authorities were fighting the Loyalists on their own soil, as well as the trained armies of England, reinforced by the Hessian mercenaries. Besides all of these the original masters of the continent, were in arms on the part of the British King. Well might Washington regard these last, as not the least, of the enemies of the young republic.

THE GREATNESS OF THE CONQUERED FOE.

Your celebration to-day is a tribute to their importance. If the colonial forces had swept away some insignificant enemies, it would count for little. If the raid had been against some pillaging bands guilty of plunder and outrage, and without military or political mastery, this vast multitude would not be gathered here to-day. You celebrate not only the conquerors but the conquered as well. You, citizens of this imperial republic, triumph this day over the enemies who were a century ago punished here; enemies then worthy of the steel of our ancestors not only, but great enough at this interval of time to justify this rejoicing over them. Men are inclined to belittle those whom they have wronged, and thus our history has never accorded to the original lords of this soil, the credit which is their due for prowess, for wisdom, for scope of thought and essential greatness.

If by any chance, the colonies had been permanently defeated by the Indians in alliance with Britain, on this continent, might have been presented the antetype of the East Indian Empire. British statesmen might have borne sway in connection with savage tribes. Civilization might have fostered the habits and the dominion of the natives under the protection of the British crown. The growth which this Republic has enjoyed, could never have occurred within the period of its history. Perhaps the expedition which you commemorate to-day, was the turning of the tide which swept away Indian rule. Had the result then been different, at this hour, sachems of the Iroquois might be holding sway under British dominion, and some Lord Lytton or Marquis of Lorne, might be here arbitrating between the imperial authority and the chiefs of the native lords of the forest.

Often enough we hear of those who were conquerors here in the strife of a century ago. Let it be my part to recall to your minds our indebtedness to the conquered. I count it for something that we are heirs, not only of the invaders in that expedition, but that we inherit also from the beaten foe. Let us honor the colonists who, in that dread hour, were fighting for independence and for the rising civilization of a free republic. But we ought not to forget, that they, on this soil, waged war against a confederacy which, for twice the period of our own national existence, had borne sway over the main part of this continent, east of the Mississippi, from the everglades of Florida to the northern sources of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, and that tradition fabled that they had even carried their arms in conquest to the Isthmus of Darien. Before the Dutch penetrated the Hudson, or Jacques Cartier visited Montreal, the Iroquois had, for the length of two lives, maintained their union. They received taxes from the Indians of Long Island; they were a source of terror as far away as Maine; and they ran in frequent expeditions far to the south and west of the Alleghanies. They received embassies from Nova Scotia to the Gulf. In the conference at Albany, in 1630, their supreme power was confessed, and their right to convey land as far south as the Kentucky river was admitted by the western tribes. Without their permission, and without their help, no treaty was allowed be-

tween any tribe adjoining them and the white settlers. They were more than the "Romans of this Western World," as DeWitt Clinton styled them ; it may help us to understand their character, to say that they had more of the Greek qualities, as Gouverneur Morris intimates. But they were different from the classic nations, and it is a wrong to them, to name them Indians. They are the proudest representatives of natural manhood ever discovered. They spoke of themselves as *Ongwe-Honwe*, men all surpassing others. It was the poverty of language of the early settlers that refused them some designation which should perpetuate their daring and their far-reaching warfare, their skill in diplomacy, their singular political union, their unsurpassed eloquence, and their enduring prowess. The French styled them Iroquois—perhaps suggestive of expressive speech. The designation is at least unique and not misleading.

We are their heirs ; we inherit their soil, the mountains which girt them round ; the rivers which gave them passage to all points of the compass ; the water-sheds which placed in their hands the key of the continent. For a hundred and fifty years the Iroquois held the French in check, driving them seven times within the walls of Montreal, and repelling Frontenac with arms, as they withstood the wiles of the Jesuits to bring them under French domination. Commerce to-day runs in no path over the eastern part of this continent, where the footsteps of Iroquois bands had not previously marked out the courses of power and of control. In the whole Atlantic basin, no tie of trade or politics exists, except along the lines of Iroquois conquest.

THE LONG HOUSE OF THE IROQUOIS.

Buckle, heads that school of political philosophers, who trace much of the character of a people, to their physical position and surroundings. Our home is the Long House of the Six Nations. Nature gives to us the identical inspiration which she offered to them. Sky and earth and climate, scenery and general aspect are the same for us, that they were for the tribes which here held the mastery, and wrought out for themselves the initial problems of government, before the Mayflower sailed, and before the Netherlands fought, the fight of Liberty. From the beginning, the imperial configuration of this heart of the continent has impressed political students. The description of its waters by Governor Colden, is the sketch of fasces as plainly proof of continental sway as ever were attached to spear of Roman lictor. They bind all parts of the continent to it, as the veins and arteries bind the members of the body to the heart. We can conceive this republic existing and powerful without New England ; it did have vitality as English colonies while Spain owned Florida, and France was sovereign over Louisiana, and it had become great while Mexico held title to California. Without the Long House of the Iroquois, freedom and independence could have no permanent abiding place and mastery over North America. If physical conditions help to make character, the sons of New York are cast in the mold which fashioned the aboriginal lords of the continent.

POLITICAL FEATURES OF THE SIX NATIONS.

As students of classical literature, it is the habit of us all to seek in European and especially in Greek and Roman examples for the origins of political institutions. Before European history connects itself with America, investigation proves that men possessed here some of the basal principles of liberty and of self-government, as they enjoyed the breath of life, drank the running waters, and walked with head erect, holding dominion over the beasts of the field. What, if analysis demonstrates that union and independence, some thought of law and order and of the government of the whole by the whole for the benefit of the whole, are native here, and are no more to be traced back to the old world than are the granite rocks on which we stand, or the coal formations which furnish our steam, or the electricity which is lambent in our atmosphere ? If Greece had never met the Persians, had never set the Parthenon on the brow of the Midland sea, had never sung its tragedies or thundered from the Pnyx ; if British heroes had never constructed

the glorious epic of human development, and filled the round sphere of mental grandeur ; if France had not borne the torch in the forefront of civilization ; if Germany had not elaborated its triumphs of literature and philosophy, this world would have been far other than it is. But let us for a moment conceive, that this continent had been left to work out its life and progress, by the elements which were found here among the original inhabitants. We appeal to witnesses who are not their friends. Let us dismiss as far as we may, the prejudices of generations, of race, of wrong perpetrated, of persistent education. Can we find anywhere else among people styled uncivilized, any who exhibited so many qualities of which civilization boasts itself, and so many of the conditions to which free nations trace their greatness? The preserving and inspiring grace of Christianity must be set out of account. With that eliminated, the comparisons of the barbarians who were masters in this portion of the continent before the invasion of the Europeans, with any of the ancestors of the historic nations, may surprise those who have failed to catch the truth from our own hills and valleys and controlling rivers and ocean lakes. Without Europe, the Six Nations had established union, independence, self-government, a division by clans, and a system of checks in public affairs, quite prophetic of the great republic which, in the fullness of time, was to blossom, if not from the same seed, yet on the identical soil, under the unchanged sky, moving to the flow of the same rivers, and stretching out its arms over a domain larger, but not man for man, so potent or so vast.

The union of the Six Nations is certified by the first visitors to this land. Champlain and the earliest Dutch settlers, found them bound together by ties of a political system which was not recent, but had already enabled them to dictate terms to all their neighbors. It was strong enough to endure the strain of all the arts and power of the French to break it, and to hold all the tribes together in negotiations and in war, through all the strifes incident to the establishment of the American republic. They had reared "the complete cabin," the union of tribes with separate local organizations, and consisting of clans which held close affiliations with similar, clans in other tribes. They chose their chiefs, recognizing inheritance on the female rather than the male side. They held councils to decide questions of war and peace. They welded all their elements of strength together for expeditions of conquest, and for combinations for defense, and they conceded to the individual a measure of freedom rare among any people. These aboriginal clans were native to the soil. They may answer to the free towns of Holland ; they may be parallel to the local assemblages of England. Just so the union of the tribes may suggest in its spirit the Amphictyonic council of the Greeks. It is certain that the Iroquois could not have borrowed from Europe. Doubtless, like necessities give birth at far distant points to similar institutions. On both continents some of the flora and some of the birds and animals are of the same family. Human needs constructed also on this hemisphere, some of the defenses of home and person, and embodied in action some of the prophesies of progress which have become the eloquence and poetry of the old world. Men lived here before Europe bestowed upon them its varieties of food and clothing. They also enjoyed freedom and union, and the germs of free government. Their political system won the eulogies of the French writers, when political philosophy was their passion. La Potherie, whose book was published in 1722, declares that their union worked like a clock, from the marvelous adjustment of its parts and the completeness of the whole system. The Jesuit, Lafitau, represents their "senate" as "discussing affairs of state with as much coolness and gravity as the Spanish junta or the grand council of Venice."

Ch levoix, who saw them as early as 1706, testifies in words which foreshadow Jefferson's immortal phrase : "These Americans are perfectly convinced that man is born free, and that no power on earth has any right to restrict his liberty, while nothing can make up for its loss." When Garangula was urged to submit to British domination, on behalf of the Six Nations, he declared : "We are born free ; we depend neither on Yonondio nor on Corlear,"—neither on France nor England. "They look on themselves," says La Hontau, a Frenchman, and an enemy, "as sovereigns accountable to none but God alone, whom they call the Great Spirit."

In the height of the struggle between France and England, in 1757, "A Memorial" was addressed "to the Courts of Europe," in answer "to the Observations of the English Ministry." That document at least semi-official, insists that "the Indians in question are free and independent, and can not be called the subjects of either of the two crowns; the treaty of Utrecht is wrong, and can not change the nature of things. Certain it is, that no Englishman durst, without running the risk of being massacred, tell the Iroquois that they are the subjects of England. The Indian nations have a government of their own."

IROQUOIS ORATORY.

With such devotion to personal liberty, to the union of the tribes and to independence of external control, the Iroquois enjoyed the conditions which in other lands have created orators. They, too, were masters of eloquence. We must accept the testimony of witnesses not unfamiliar with the triumphs of speech in classic tongues and in our own language, in times when oratory attained to royal power, that among these tribes natural eloquence arose to very high flights. Charlevoix cites Joncaire, who "spoke with all the vivacity of a Frenchman, and the most sublime eloquence of an Iroquois." Logan was descended from the Cayugas, and of him Jefferson said: "I may challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished more eminent, to produce a single passage superior to the speech of Logan." Of an argument by Garangula, DeWitt Clinton declares: "I believe it to be impossible to find, in all the effusions of ancient or modern oratory, a speech more appropriate and more convincing." The same authority ranks the address of the Mohawks at Albany, condoling over the burning of Schenectady, in 1690, as "among the most respectable models of eloquence which history affords." With all the disadvantages of translation, their speeches stand out true and genuine and full of life. They are transcripts of nature and borrow its symbols, and thus have its beauty and its directness and its force. Tradition, not only, but the opinion of the early French authorities on America, and of our own statesmen, best qualified to judge, class the oratory of the Iroquois with the most eloquent speech of any age or country. The Seneca, Sa-go-ye-wat-ha, or Red Jacket, who died in 1830, brought down to the present generation, the sacred power of native rhetoric.

IROQUOIS DEVELOPMENT.

We speak of these tribes as savages and barbarians. They were without the graces of civilization, and they fought to kill, with all the resources which they could reach. They had many of the same qualities which marked the Germans, and the Gauls and the Britons whom Cæsar conquered. They were not unlike the followers of Hengest, and Alfred and Harold. Without the letters which the clergy of the courts possessed, they might be compared with the body of the Normans who sailed with William the Conqueror, and were not far different from the Saxons whom he subdued. They were surely the most advanced of the aborigines, whom the European invaders met upon this continent.

When the earliest white man visited them, they lived in cabins, they cultivated grain, they raised a species of wild potato, they practiced skillful fortification, they were the arbitrators and negotiators for other tribes, they often matched the skilled diplomatists of France and England in making treaties. As warriors, their exploits do not suffer in grandeur and heroism by any comparison. They ran in conquest farther than Greek arms were ever carried and to distances which Rome surpassed only in the days of its culminating glory.

Let an incident show at once the spirit of the Iroquois, and their supremacy over other tribes. It is narrated by Gouverneur Morris, historic name!—as stated to him by one who heard it from an eye-witness of the event. The Long Island Indians had neglected to pay tribute to the Iroquois, for several years about 1760, and had sold some land without their leave. One evening a Mohawk warrior in full war dress appeared on Long Island, and stated that he had a message from the Six Nations to the tribe, to present at a

council in the morning. At the council, standing alone, he asked why the tribute had not been paid? why the land had been sold without leave, and who first signed the deed? An old chief confessed that he was the first signer. As the words passed his lips, the Mohawk split his head with a tomahawk. Then without let or hindrance he left the paralyzed council, and went safely home. Such audacity and such sovereignty by a single chief, in a hostile tribe, a hundred and fifty miles from home, epitomize the power and the eminence of the Iroquois.

THEIR DOMAIN.

They fought and were beaten. They lost their vast heritage of land. "It swept from the Ottawa to Lake Huron on the north, and from the mouth of the Sorel, to the point where the Ohio falls into the Mississippi," says Smith. Tonti, who was with LaSalle in his explorations, testifies that the Iroquois possessed from Montreal, two hundred leagues to the south, while their warlike excursions extended from three to four hundred leagues. In 1775, the Lords Commissioners of Trades and Plantations authorized a map of the colonies in America, by Mitchell, and copies of it are extant. To it, Governor Tryon refers, in his assertion of the title of New York, as well as to the succession to the Dutch. A copy is in the possession of ex-Governor Seymour, and it fixes the extent of Iroquois dominion. The southern boundary runs from the Atlantic through the middle of North Carolina, to the Mississippi, up that stream to the Illinois, thence through lake Michigan, to the north of the Straits of Mackinaw, and eastward to the Ottawa river, and thence to Montreal, the Sorel and the Hudson. The map states that the southern portion was surrendered to the crown at Westminster, in 1729, so that the mouth of the Ohio may be fairly taken as the southern limit after that year. Pennsylvania recognized the Iroquois' title to its own territory, and secured by treaty a cession from them.

A curious conformation of this Mitchell's map is found in a rude chart of 1616, found at the Hague by J. R. Brodhead, in 1841. The St. Lawrence is belittled, as Dutch pride would prompt, and the proportions are violent, but the line from the Hudson to the western tribe of the Six Nations, is four times the distance from the river and the lakes to the sea coast. Such a ratio would carry the western boundary of the Iroquois quite to the Mississippi.

The records are full of the fact so enforced, that the English based their claim to the territory of the Six Nations, not on discovery and not on conquest, but solely on such title as they got from these Indian tribes. Volumes could not assert more strongly, their superiority over their neighbors and their recognized domination over the heart of the continent.

By the treaty of Utrecht, France asserted its title to whatever portion of their land lay north of the St. Lawrence. When Britain acquired Canada, it was never restored to the Six Nations, but their rights over all of this soil south of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, were recognized by Britain in a continuous line, and at the close of the revolution, New York succeeded to the title of Britain and of its allies. The argument of Governor Tryon to the right of the colony as successors of the Six Nations, is complete. It covers much of the domain afterwards known as the north-western territory.

THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY.

The Dutch West India Company claimed to have a grant for all lands "from the French settlements in Acadia, along the American coast to the Straits of Magellan, and so around to the South Sea, including the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans;" and James Stuart acquired all that the Dutch here possessed when the colony was seized by British arms. King James also gave to "the council established at Plymouth," the land from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Raleigh's claim to Virginia was earlier than either.

But both French and British authorities, down to the revolution, recognized the title of the Six Nations, not only to New York, but to their domain, as portrayed on Mitchell's map. Both governments treated with them as a sovereign power—in tone and manner different from those accorded to any other tribes anywhere. It was not mere fancy, which led the English to bestow royal titles on Hendrick and his companions, who visited the court of Queen Anne. The *Tattler* speaks of these guests as emperor and kings. In the campaign against Fort Duquesne, young Washington appealed to the Six Nations as allies in a war for the defense of their own territory. The Iroquois were a confederacy, sovereign over its lands, and they retained their title until they fell with the defeat of their ally, Britain, and the peace of Paris.

Other states have masqueraded in the titles given through the ignorance of British sovereigns, and have ceded and sold lands in the north-west, over which they had no more right than to the imaginary "South Seas" of the same grant.

The title of New York went back to the lordship of tribes whose mastery was asserted by power, and maintained by address and by prowess, and was recognized by all the tribes east of the Mississippi, as early as 1608. This grand possession came to New York as the heir of the Iroquois. At the appeal of the general government, it was the first of all the states, to cede its territory outside of its own borders, and in 1780 gave up its title to this imperial domain. Without dickering, without asking for pay or for consideration of any sort, this commonwealth yielded to the nation this imperial domain without a word. The gift was bestowed with a magnanimity worthy of its greatness. With becoming generosity, this State has never boasted of the present. Other states took credit for selling their pretensions. New York, holding the heart of the continent from its original masters, cheerfully left in the hands of the national government that portion of the domain of the Six Nations west of the Niagara, and extending to where the Ohio falls into the Mississippi.

NUMBERS OF IROQUOIS—THEIR VITALITY.

The domination of the continent by the Six Nations, was not through the brute force of numbers. They were not countless hordes like the Goths and Vandals, who swept over the west of Europe. They were not the tens of thousands of the Turks who carried terror to the centers of civilization, laid siege to Vienna, and challenged Christianity to surrender. The warriors who knocked at the gates of Montreal and ravaged south of the Alleghanies, who held the balance of power on this soil between the two great combatants of the Old World, and defeated the schemes of French absolutism and opened the way for the establishment of the Celto-Teutonic civilization, never numbering after white men knew them, more than twenty-five hundred. Signal agreement among the early authorities who had the best chance to learn, places the force of fighting men, 2,150 as reported in 1667 by Courcey, the agent of Virginia; 2,600 as stated by Denonville, Governor of Canada, in 1687; 2,030, the census made by Sir William Johnson in 1763; 1,750 the estimate of Pouchot who was among them, and was killed in 1789, and 1,900 the figures of the missionary Kirkland in 1783.

The Six Nations, therefore, never numbered after white men came to know them, over twelve thousand souls.

The achievements of this band, braver than Spartans, more daring and venturesome than Grecian story has portrayed, have prompted to vast exaggerations of the aboriginal population of these states. Millions, have been believed to be required, to explain the conquests and the control of these tribes. In this immense assembly you may count within a small radius, more males of fighting age, than constituted the whole force of the Iroquois in the days when they held France at bay, and extorted terms from the crown of Britain. Men, women and children, they were not so numerous by one-half, as the inhabitants of the present city of Elmira. The expedition which you celebrate to-day came to exterminate them. It doubtless was intended to sweep to the Falls of Niagara, and exhaust the Indian power, as the north wind sweeps away the mist from above the

rapids. The homes of the Iroquois were destroyed. Their houses, framed and painted, not mere hovels and temporary cabins, their farms waving with the grain of the August harvests and their orchards rich with fruit, were burned and ravaged. Their political power was annihilated. The coming republic blazed its path and trampled down every vestige of the domination of the conquerors of two centuries.

With sword and pestilence the land was cleared of its former owners. Throughout the middle states and the far south, the Indians have been not only driven out, but swept from the face of the earth. With rare exceptions the tribes of the east and the south have become substantially extinct. To the wonder of historians, to the surprise of investigators, as a monument of their own marvelous endurance and vitality, the Six Nations exist to-day, in numbers greater than those who confronted Frontenac and burned Schenectady, and fought at Oriskany, and ravaged Cherry Valley and made Wyoming pathetically famous, and by their fierce warfare compelled Washington to order their extermination. The Six Nations number at this hour more persons than were contained in all the villages which General Sullivan destroyed, and more than within the records of the earliest settlements of Europeans contributed to the glory and the terror of that confederacy. This was the judgment of Schoolcraft in 1845. Ex-Governor Seymour, who has devoted so much study to the history of New York, permits me to cite his evidence to the same effect. Colonel Garrick Mallery, of the United States army, has investigated the Indian census for the whole period of our acquaintance with the continent, and his testimony accords with all that is elsewhere best established on the subject. At least 13,668 members of the original Six Nations, are accounted for at known points. This is more than the number officially reported by Sir William Johnson, in 1763, thirteen years before our declaration of independence, and at least one thousand greater than the census of the same tribes two hundred years ago.

Undoubted history presents these Iroquois, as for more than three hundred years, for more than thrice the period of our national existence, united and maintaining their political organization. In this land where all other political history has been changeable and is recent, they endure and yield to neither change nor fate. Like the sphinx they sit calm and almost motionless, watching the swift current of modern life, and possibly tracing the sources of our institutions to their own councils and union. They have met the waves of invasion and the whirl and glamour of civilization; they have bent before them, but they still confront them and challenge the future. We make haste to introduce into the body of citizens and of legislators, those who defied the national authority, and it is well. Why should not the original lords of the continent, the first champions of union and independence, the pristine apostles of personal liberty, now in the rounded centuries, receive the decoration of citizens? They have the instinct of American institutions. They have proved that they can stand before millions of invaders, and preserve their national life and qualities. Of mere phrases, this age has more than enough; of the tricks of civilization there is no threat of lack. Oh, for the manhood which the forests developed! Oh, for the self-sacrifice which was traditional in the Iroquois confederacy! Oh, for the sturdy valor which dared all, and risked all, for the common good, and repelled all wiles and all force for the sake of the whole! This atmosphere should be vocal with union; should be ringing with independence; personal liberty should be the echo from every hillside; popular institutions should blossom as the daisies, and arch over the land like the branching elms. Not in the soil is such an influence; not from the dull earth sound these trumpet voices. They are in the necessities of the situation. They are in the continental expanse, and in the relations of the paths of Iroquois conquest and American commerce and political associations. The Mohawk binds this State to the Hudson, as the Susquehanna binds it to the Chesapeake, the Genesee to Lake Ontario, and the Black River to the St. Lawrence, and the Alleghany to the Ohio and the Gulf. And not without significance did the Iroquois claim sovereignty to where the Ohio falls into the Mississippi, for those who dwell here can not be alien to any part of this great amphitheater of empire, this vast field of the cloth of gold of modern progress, this vast rostrum where the nineteenth century addresses the future, and puts itself in pledge for mankind.

THE IROQUOIS DANGEROUS TO THE YOUNG REPUBLIC.

Washington saw that the Iroquois were encamped across the path of peace and of progress for the young republic. They had kept it from the weaker and the baser of the Aboriginal inhabitants. They had defended it against French ambition and absolutism. The colonists could not recognize their indebtedness to the sentinels who had held these gates of empire. The young republic felt the need of the position, and it took it regardless of the cost. After the years of strife and the bloody story of Oriskany and Cherry Valley and Wyoming, no other course was possible. The might and skill and union and military and political genius of the Six Nations rendered them a foe with whom war must be positive, aggressive and overwhelming. That they have lived to be more numerous after this century of defeat, is the most eloquent proof of their vitality and resources. It was said of Greece that with her arts she overcame her conqueror. Of the Iroquois it may be said, that by their political duration as a people under these generations of scattering and depression, they teach their conquerors a lesson of persistence and of vital power.

GENERAL SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION WAS NOT A CHRONIC POLICY.

Let us remember that General Sullivan's expedition was war, terrible and crushing, and not at all a part of a chronic policy. On the contrary, Washington treated the red men as he would have treated any other enemies. At the time of the fatal expedition of Braddock, he appealed to the Iroquois to help the English, because the French were invading the territory, not of the English, but of the Iroquois. It is not on the soil of New York, nor by New York authorities, that the Indians in time of peace have been greatly wronged. Governor Stuyvesant, as early as 1650, said he had "from the first adopted measures to protect their rights and conciliate their good will." With all their misconduct, the English governors maintained friendly relations with the Iroquois and "Brother Corlear," as they were styled, is a designation of friendship more enduring than treaties. Sir William Johnson was so true and faithful in his dealings with the Six Nations, that his sons and sons-in-law were able to lead most of them in continued support of the British crown. At the treaty of Paris, Britain abandoned them, and then they fell under the evil policy of our national government. But New York, as a Colony or as a State, has little to blush for, except that it has not yet boldly asserted their rights and rank as citizens.

IROQUOIS DEFENSE OF OUR CIVILIZATION.

The bloody Indian wars which so long checked the growth of population in this colony, were not between New York and its tribes. Champlain began French discovery by arraying tribe against tribe; and the Iroquois never forgot the wrong done them. For a century and a half the strife was kept up. In all the rest of the continent no such series of conflicts stains our records. French inroads into the country of the Iroquois were frequent. Seven times at least the Iroquois were at the gates of Montreal, or at least across the borders in pursuit. War was the normal condition on the soil of this colony. The harvest of blood was hardly less regular than the seasons. The power of France failed to crush, the diplomacy of France could not win the sturdy strength of the Six Nations. But the hundred and fifty years of hostilities prevented the natural growth of New York. At the first census, the State stood fifth in population, because it had been the battle-field for Europe as well as for this continent. Only in 1820 had it recovered from this check, so as to become first, as its early settlement and its natural advantages entitled it to be. That story of battles deserves to be more fully told, for it is the story of steady courage, of chivalric assault, of never-wearying defense on the part of the Iroquois against the absolutism, the bigotry and the mediævalism of the France of Louis XIV, and his successors. That our civilization is cast in the mold of Shakespeare and Cromwell and Milton,

of individual liberty and of enduring law, instead of the mold of Bourbon and Bonaparte, of the sword and of frequent revolution, is due in large measure to the Six Nations and to their choice first of the Dutch and then of the English colonists, as allies, in preference to the French rulers north of the St. Lawrence.

BLOSSOMS OF THE CENTURY.

Our American history, especially the history of New York, is like the American aloe ; it has taken a hundred years to blossom. Like the common cactus, men have felt its thorns, and have sneered at its plainness. It has been accounted as of no worth. The documents relative to the West India Company, previous to 1700, which would have told so much of the early Dutch possession of New York, were sold at Amsterdam, in 1821, within the lifetime of many here present, as waste, at so much a pound. Allison, in his "French Revolution," sneeringly declares of the United States : "So wholly regardless are they of historical records or monuments, that half a century hence, its history, even of these times, could only be written from the archives of other states." We are only beginning to perceive how our history is blossoming. The century is complete, and its flowers are to open and to cast their beauty and perfume with perennial glory. The habit is not uncommon with those who have not studied our early chronicles, to sneer at the growing zeal in American history. These men admire the patriotism of Phocion and Themistocles ; they can praise the contest for Magna Charta, and are not without interest in the edict of Nantes and the return from Elba. They cannot tell you one incident in the repulse of Frontenac ; the confederacy of the Iroquois is a new topic to them ; the part of this colony in the struggle against the crown, for taxation only by the Assembly, and for courts uncontrolled by the Governor, is absolutely a sealed book. The glory of this century plant of our history is, that these blossoms, these celebrations, are object lessons which teach even the unwilling something of the foundations upon which our institutions are built, of the material which enters into them, of the cement which binds them together, of the grandeur which attaches to them, and of their magnificent possibilities.

THE FRUITS OF OUR HARVEST.

For New York is the resultant of all the causes of its beginning and its progress. It is not an exotic transplanted from the old world. The Iroquois' possession and primacy were at the source of the fountain. All of the multitudinous influences which mold human character are here at work to develop the individual and society. It was so from the beginning. The Dutch settlement opened the door to cosmopolitan migration. It saved the colony from the curse of a Stuart charter. As early as 1641, Governor Kieft was compelled by the colonists, before the threat of an Indian war, to call a popular assembly. The Dutch colonists, again in 1653, demanded a popular convention, "a Landtag," which Stuyvesant called. Very early after the conquest by Britain, the people were arrayed against the royal governors. Without a royal charter they had nothing to depend upon but their own good sense, their own inherent rights. Hence they were forced at once to think and to act independently. As early as 1665, the towns resisted the imposition of taxes without the popular assent. The struggle against executive control over courts and of executive claims to impose fines by military authority, is a chapter never fully written. From the first representative Assembly in 1683, New York was studying self-government. The bill of rights passed by that body, marks it as a pioneer in the march of liberty ; for it expressly declared : "No freeman shall suffer but by judgment of his peers. No tax shall be assessed on any pretense whatever but by consent of the Assembly. No person professing faith in God by Jesus Christ shall at any time be any ways disquieted or questioned for any difference of opinion." These principles cost a long struggle. In 1693, Fletcher, a royal governor, protested to the Assembly : "You seem to take the whole power into your hands and set up for everything." Freedom of religious worship was sustained by the trial of Makemie in 1707, and the royal preroga-

tive challenged for the first time successfully in the colonies. The assertion, that only the general Assembly could under any pretense or color whatsoever, impose taxes of any kind on any freeman in the colony, was repeated in formal resolutions of the general Assembly in 1708. Half a century later Massachusetts and Virginia joined in it. The trial of Zenger established the liberty of the press for the continent. The mutterings of the coming revolution, led Lieutenant Governor Clarke in 1741, to allude to "a jealousy which for some years had obtained in England that the plantations were not without thoughts of throwing off their dependence on the crown of England." The instructions of the British government to Sir Danvers Osborne in 1753, complain that "the royal prerogative had been trampled upon, and that the Assembly had refused to comply with the commission and instructions respecting money raised for the support of the government, and had assumed the disposal of public money, the nomination of officers and the direction of the militia and other troops." The air of such a colony was well fitted for the assembling of the first American Congress, which met at Albany in 1754, to secure united action among all the colonies. The Iroquois had complained of neglect, and "one great object of this Congress," as Dunlap says, "was to secure their friendship," to provide means for holding fast the alliance with them.

In 1764, the general Assembly of New York again protested that the people of the colony, "gloried in the right of being taxed only with their own consent," and on this ground led the resistance to the stamp act. New York city was the head-quarters of the British army in America. On the 31st of October, 1765, a riot in the streets showed the popular temper, and Governor Colden delivered up all the stamps which had been received from England, to a committee of the people. The outbreak on Golden Hill, on the 17th of January, 1770, was a continuation of frequent collisions between the Sons of Liberty and the troops, and there and then, the first blood was shed in the contest which made the colonies a nation.

Union, independence, popular rights, let it be noted, were of no late birth in New York. Here the earliest claim was made on this continent, that only the representatives of the people have the right to tax them. Here full religious liberty was first asserted, and here the press became free, by decision of the courts. Here began pronounced resistance to British tyranny. Here the first blood consecrated the revolution. The Albany Congress of 1754, contained the germ of the American Congress of to-day. The State foremost in population and in wealth, has been so confident in its supremacy, that it has neglected the chronicles of its glory, the annals of its services and achievements for the common good, and for the principles which are our defense and our crown.

PENNSYLVANIA GUESTS.

We are near the border of a sister State. Many of you who listen to me, are citizens of Pennsylvania. The massacre of Wyoming on your soil, was one of the incitements to the expedition of General Sullivan now commemorated. The history and the interests of the two commonwealths, have much in common. They sit together in vestments of beauty and power, on the ridge of the continent. As colonies, they more than any others, sought to deal justly with the original masters of the soil. Together they now constitute more than one-sixth of the republic. Rivals in manufactures, rivals in avenues of trade, rivals in commerce, home and foreign, rivals in all the elements of greatness, they are sister States in a single nation. That nation is as the Iroquois were, *Holinnonchiendi*, the complete cabin, a single family. The series of events which we here commemorate, helped to make it a nation, free and united. These two States are the natural guardians of the origins of our history. They are charged to trace the sources and the causes, and thus the guarantees of our freedom and our union. Let them be united in reverence for the past, united in aims of development for all our resources, united in efforts to make the future worthy of our ancestry and of our homes, and we will do all that we can do, to make all of our people *Ongwe-Honwe*, surpassing all others.

THE REV. DAVID CRAFT of Wyalusing, Pa., then delivered the historical address. Mr. Craft was also the historian at the centennial celebrations at Waterloo, Geneseo and Aurora, and his four addresses covering the whole ground of the Sullivan Campaign, have been consolidated and thoroughly revised for this publication, and will be found elsewhere.

Wm. T. Sherman, General of the United States Army, was then introduced by the President of the day. He spoke as follows:

GENERAL SHERMAN'S ADDRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I am thankful for the manifestation of pleasure, at my presence here, not personal at all, but because I come here as a representative of the Army of the United States, and as one of the survivors of the great Civil War.

It has been to me a source of great pleasure, to meet many of my old comrades here, hearty and well; and I hope they may live until the next celebration of General Sullivan's victory. I was not here at the last, and do not expect to be here at the next. But wherever men worked for liberty and for law, if a single man falls, the ground becomes sacred; and you are the better for coming to honor it by an occasion of this kind.

When you go home, you will be better patriots and better men, because you have come here to recognize the fact that you have stood upon the battle-field, where fell even but four men, in a battle where liberty and law was the issue of that fight.

I do not intend to occupy but one or two minutes of your time, because I am conscious that you look upon me simply as one of the curiosities of the day. But, my friends, we are all at war. Ever since the first white man landed upon this continent, there has been a battle. We are at war to-day—a war between civilization and savages. Our forefathers, when they first landed upon this continent, came to found an empire based upon new principles, and all opposition to it had to pass away, whether it be English or French on the north, or Indians on the west; and no one knew it better than our father, Washington. [Applause.] He gave General Sullivan orders to come here and punish the Six Nations, for their cruel massacre in the valley of the Wyoming, and to make it so severe that it would not occur again. And he did so. General Sullivan obeyed his orders like a man and like a soldier, and the result was from that time forward, your people settled up these beautiful valleys all around here, and look at their descendants here—a million almost. [Applause.]

If it had not been for General Sullivan and the men who followed him from Easton, and Clinton's force that came across from Albany, probably some of you would not have been here to-day.

Battles are not measured by their death-roll, but by their results, and it makes no difference whether one man was killed or five hundred, if the same result followed. This valley was opened to civilization; it came on the heels of General Sullivan's army, and has gone on, and gone on until to-day. The same battle is raging upon the Yellow Stone. The same men, endowed by the same feelings that General Sullivan's army had, to-day are contending with the same causes and the same races, two thousand miles west of here; not for the purpose of killing, not for the purpose of shedding blood, not for the purpose of doing wrong at all; but to prepare the way for that civilization which must go along wherever yonder flag floats. [Applause.]

I know it is a very common, and too common a practice, to accuse General Sullivan of having destroyed peach trees and cornfields, and all that nonsense. He had to do it, and he did do it. Why does the Almighty strike down the tree with lightning? Why does

He bring forth the thunder storm? To purify the air, so that the summer time may come, and the harvest and the fruits. And so with war. When all things ought to be peaceful, war comes and purifies the atmosphere. So it was with our Civil War; that purified the atmosphere; we are better for it; you are better for it; we are all better for it. Wherever men raise up their hands to oppose this great advancing tide of civilization, they must be swept aside, peaceably if possible, forcibly if we must.

Gentlemen, I have just made my appearance merely to gratify your curiosity. [Laughter.] And I know you will read in the newspapers to-night all the speeches you want to hear. I wish you had listened to my predecessor, better. I wish I could have listened to him, a little better. But to-night you will have time to read all that has been written as well as spoken. And I hope wherever men assemble together, and women and children also, that they will come with that sacred feeling that we are a people united by bonds of love and of law; that we are determined to carry on what our forefathers began; and that years will only bring renewed honors and renewed population.

And wherever that flag floats, whether in New York State or on the Mississippi, or in the Rocky Mountains, justice and liberty and law must prevail; and all men, be they what color they may, Indians or negroes or white men, no better, no worse than we are, shall be free to live the appointed time. [Applause.]

[Cries of "Slocum! Slocum!"]

General Sherman, while the speaking was going on at stand No. 2, gratified the demands of the people, by speaking there also.

BY GENERAL GREGG—Ladies and gentlemen, I take pleasure in introducing Gen. Sherman, of the United States Army.

The audience gave three cheers for the General, who spoke as follows:

GENERAL SHERMAN'S SECOND SPEECH.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I think we are forgetting all about the Sullivan Battle. I was up at the other stand, and endeavored to hear the history of that battle, but failed to catch ten words of it; all I remember is, that General Sullivan was sent up here to fight the Six Nations, and met them on this ground, defeated them, pursued them, and destroyed all their property, as far as the Genesee Valley. I do not suppose the incidents of that battle, interest us much here, who remember battles of much larger extent, though probably none of such importance, for the battle here, though almost bloodless, I think only four white men were killed, and probably half a dozen Indians, nevertheless, it opened for settlement the valley of the Chemung, and probably all the sources of the Susquehanna river, probably one of the most beautiful in the world. I have never, in my whole travels in Europe, Asia, or America, beheld a land towards which I would advise people to turn their steps, as this beautiful country which lies between here and Williamsport, and I congratulate you all, on being inhabitants of this lovely country, teeming with everything which makes life desirable. Had it not been for the battle fought on this ground, it perhaps would have been long, before your ancestors could have cultivated the farms, which you are now possessors of. Therefore, you have reason to be grateful to General Sullivan, and to the brave men who followed him from New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, so bound together, by links of friendship. Connecticut owned part of this valley, at one time, and I think, New York claimed the whole of it, and Pennsylvania claimed the most of it, and so on, and it was only by compromise, that the State line was run where it now is. But it makes very little difference where the State line run, to me. I do not care

whether I am in New York, or Pennsylvania. You, perhaps, prefer your Governor and Legislators, and your neighbors, but it makes very little difference to an American whereabouts he lives, [applause], provided he is industrious, and a good inhabitant. The Pennsylvanians have done well with their State, and so have you done well with yours; both are entitled to equal honor, and you are now raising young people to send out to other homes, and there is plenty of good land on this continent, yet unsettled. There is land as rich as the land between here and the city of Elmira.

About two years ago, I went away up in the valley of the Yellowstone, and I assure you, young men, and those who complain of hard times, and low wages, that you can go up there any time you please, and get a good farm by simply settling upon it, which, one hundred years hence, if you shall live that length of time, will be as valuable as the farms here in Chemung, and I believe there is a better chance for you to live one hundred years there, than there is here, because it is a healthier country. Therefore, when you hear young men growling, and quarreling about wages, and not having enough to do, you tell them that you heard me say, that there were plenty of chances in that country, where they can earn from one dollar to one dollar and a half, as easily as they can earn fifty, or seventy-five cents here.

I assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that we live in probably the finest country the world ever presented for the habitation of man. We have every kind of country, mineral land, timber land, and prairie, but there is plenty yet unsettled, which simply requires the industry which your fathers, and probably some of you, have displayed in this valley, to make these pleasant homes which lie between here, and the city of New York. There is room in our country for two or three hundred million of people, and therefore, I do not see any reason for anybody in this country, to become disheartened because they are a little crowded here, and I think you are a little crowded here to-day. [Applause]

I think a great many of you young men, of the valley of the Chemung, might go out on the Platte, or on the sources of the Yellowstone, or over on the head waters of the Columbia, to the great advantage of yourselves, and of the great Republic of America; for there you could lay the foundations for the same institutions, the same habits, and the same customs you have here. You may have to fight a battle, such as General Sullivan fought here, but probably it would be about as bloodless—four men killed! You can afford to sacrifice four, so that four millions can live there in peace and quiet.

I was anxious to learn more of this battle, fought by General Sullivan, and more of its history and incidents, but there was too much noise at the other stand, and I failed to catch anything that was new to me, but I think the history of this battle, was simply the history of any one of our Indian battles, so generally determined, by the appearance of the parties. If you are always ready for a fight, the Indians are never ready. But if you are never ready, they are always ready, and, therefore, it behooves you, if you go into the Indian country, to be always ready; and, if you have a good rifle and a steady arm, then there is no more difficulty in going to the Yellowstone or Milk river or on the Big Horn, than the risk your grandfathers incurred, in the valley of the Tioga or Chemung.

If our young men in the east, would go out there and lay the foundation for future States and future homes, that would be all the battle, and we would not have growling about Indians and negroes, and other questions that disturb our politicians to-day. We would build up a country, of which every human being would be proud, with institutions, schools and churches, the same as you have here; and that is the destiny of our people; our destiny is not to growl with each other, but to go forth and replenish the earth. That command was given before you or I was thought about, but it is the same command which prevails to-day, and those who obey, it will reap the advantage; and those who stay at home and growl about Ku-Klux, and other questions that have passed to the rear, will go to the rear and be forgotten.

This one hundred years which has passed, since the fight upon the ridge here, is but one day in the history of this nation. Another day will pass, and in that day, if we accomplish half as much as our fathers did, we will have done the full share of men. A

hundred years ago, there was no such thing as a railroad, a telegraph, or a photographer, or nothing of that kind, which we value so much to-day. Suppose we do as much in the next hundred years, who can say, what a glorious country we will have ! We will have something to be proud of, and something to fight for, and General Slocum and I, will die in peace, knowing that which we fought for, has been fully accomplished.

GEN. H. W. SLOCUM, of Brooklyn, then spoke as follows :

MY FRIENDS :

I think there is a limit to human endurance, and I think you have about reached it. You have listened to the speeches this morning, and thus far this afternoon, and you have done so, standing upon your feet, and I know you must be tired, and I will not detain you more than three or four minutes.

I want to premise my remarks by saying, that I know very little about the campaign of General Sullivan. I know, as most of you do, far more about Sherman's raid through Georgia and the Carolinas, than I do about General Sullivan's raid through New York.

As I have sat listening to the speeches, to-day, I have drawn a parallel between those two expeditions. Sherman's march was much the longer of the two, but in many respects he had greater advantages. While he had a great distance to travel, he had roads made for him by the enemy ; he had his produce brought by mule trains, while General Sullivan made his march through trackless woods, and carried his provisions upon the backs of his soldiers. Sherman had good arms ; General Sullivan had the old flint lock musket. But after all, the spirit which prompted both expeditions was the same. It was bold and daring, and, although there was no great loss of life effected in either, yet the results of both were far greater than many battles, in which lives, by the thousand and ten thousands, were lost.

In drawing a parallel between these two expeditions, I suppose that many of our southern friends, if they were here, might say, that in another respect, the two expeditions were similar. They might charge, and they have charged Sherman's expedition with atrocities. But I say to you, that Sherman's army never committed the atrocities which were committed by General Sullivan's. Your sons and your brothers did not go down South to allow rebel cattle to low at them, nor rebel geese to hiss at them, nor rebel sheep to bite them. Whenever they did, they took them into camp, and in that respect, Sherman had an advantage over General Sullivan, for General Sullivan never sent out his hammers to bring supplies to his army. But as I said before, the spirit which prompted the two expeditions, was the same, and I think if we were called upon to fight to-day, we would be actuated by the same spirit, which actuated our fathers, one hundred years ago.

When we stand upon this hill, to-day, and look over these valleys, and contrast the country with what it was, one hundred years ago, the mind, almost instinctively, attempts to solve the problem, as to what will be our condition one hundred years from now. But some one, with a more vivid imagination, and a better command of words than I possess, must draw the picture for you. But I think, although I must confess it requires a little stretch of imagination, that I see the people of South Carolina, on some of their rivers, on the Great Pedee, or on the Little Pedee, or some of those, that your boys had so much difficulty in crossing, I can imagine, I say, the people of South Carolina erecting a monument to Sherman, and glorifying his deeds. I believe the time will come, when even the people of South Carolina will be glad that there was a man in the north to relieve them of the curse of slavery, and to cure them of the heresy of secession.

I wish we could hear more on an occasion like this, of the secrets of our revolutionary forefathers. You are told who commanded this brigade, and who commanded that, and where this and that took place, but I wish we could get down to the bottom, and find out, whether at that time they had a committee on the conduct of the war, whether their newspaper correspondents and civilians criticised the military, and saying "onward to Richmond, or we recall you." I rather think at that time, there was about as much bickering between Generals then in command, as there has been since. There was just about the

same trouble we have experienced in later days, and I predict, that as time rolls around fifty, seventy-five, or a hundred years from now, that those who follow us, will look back upon the period which elapsed from 1861, to the present day, as a grand picture. That they will forget all the little blemishes. That they will forget all the bickerings between officers, and all the jealousies, and all the comments of the press, but will regard it, only as a bright picture, with none of the blemishes we now see in it. They will be proud of the name of Grant. They will be proud of the name of Sherman. They will be proud of the name of grand old Thomas, of Sheridan, of Meade. They will be proud of the deeds of your neighbors and friends, who went out under them. They will be proud of the men who staid at home and furnished the sinews of war, to the men in the field. They will revere the names of the women who cherished and upheld the men who went to the front, and who bound up their wounds and encouraged them. All this will be cherished in their memory. And last but not least, they think of that period which has elapsed since the close of the war, when by force of circumstances, we had bad times, when we had depression in business, when men were seeking for employment and could not obtain it. And people reading the history of these last fifteen years, will read, that amid all the depressing circumstances that surrounded the people, they were true and honest, and paid their debts like honest men. I say to you here to-day, that when they read, that in 1879, fifteen years after the close of the war, a period commenced, when business revived, and when we went on to prosperity ; it will be just as bright a page in the history of our country, as the valorous deeds of our soldiers.

ADDRESS OF HON. GEORGE W. CLINTON, OF BUFFALO.

FELLOW CITIZENS.

Sullivan's Campaign was a marked step, though a minor one, toward the achievement of our independence, and the vindication of the principles of its declaration. It is worthy of national commemoration, but must always occupy its chiefest place in the history of our own State, and in the regards of its people. I sympathize with you in the deep feeling which brings this vast multitude together ; I admire the patriotic wisdom, which duly estimated that campaign, with its causes and its consequences, and gave birth to this centennial celebration of its only battle. That majestic monument, in perpetuating the memory of that battle, bears silent testimony to your own worth and wisdom. May it last forever, an incentive to love of country, devotion to the public good, and trust in Heaven. So many citizens gifted with eloquence and full of historical antiquarian knowledge, will address you to-day, that it is my duty to be brief. To be brief is easy, for I had little time for preparation. I regret that I can offer you nothing better than a few well known facts, and some desultory reflections thrown together in haste.

On the 4th day of July, 1776, the population of the colony of New York was about 180,000, and of these souls some few thousand dwelt along the Mohawk, and west of Schenectady, in what was then known as Tryon county. The great body of middle and western New York, was in the exclusive possession of the Five Nations—the most politic and powerful aboriginal confederacy of North America. The Johnson family in the valley of the Mohawk, and their tenants and adherents were royalists. Their influence with the Iroquois was almost controlling, and it was seconded by arts and gifts of the British leaders in Canada. Hence it was, that in the war of Independence, the Iroquois took up arms against us. It is very pleasant to find it recorded that "the Oneidas, pursuant to the humane policy of Congress, and the advice of General Schuyler, preserved their neutrality," in 1777. But Great Britain's policy had no touch of humanity. She courted the alliance of the Indians, and launched their predatory bands against us. In the words of DeWitt Clinton : "The whole confederacy, except a little more than half of the Oneidas, took up arms against us. They hung, like the scythe of death, upon the rear of our settlements, and their deeds are inscribed with the scalping knife and tomahawk, in characters of blood, on the fields of Wyoming and Cherry Valley and on the banks of the Mohawk."

From 1777 to 1779, these fit auxiliaries of England rendered their ignoble and ineffective aid. They plundered and burned, and slew and oppressed our frontiers with terror and dismay, and made it a dark and bloody ground.

But I will not dwell upon the horrors of their warfare. It bred no heroes, and gave birth to no imperishable renown. The Butlers simply achieved infamy. As to Brant, he was, probably, less cruel and more intelligent than they. I would judge him, in all charity, and exonerate him when possible, from blame. But he was not, so far as I can judge, in any sense, a hero or a statesman. He was thoroughly a Mohawk in everything, with some slight learning and culture superadded. This civilization was superficial—a mere varnish. In war, his strategy was altogether that of his tribe—surprise and ambush—and I doubt not there were among the Iroquois fifty chiefs, as competent as he, to lead them in battle or retreat. We easily acquit him of being the "Monster Brant," whom Campbell drew, but we cannot place him with Philip, or Pontiac, or Tecumseh. It is impossible to elevate him and his white associates into the heroic ranks, or to regard their raids as anything but barbarous. They raged along the frontiers like demons, sparing no age or sex. Their victims were massacred, and led not, and could not lead to any substantial triumph, nor in any degree advance the royal cause. They conquered, and they murdered, and they fled. No wonder that in November, 1778, Washington, whose opinion is decisive, on receiving news of the destruction of Cherry Valley, wrote thus: "It is in the highest degree distressing, to have our frontier so continually harassed by this collection of banditti under Brant and Butler." Whatever place, and it must be an humble one, these names may hold in history, they must be held in detestation by my countrymen. It seems to me that their deeds can never be forgotten, and that tears are yet shed in Orange county, for her rash militia, so vainly made victims to the tomahawk at Minisink, on the 22nd day of July, 1779. That, thank Heaven, was the last exploit of Brant. You next find him, a century ago this blessed day, fleeing like a whipped dog adown this hill, with the Butlers, and the Johnsons, and the Royal Greens of infamous renown, before Sullivan's avenging army.

It would ill become me, especially before such eminent military men as grace this celebration by their presence, to criticise this battle, or the dispositions for it, or the subsequent campaigns. But you will, I trust, excuse me for bringing a few facts to notice. We largely outnumbered the enemy; but they held their own, until they were outflanked, and then fled panic-stricken. Our artillery seems to have been a new terror, and to have inflicted injury upon them. So decisive a victory was never won with so little expenditure of blood. So far as I have been able to learn, the slain and wounded of the enemy were wholly Indians, not a man or officer of the British regulars or Tories were killed or wounded in that battle. No disposition, whatever, had been made to cut off or impede the flight. The flight was ignominious. Then followed dire but just retribution—the burning of Indian villages, the destruction of their corn, the burning down of their orchards, and the whole land of the Senecas was, for a time, an abandoned waste. The power of the Senecas was forever broken, their pride was humbled, and room was made for treaties, which have replaced them by a better race, and made this pleasant land the home of freemen. Would that the conquering army had gone one step farther—an easy step it seems too—and captured Fort Niagara! Then there would be a fourth centennial celebration of the campaign—one which Buffalo might consider, more particularly, her own.

One hundred years have passed, since this fair scene witnessed this precious victory. Famous itself, it conferred great fame on no one, though honorable to all the victors. As to them,

"Their bones are dust, their good swords are rust,
Their souls are with the Saints we trust."

I hope they have many descendants here. It is a pleasure to know that we have sprung from chaste women and brave men. I do congratulate myself, a little, upon the fact that it was my grandfather, who, by damming the Susquehanna at its effluence from Otsego lake, created a flood upon which his batteaux rode down the stream in triumph, and made

conjuncture with General Sullivan at Tioga. But, in truth, the glories of war are not so precious, as the steadfast happiness of peace, for which just victories prepare, and to which they give security. Therefore, I find a greater pleasure in remembering that I am the son of one, who did somewhat for the prosperity of his native State, and for the Union, by the extension of commerce, the promotion of religion and education, and the fostering of art and science. I regard with somewhat of jealousy and fear, the possible abandonment of our main conduct of commerce. I apprehend danger to our people from obsequiousness to wealth, and from its evil uses. Commerce ought to be free, and if necessary, law should be invoked to make it so. Just and equal laws, if they can be avoided or trampled on, are a reproach and not honest. Perpetual vigilance is the price of liberty. Power is continually stealing from the many to the few. Standing as we do upon the battle-field, this theater of a victory, which was the far off harbinger of the peace which reigns over this glorious and happy land, then tenanted by rude barbarians, these homely truths may well, it seems to me, occur to us ; and so, as your friend, I venture to remind you that the battles of peace are often more momentous, than those of war. Here then, in the presence of this noble monument, let us, one and all, resolve that, happen what may, we will emulate the brave men who here won victory for us, that we will be heroic in the peaceful paths of duty, and true to law and to country, and so win the approbation of conscience and of God.

Judge Gray then introduced HON. JUDGE DANA, of Wilkesbarre, Pa., who spoke as follows :

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

The events which render this day and place memorable, are not merely local ; they originated in other and prior events, which occurred at other and distant points, and their historic value is realized only as their true relation is observed.

On the 3rd and 4th of July, 1878, at Wyoming and at Wilkesbarre, was observed, with appropriate services, the centennial of the battle and massacre of Wyoming. With the details of that sad episode in our national annals, you are all acquainted. Many in this audience, are descendants of those who fought and fell on the 3rd of July, 1778, and have heard from the lips of survivors, of that conflict, and the toilsome flight which ensued, the story of their heroism and of their sufferings. You have heard how that valley, an exposed frontier, was stripped of its defensive force, and all its able bodied male population called away to reinforce the army under Washington ; how its defenceless condition became known, through bands of the enemy constantly lurking on the outskirts of the settlement, and that, emboldened and incited by the information, in the early spring and early summer, a force of four hundred British provincials, (consisting of Colonel John Butler's Rangers, and a detachment of Sir John Johnson's Royal Greens,) with a mixed body of Tories from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, and a force of some seven hundred Indians, Senecas, Mohawks, and other tribes of the Six Nations, descended the Susquehanna from Tioga Point, landed on the west bank of the Wyoming, and by an overland march, entered the valley on the 30th of June. To meet, and, if possible, repel the threatened danger, a force of some three hundred citizens, mostly exempt by age or extreme youth from military service, poorly armed and without discipline, was organized, if organization it could be called, under Colonel Zebulon Butler and George Dorrance, and leaving the women and children in the hastily constructed and poorly defended fort, moved out to the unequal combat. The story of how they fought and fell, or were captured and reserved for torture and death, the flight and sufferings of helpless widows and orphans, through swamp and forest, to their former homes in the east, the plunder, burning and destruction throughout the valley, of all the toilsome accumulation of years of industry, has been too often told to need repetition. Yet this passing allusion has a relevancy to this occasion, for the scenes of '78 in Wyoming, are intimately connected with those of '79 at this place. The battle of Newtown, with the subsequent destruction of the

Indian country, was the retributive sequel of the massacre of Wyoming. The whole country was aroused by the atrocities of the savage enemy, and pursuant to the plans, and in obedience to the orders of the humane Washington, General Sullivan here unsheathed the sword, and kindled the torch, not merely in retaliation, not solely in punishment, but for the stern and effectual repression of future outrage. The massacre of Wyoming and the battle of Newtown, though separated by a year's interval, are two parts of one drama—they bear to each other the relation, if not of cause and effect, at least that of event, fact and consequence. And if, in this day of advanced refinement, an apology for the destruction of Indian property were needed, their ravages in Wyoming are an ample vindication.

With other members of the Executive Committee of the late celebration at Wyoming, I meet you, to-day, and claim a common interest in the event we are here to commemorate. What are the topics of thought the occasion suggests? We are not met for mere display or idle ceremony. The event which calls us together was, at the time, deemed one of national importance. A hundred years have successively come and gone, and it has lost none of its interest. Reaching over the century, it has called together this large concourse, from great distances, to join in these commemorative services. Yet, judging simply from the numbers engaged, and the casualties suffered, the battle at Newtown does not rank amongst the great battles of the world. Some thirty-four hundred American troops, on this ground, under General Sullivan, encountered a smaller body of British, Tories and savages, under Brant, Butler and Johnson, and after a sharp and decisive conflict, drove them from their breastworks, and dispersed them in rapid and disorderly flight.

I speak to many, to-day, who themselves were actors on larger fields, where the fierce struggle was longer continued, and the sad list of killed, wounded and missing, far greater.

I speak to some, who heard the thunders and were baptized in the fires of Antietam, of Chancellorsville and of Gettysburg. But we must not forget that a hundred years have passed, with their changes; that infant settlements have grown to be populous and powerful States. As Gettysburg shows our present power, the battle of Newtown and the marches which preceded and followed it, are exhibitions of the beginnings of our national strength, the effort of a people yet in the gristle, but not hardened into the bone of manhood. The severity of a fight, the bravery of the combatants, the merit of victory, are not measured solely by the numbers engaged. The band of Greeks at Thermopylæ were not many, but they are immortal. The battles of the Revolution were fought by small armies, but they were great in the cause at stake, and principles involved; and though followed by defeat oftener than by victory, their result was a splendid triumph, which established the freedom of a continent.

Whilst these anniversary observances are a tribute due to the memory of those whose courage achieved the independence and whose wisdom secured the permanence of the Republic, they are also valuable in the opportunities they present of recalling, verifying and perfecting the facts of history. As a military achievement, General Sullivan's march of six hundred miles in so short a time, most of the distance through the wilderness, each step observed by an enemy, who awaited but the opportunity to strike a blow, his victory at this place, his thorough execution of his orders, the return of the troops with every object of the expedition accomplished, with the loss of only forty men, by sickness and the enemy, in his immediate command, is an achievement which challenges the attention of the general student of history, and deserves to be held by us, who are deeply interested as sharers in the results, in grateful memory.

His military career ended with this campaign; and as envy and enmity have tried to tarnish his record, it well becomes his friends here to-day, even at the risk of reputation, to give him special prominence, to recall his services, and to place on record our estimate of his character. A brief statement of his services will be his best vindication.

Little is known of Major General John Sullivan, prior to the beginning of the Revolutionary War. He was born of Irish parentage at Berwick, in the province of Maine, on the 17th of February, 1740. His youth and early life were occupied in labor on a farm, but in the intervals of work, he acquired, under his father's instruction, a competent edu-

cation. He subsequently chose the profession of the law, and after the requisite preparatory studies, was admitted to practice, and established himself in Durham, New Hampshire, where, except when absent on official duty, he continued to reside until his death. He was an early and prominent advocate of the right of the colonies against the Mother Country, and was selected as one of two delegates, to represent the province of New Hampshire, in the first Continental Congress, which assembled in Philadelphia on the 5th of Sept., 1774. Associated with him in that memorable body, amongst others, were Washington, Jay, Adams, Patrick Henry, Rutledge and Lee.

In December of the same year, and four months before the first blood was shed at Lexington, with John Langdon, he led a party to New Castle, near Portsmouth, took possession of the fort, imprisoned the garrison, seized and carried away a hundred barrels of powder, some of which was afterwards so effectively used at Bunker Hill, fifteen cannon, a quantity of small arms and stores, and thus committed the first open act of hostility by a military force, against the royal authority. In January, 1775, a few weeks after this event, he and his associate Langdon, were elected representatives to the Second Continental Congress, and on the 22nd of June, hostilities having begun, he was chosen one of eight Brigadier Generals for the Colonial army. Accepting the appointment, he resigned his seat in Congress, proceeded to the camp at Cambridge, and was assigned to the command of one of the brigades, composing the left wing of the army. Passing over minor services in this brief summary—his participation with Montgomery, Thomas and Arnold in the expedition to Canada, and after its failure, his safe withdrawal of the troops and stores, without loss, to Crown Point, whence he rejoined the army under Washington, his promotion to the rank of Major General, the battle of Long Island and his capture along with Lord Sterling, whilst fighting bravely, and from no misconduct on his part, and his subsequent exchange, he next appears leading one of two columns, acting in the immediate presence of Washington, at the battle of Trenton, General Greene leading the other. In this battle, as you remember, the enemy sustained the loss of about thirty killed and wounded, and one thousand prisoners, whilst the American loss was only four men, two in action and two from the severity of the cold. And better than all, the drooping hopes of the country were revived, and a new impulse given to prolong the struggle. General Sullivan commanded the right wing at the battle of Brandywine. He led a column, consisting of his own and Wayne's divisions at the battle of Germantown, where, acting again under the immediate eye of Washington, he was specially commended in the official reports, of the action. After sharing in the privations at Valley Forge, he was assigned, in the spring of 1778, by the orders of Washington, to take command of the American forces in Rhode Island. These were organized in two divisions under LaFayette and Greene, and a plan was formed for a joint attack by General Sullivan's army, and the French fleet and troops under Count D'Estaing, upon the British forces at Newport. After all arrangements for the campaign, and joint movement had been skillfully made, and everything promised success, the project was defeated and the safety of the American force imperiled by the failure of the Count to co-operate, and his withdrawal, on the appearance of the British fleet, to Boston harbor.

After repulsing a spirited attack by the enemy, General Sullivan, finding the reduction of the place impracticable, without the aid of the French fleet, withdrew his troops with such skill and success, as induced from Congress on the 17th of September following, a vote of thanks, and from the Legislature of his own State, a like compliment. He remained in command in Rhode Island, until the spring of 1779, although the interval was marked by no military movements of importance.

Such, briefly, had been the services rendered, such the commands borne, and character established by General Sullivan, prior to his selection to lead the expedition to this place. He had filled responsible civil positions, been entrusted with important military commands, been promoted for gallantry, made the subject of special commendatory reports, by the Commander-in-Chief, and received the thanks of Congress, and of his own State.

Congress and the country having become aroused by the news of the massacre in Wyoming and Cherry Valley, to the necessity of vigorous repressive action, early in the year

1779, Washington was directed to take the most effectual measures to protect the North-western frontier, and to chastise the Indians, for their repeated atrocities. He determined to effect these objects by sending a strong force, under a skillful and vigilant leader, into the country of the Six Nations, disperse any organized force, lay waste their settlements, and, by depriving them of sustenance and shelter, compel them to seek a remoter refuge in British territory. Washington, in anticipation of these orders, had already collected information, as to the most eligible route for the expedition, and the means and strength necessary to secure its success. The plan he finally adopted, was to assemble the main force at Wilkesbarre, thence to move up the river to its confluence with the Chemung, and there await the arrival of a column moving west, by way of Otsego lake, and the headwaters of the Susquehanna.

The details were arranged, supplies, with boats and horses for their transportation were ordered, and it only remained to select a leader. For reasons satisfactory to the judicious Washington, the command was first tendered to General Gates, with the generous design perhaps, of reinstating that officer in the public confidence, and with the purpose if refused, to give the command to General Sullivan. General Gates did refuse, and General Sullivan promptly accepted. The orders of General Washington, issued May 31, directed the total devastation and destruction of the settlements of the Six Nations, and of their adherents and allies, with the capture of as many prisoners as possible; that refusing all proposals of peace, parties should be detached to lay waste all the settlements around, in a manner so effectual, that the country might not be merely overrun, but destroyed. These severe instructions were based on the conviction that treaties were profitless, and that he was dealing with a foe whom fear and the want of means alone could restrain. The troops detailed for this service were the brigades of General Clinton of New York, of General Maxwell of New Jersey, of General Poor with New Hampshire and Massachusetts regiments, a Pennsylvania brigade under General Hand, an artillery force under Col. Proctor, and a detachment from Morgan's rifle corps, with which were incorporated companies of riflemen from Wyoming under Captains Spalding, Schott and Franklin. Their combined strength was about thirty-five hundred men, (3,500).

In reaching the rendezvous at Wilkesbarre, their line of march led through an unbroken wilderness, over deep and rapid streams, through dense thickets and across high mountains. The hunters and fishermen who pursue their game along the Pacons, or the waters of the Tobyhanna, the Lehigh and their tributaries, can still trace the route, and from near Stoddartsville to Wilkesbarre, General Sullivan's road is well known, and parts of it are still traveled. On the 18th of June, the troops left Easton, and on the 23rd arrived at Wyoming. Those of this audience who have seen service, will realize how much of toil, endurance and suffering such a march involved.

One hundred and twenty boats built on the lower waters of the Susquehanna for the transport of the artillery and supplies, arrived on the 24th of July, but the quantity and quality of stores were so defective, through the carelessness or inefficiency of the supply department, as to delay an advance until the 31st. The low stage of water prevalent at that season of the year, and the frequent shoals, rendered navigation slow and difficult. The boats stretched out for two or more miles, the packhorses following a narrow path along the bank, occupied a like extent, so that compact order was impossible. Yet every movement was observed by a vigilant foe, and the skill and care of officers and men were constantly taxed to avoid a surprise and attack at some point in the attenuated line.

The order and incidents of this march, as graphically recorded in the diaries kept by different officers of the command, which my friend Mr. Jenkins, who is with us to-day, and whose grandfather was the chief guide of the expedition, has collected, have all the interest of a romance.

They arrived at Tioga Point on the 11th of August, erected a stockade, named Fort Sullivan, placed in it the sick, and the stores not immediately required on the march, and awaited the approach of General Clinton. He arrived on the 22d, and on the 26th, the march of the combined forces began. On the 29th of August, they reached this point, and found the enemy under Brant, Butler and Johnson, strongly posted behind, concealed

breastworks, intending, if possible, a surprise, but if foiled in this, to try the hazard of battle. The position of the enemy was discovered by the advance guard of riflemen, communicated at once to the General, and the plan and orders for the assault, were promptly, and skillfully made. With the details of the battle, you are familiar; they have been eloquently rehearsed in your hearing to-day. There was vigilance in discovering, and skill in avoiding the ambuscade the enemy had so artfully planned. If, confiding in superiority of numbers, or despising the strength of the foe, the requisite precautions had been omitted, and the column in the broken condition incident to such a march, had stumbled against the masked breastworks, and before recovery from the shock of an encounter in front, a fire had been opened, as was intended, enfilading the American right, and extending around even to the rear, who could answer for the result?

Wisdom, after the event, is cheap. Knowing the position, and numbers of the enemy, as revealed by the result, we readily see that the plan of attack was simply what the circumstances required. Whilst Hand's brigade, and the artillery engaged them in front, Poor's was sent to force them from the ridge, which threatened the American right, and this being accomplished, to press upon their left flank and gain their rear. The remaining troops were held in reserve. This seems so obvious as to evince his skill; but in the suddenness and magnitude of their emergency, when defeat meant death, the General had not our certain knowledge of the facts. The foe, like their associates, the wild beasts, except where on incursions of plunder, left few traces of their movements or numbers; neither followed nor accompanied by long trains of supplies or of artillery, they moved, when occasion required, with the agile, and noiseless step of the panther, and with his skill in concealment, they sprang with his impetuosity upon their unsuspecting victims. It is high commendation of the General, after the facts have been subjected to the ordeal of a century's scrutiny, to be able to say, that just the dispositions were made which the emergency required, and of the officers and men of the command, that their whole duties were gallantly accomplished. No victory could have been more decisive, no repulse more complete.

The way having been opened, the instructions of Washington were carried out to the letter, and the atrocities at Wyoming avenged. Washington expressed his warm approval of the manner of conducting the expedition, and of its results; Congress passed a vote of thanks, and designated a day for general thanksgiving, and the country rejoiced in the sense of relief and security the event inspired. Such was the contemporaneous estimate of General Sullivan's character and worth, that when ill health, induced by nearly five years of arduous service and the exposures of the last campaign, compelled his retirement from the army, Congress expressed its regret at the loss of so gallant a soldier. His fellow citizens of New Hampshire, honored him with a seat in Congress, twice elected him Chief Executive of the State, and in 1789, Washington appointed him United States Judge, of that district, an office which he held until his death, in January of 1795. With such marks of approval, from such sources, and with such a life record, his character for skill and bravery, as a General, and for integrity and wisdom as a statesman, is secure against assault, and its maintenance untarnished, is confidently committed to the keeping of another century.

At the close of the speech of Judge Dana, the audience called for Gov. Henry M. Hoyt.

JUDGE GRAY:—Gentlemen and ladies, I have the pleasure to introduce Gov. Hoyt, of Pennsylvania. [Applause.]

GOV. HOYT'S ADDRESS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I am here for the common purpose which has brought you here. In some sense, in a large sense, as you have heard, this affair was largely instigated through Pennsylvania

history, and, Mr. Chairman, I congratulate myself, and my people, that I see large numbers of Pennsylvanians here, to join with the citizens of New York in this celebration. [Applause.]

I came here, because I believe an occasion like this, is worth while for the busy men of the country, for the men of wonderful energies, to stop and think who invented the society we live in, and who invented the land we have inherited ; to stop for a few minutes, as we breathe the balmy August air, to appreciate the simple patriotism, and remember the loyalty and patriotism which organized the expedition, and carried it through to success, which you celebrate ; to bring us the theory of government, the theory of our fathers, which requires no complicated argument, no protracted investigation of causes and things, to tell a man his duty when his country is in danger, to remind ourselves of the heroes of 1779. The men who chopped their way from Easton and from the Mohawk to the Lehigh, who chopped their way through the forests, and bridged themselves over the swamps and rivers, were men like you, for you are not to exalt the patriot out of everyday life. They were men like you, who were capable of rising to the occasion, as you are capable ; and it is your duty to hold yourselves in readiness on all occasions. We want men who will not annoy themselves with metaphysics and all those things ; to know to what country and what portions of the country they ought to owe their allegiance.

Here is a New Hampshire lawyer, with troops from New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, in the ill-convened and ill-adjusted organization of the confederate government, (if organization it can be called), disregarding State lines, and coming away out of their own territory, as my predecessor has said, before the muscle had hardened into bone, was the origin of the nation.

Now, fellow citizens of New York and Pennsylvania, you do well ! You do yourselves honor in an affair of this sort, and you will go home better citizens ; we will all go home better citizens, from coming up in close contact with the pure, clean patriotism, and sacrifices of the men, who chopped their way around these lakes, and through these forests.

Now fellow citizens, I am not on your programme ; I have no spite against the people of this county. [Cries of "Go on ! go on !"] I have no grudge against you, and I will retire.

Mr. HALL introduced Gov. Natt. Head of New Hampshire, in the following manner: "Among those troops who, one hundred years ago, contributed to the success of Sullivan's Expedition, none were more conspicuous than the troops furnished by the State of New Hampshire, and I am happy to announce to you, that that State is represented here to-day, by its Governor and Staff, and I have now the honor to introduce to you his Excellency, Governor Head, who will now address you."

GOV. HEAD'S ADDRESS.

FELLOW CITIZENS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

I have come here to-day with a simple band, and not with a large force, yet we propose before we return, to examine the titles of those who own this territory. New Hampshire claims some part of this State. As General Sherman has said, there were only four white men killed at this battle. That is true, but they were New Hampshire men. [Applause.]

I have brought with me, relatives of some of those old heroes. We have Dr. Sullivan, who is a great-grandson of General Sullivan, whose portrait hangs in our State House, the picture which you see here on the right. (Referring to pictures hanging in the speaker's stand.) We have, also, Col. Bradbury B. Cilley, who, I say, is a double-header. His father was a son of General Cilley, his mother a daughter of General Poor. He is a grandson of both.

We have come here, gentlemen, to join with you, and help celebrate this great event to-day, and I congratulate the people of this vicinity, who have had the courage to start such a meeting as this, on this occasion. I feel that it is not altogether a local gathering, but a national one, and I am delighted; it gives me much pleasure to meet such men as Generals Sherman and Slocum, and other distinguished military gentlemen, and other heads of States. The meeting here on this great occasion, has caused me a great deal of pleasure, as I have no doubt it has you. I simply desire to introduce some of my friends, who have accompanied me, and to say that we have brought the portraits of General Sullivan, and General Poor, and General Dearborn. General Cilley's portrait, was omitted by our people by some misunderstanding. I intended to have it here.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will not occupy more of your time. I can only say, I am delighted to be here, and I thank God that we have had such a beautiful day for the celebration.

ADDRESS OF HON. STEUBEN JENKINS, OF WYOMING, PA.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

We have met to-day, to talk and reflect upon the facts connected with one of the battles of that war, which gave liberty, and a nation to the world. Every detail of that war, its rise, its progress, its conduct, its campaigns, its battles, its defeats, its successes, its men, its materials, and its consequences, all have a deep interest to the philosopher, the historian, and statesman, and are well worthy the consideration, and careful study of every American citizen.

Our Revolutionary struggle grew out of the attempt of the British Government to impose grievous, unjust, and oppressive measures upon our people, and the determination, on the other hand, of our people, that they would endure neither injustice nor oppression.

They resolved that as they were born free, they would live free, or perish in the struggle.

When petitions, when supplications, when remonstrances failed, they stopped, not these, but took up arms in defense of their rights, and appealing to the God of battles, offered up everything sacred and valuable upon the altar of liberty.

Nor was their appeal in vain. The struggle, although undertaken when they were without money, without an army, and even without a government, to support and sustain them—and although long, arduous, bloody, and hazardous, yet was ultimately resolved in their favor, and we are met here to-day to celebrate one of the many successes, which brought the issue to a favorable, and happy conclusion, and terminated the war in freedom, safety, and independence, the rich fruits, and blessings, of which we are this day enjoying in all their fullness.

As we stand here to-day, and look at the scenes which surround us, we are almost instinctively impelled to ask, how did it happen that an important battle of the Revolutionary War, a hundred years ago, when all this vast region was a howling wilderness, inhabited by savages and prowled over by wild beasts, was fought here in this place, on this ground, when the contest was between us, and a power whose seat was beyond the ocean, thousands of miles away.

The elucidation of some facts, bearing upon this portion of the Revolutionary contest, and the results which flowed from it, shall fill my task here to-day.

The country east, north, and west of here, from the Hudson river to the Mississippi, and along the St. Lawrence, and in and about the great lakes, from the earliest knowledge of the white man, was inhabited by a powerful league of natives, called the Iroquois, Five Nations, and subsequently Six Nations, of Indians.

The region was well calculated for their abode. Its many streams, and its large and numerous lakes, furnish abundant supplies of fish, while its forests teemed with the elk, bear, deer, and other games; and the fruitful soil enabled them to raise supplies of corn,

beans, and other products of the earth, so that the whole region might well be denominated an Indian Paradise.

The great council fire, from which all the others were kindled, was at Onondaga, their seat of power, where the Great Head exercised dominion over vast nations, or tribes, which they held in the most abject subjection.

What the number of these people was, in the early part of 1600, when we first find mention of them, we have no means of ascertaining, as no historian or adventurer has left us any account, and we must leave the history of this period to conjecture, and come down to a period within which some historical data have been written out and handed down to us.

This region was claimed many years, by both the English and the French, the latter of whom were the first to traverse its deep and almost impenetrable recesses, and bring back somewhat of its character and history.

Governor Dongan, of the Province of New York, in a report made to the Committee of Trade, of that Province, dated 22d February, 1687, says :

"The Five Indian Nations, are the most warlike people in America, and are a bulwark between us and the French, and all other Indians. They go as far as the South sea, the north-west passage, and Florida, to war. They are so considerable that all the Indians in those parts of America, are tributary to them."

Impelled by that spirit of rapacity and domination which flows with such strong tide through the savage, as through the civilized heart, a body of these restless and blood-thirsty savages, even in time of the most profound peace, would sally forth on a murderous foray, and reaching the waters of the upper Susquehanna, in their course, descend that stream in canoes to near its mouth, whence, setting out on foot, they would traverse the streams and forests, subsisting by plundering their weaker brethren along the route, until they arrived at the Carolinas, and sometimes, even to Georgia and Florida, where, falling upon an innocent, unoffending village, with the fearful cry, "We come, we come, to suck your blood," they would utterly destroy it, kill and scalp most of its inhabitants, load down with plunder, and lead the survivors into captivity, and thus return home. They would rush in this manner from one village to another, spreading terror before them, and leaving little but a scene of drear and sickening desolation behind.

A whole season would be spent, by a party in these murderous forays, the great object of which would be plunder, and the exhibition of what they deemed prowess.

The earliest report of numbers that is found in the history of this confederacy, is supposed to have been made by M. Joncaire, a French traveler through the northern part of that region, in 1736. He gives the number of Indian warriors in the territory between Quebec, on the east, and the Mississippi river, on the west, north of the Alleghanies and including Canada, 15,875, or about 80,000, including women and children.

Sir William Johnson, Baronet, in a report to the British government, November 18th, 1763, at the close of the French and Indian War, when this vast region passed from the dominion of the French to that of the British government, gives the number of Indian warriors, in and about the same territory, though somewhat less in extent, a few places lacking returns, at 11,990, or about 60,000, including women and children.

If we add the probable numbers in the omitted localities, we shall find the two reports agree well enough for all practical purposes, and the higher number may be taken as nearly accurate,—about 16,000 warriors.

No cause had operated to diminish the number, between 1763, and the commencement of the Revolutionary War,—they probably increased during that long period of peace,—and hence, we may well conclude that the Six Nations could, at the happening of the latter event, muster a force of 16,000 warriors.

At the commencement of the war, these Indians, as a confederation, endeavored to maintain a position of neutrality, and they succeeded in doing so for some time, but the artful intrigues of the agents of the British government, acting upon minds naturally inclined to war and bloodshed, finally seduced them into active service on the British side, and on the 21st of June, 1777, Burgoyne, with his English, Scotch, Canadian and Hessian

troops, in pursuance of express orders from his king, at Bouquet river, near Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, met in congress 400 Iroquois, Algonquin, and Ottawa savages, and took them into the British service. On the day previous, some of them, shedding the first blood, had brought in ten scalps, and as many prisoners, for which they received commendation, and suitable reward.

Burgoyne, dressed in full regimentals, and emblazoned with stars and other insignia of office, power and royal favor, gathered around him the officers of his army, with his whole force drawn up in imposing martial array, and in an elaborate address, made these savage hordes a part of the British army in America.

He thus addressed them :

“ CHIEFS AND WARRIORS :

The great King, our common father, has considered with satisfaction, the general conduct of the Indian tribes from the beginning of the troubles in America.

The restraint you have put upon your resentment, in waiting the King, your father's call to arms, is the hardest proof to which your affection could have been put. The further patience of your father would, in his eyes, become culpable. It, therefore, remains for me, the General of His Majesty's armies, and in this council his representative, to release you from those bonds which your obedience imposed.

Warriors ! you are free : Go forth in might of your valor and your cause ! Strike at the common enemies of Great Britain and America, disturbers of public order, peace, and happiness, destroyers of commerce, parricides of the State !

The circle round you, the chiefs of His Majesty's European forces, and of the Princes, his allies, esteem you, as brothers, in the war. Emulous in glory and in friendship, we will reciprocally give and receive example.”

An old Iroquois chief thus replied : “ We receive you as our father. We loved your father, and our hatchets have been sharpened on our affections. In proof of our sincerity, our whole villages, able to go to war, are come forth. The old and infirm, our infants and wives, alone remain at home. With one common assent, we promise a constant obedience to all your orders, and may the father of days give you many, and success.”

Having thus placed himself at the head of a savage horde, “ in consciousness of Christianity, and the honor of soldiership,” Burgoyne issued a proclamation, in mercy to the poor deluded Americans, in the following terms : “ Let not people consider their distance from my camp. I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction, and they amount to thousands, to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain. If the frenzy of hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and man, in executing the vengeance of the British government against the willful outcasts.”

The employment of the Indians was strongly reprobated by leading British statesmen. Burke said, “ they were not fit allies for the King, in a war with his own people.” Fox censured the King for suffering them in his camp, when it was well known that “ brutality, murder and destruction, were ever inseparable from Indian warriors.”

When Suffolk, before the Lords, contended “ that it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means which God and nature had put into their hands,” Chatham called down “ the most decisive indignation at these abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them.”

Elated with their new position and honors, the savage horde set about their work of brutality, murder, destruction and devastation. Col. Saint Leger, with a division of Burgoyne's army, in moving on Fort Stanwix, fell in with a body of Indians, whom he invited to join him in the expedition.

Butler at Irondequoit, assured them, in order to overcome their reluctance, that “ there was no hindrance in the war path, that they would only have to look on, and see Fort Stanwix fall.” For seven days he lavished largesses on the fighting men, and on their wives and children, till they accepted “ the hatchet ” which he gave them. Not much short of one thousand warriors joined the white brigade of St. Leger. In addition to these, Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor of Detroit, in obedience to orders from the Secre-

tary of State, sent out fifteen several parties, consisting in the aggregate, of 280 red braves, with 30 white officers and rangers, to prowl on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

Thus were the Indians brought into active service of the British crown, and made a part of the power for enforcing its tyranny on a brave and resisting people. But the Indians failed "to see Fort Stanwix fall."

The brave and gallant Herkimer, and his militia, marched to the relief of that beleaguered fortress, defeated the enemy, who had ambuscaded his little band, after a most desperate and bloody battle, and the feeble garrison under Gansevoort, had the extreme pleasure of seeing Saint Leger, in a panic, abandon the siege, and his camp siezed by his treacherous allies, who robbed the British officers of their clothes, plundered their boats, and made off with the booty.

At the first outset, the employment of Indian allies had proved a failure. The British government was informed officially that "the wily red men treacherously committed ravages upon their friends;" that "they could not be controlled;" that "they killed their captives after the fashion of their tribes," &c. A Brunswick officer describes them as, "tall, warlike and enterprising, but fiendishly wicked, man eaters, capable of unflensing an enemy with their teeth."

On the other side, Washington said of this battle: "It was Herkimer who first reversed the gloomy scene of the northern campaign."

The Indians followed in the wake of Gen. Burgoyne's army, and spread through the country, committing numerous depredations and murders. On the 28th of July, they captured Miss Jane McCrea, a young lady of beauty and accomplishments, an orphan daughter of a deceased clergyman, near Fort Edward, on the Hudson, and inhumanly put her to death; a crime which thrilled the American people with horror, aroused a spirit of fierce indignation in the breast of every true patriot, and caused many, who had favored the royal side, to withdraw their support from a cause which employed such instruments as savages to execute its purposes.

This cold blooded, atrocious murder, brought a blush of shame and confusion to the face of every honorable and human Briton, and, Burke, in a great speech in the British Parliament, in glowing language, made the story of this atrocious murder, disgraceful to British armies in America. And yet, Burgoyne was proud of his alliance with, and management of his Indian allies, of whom he had detachments from seventeen different nations, but when in his extremity, at the battle of Saratoga, he turned to them for help, they fled away from him, like shadows from the setting sun, and left him to his fate.

The victories gained by the Americans, over the British and their allies of Fort Stanwix, at Bennington, and at Saratoga, struck the poor Indians with astonishment and caused them to withdraw in contempt from the scenes of the defeats of their allies. They took up their positions in Central and Western New York, and when winter approached, many, indeed most of them, made their winter quarters at Niagara.

De Veaux, says of this terrible place: "Niagara was the head-quarters of all that was barbarous, unrelenting, and cruel. There were congregated the leaders and chiefs of those bands of murderers and miscreants who carried death and destruction into the remote American settlements. There civilized Europe revelled with savage America, and ladies of education and refinement mingled in the society of those whose only distinction was to wield the tomahawk and the bloody scalping knife. There were the squaws of the forests raised to eminence, and the most unholy alliances, between them and officers of the highest rank, smiled upon and countenanced. There in this stronghold, like a nest of vultures, for seven years, they sallied forth and preyed upon the distant settlements of the Mohawk and Susquehanna valleys. It was the depot of their plunder; there they planned their forays, and there they returned to feast until the time for action should come again."

The forces that wintered at Niagara and in Western New York, during the winter of 1777-8, in pursuance of orders issued by Col. Guy Johnson, moved forward and assembled at Kannedaseage, or Seneca Castle, early in May, 1778, and from this point sallied forth

in divisions to do their hellish work. They spread terror, consternation and death on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, and Cobleskill, at Wyoming and at Cherry Valley, laying waste and desolating those unfortunate settlements, with a fiendishness and ferocity seldom equaled and never surpassed. They spared neither age nor sex ; all were indiscriminately slaughtered, so terrible were the atrocities committed, at these points, that the whole country was aroused to the fearful state of affairs, and cried aloud for the speedy and effectual chastisement of their blood-thirsty and inhuman perpetrators.

Vigorous and ample measures for subduing these wicked monsters, were demanded on all hands.

Accordingly, an expedition against them was devised during the winter of 1778-9 and set in motion the following spring. This expedition was entrusted to the charge of Major General John Sullivan, who marched into the Indian country, and through it as far as the Genesee river.

He met the enemy in several battles, and defeated them in all, destroyed forty of their villages and towns, with 160,000 bushels of corn, and devastated their whole country along the line of march.

Here on this spot, one hundred years ago to-day, this haughty Indian confederacy, with its chosen warriors, and its allies, the British and Tories, made a stand against the advance of the brave and invincible army led by the gallant General Sullivan. Here they built a rampart ; here they prepared an ambuscade, and here they proposed to roll back the tide of conquest, and save their land from invasion, their homes and their harvests from destruction and desolation.

But in the progress of events, their full time had come. They had already cumbered the ground full long, and another power, and another people were to take possession of their "happy hunting grounds." The shock of battle came, and they fell before it as the grass before the scythe of the husbandman, or fled in terror and dismay before the terrible onslaught of the victors, and the once mighty Indian confederacy melted away, and ceased, from that time forth, to be a power of any consequence or importance in the contest, in which they had previously acted such a conspicuous and terrible part.

Until that day, the Indian power over the whole of this vast region of country was supreme.

On that day, that power was broken forever, and the country passed from the possession and dominion of the Indian, to that of the white man.

Until that day, a wilderness crowned these hills, and crossed this valley, except at a few spots where the Indian had planted his corn, beans and melons. Where there were but a few small clusters of wigwams, are now, large and flourishing towns and cities, which sprang into existence, almost as at an enchantress' wand.

Rev. Israel Evans, chaplain to Gen. Poor's Brigade, "delivered a discourse at Easton on the 17th October, 1779, to the officers and soldiers of the Western Army, after their return from an expedition against the Five Nations of hostile Indians."

In this discourse, casting his mind forward prophetically, he says :

"Methinks I see the rich lands from the Teagoga river to the banks of the Seneca and Cayuga lakes, and from thence to the most fruitful of lands on the Chennesses, to the great lakes, Ontario, Erie and Huron, and from these to Michigan and Superior. Methinks I see all these lands inhabited by the independent citizens of America. I congratulate posterity on this addition of immense wealth and extensive territory to the United States. I see some patriotic youth, whose father fought the savage enemy at Newtown, and endured all the hardships of this campaign, and hear him, triumphing in his father's courage, and love of freedom : 'Here my brave father defeated the Savage and Tory bands. From that mountain they fled with the greatest haste, and saved their lives by speed when a part of our army had nearly surrounded them and was prepared to cut them off.' And then will he recollect the numbers of the enemy that were slain ; then will he say, 'my brave aged parent led me to that place where the enemy had raised their strong works, which this army, by the sagacity and military caution of the commander, so happily avoided.' The generous youth, as he proceeds in his relation of the

efforts of this army, catches a part of their patriotic zeal, and enterprising spirit, and in a noble transport of heroic joy, points to the ground on which the army stood, when they assent to subsist on less than half the usual quantity of their daily provision, and this they did, that the expedition might not fail, and the country be disappointed and exposed to the redoubled rage of the enemy. 'This heroic action,' says the noble youth, 'shall be notable as long as there is a patriot in America, and remembered while there lives a man who loves his country and mankind.' The future inhabitants and friends of liberty on the pleasant banks of the lakes and rivers which are now made known, at ease in their elegant seats, and in the possession of luxuriant lands, shall talk of the mountains, before deemed impassable, to which you have extended your conquest and where you hewed out your way, by dint of invincible perseverance. They shall enumerate the many towns you destroyed, and the necessity of destroying unknown quantities of corn and fruits of the land, and of laying the country waste for an extent of near two hundred miles. All these achievements shall be hereafter related, and shall give immortality to the army that first conquered the Five Nations of hostile Indians."

Gen. Washington in general orders, Moor's House, Oct. 17th, 1779, thus speaks of the expedition under General Sullivan, and its results :

"The Commander-in-Chief has now the pleasure of congratulating the army, on the complete and full success of Major General Sullivan, and the troops under his command, against the Seneca and other tribes of the Six Nations, as a just and necessary punishment for their wanton depredations, their unparalleled and innumerable cruelties, their deafness to all remonstrances and entreaty, and their perseverance in the most horrid acts of barbarity.

"Forty of their towns have been reduced to ashes, some of them large and commodious ; that of the Genesee alone, containing one hundred and twenty-eight houses. Their crops of corn have been entirely destroyed, which by estimation, it is said, would have provided 160,000 bushels, besides large quantities of vegetables of various kinds. Their whole country has been overrun and laid waste, and they themselves compelled to place their security in a precipitate flight to the British fortress at Niagara. The whole of this has been done, with the loss of less than forty men on our part, including the killed, wounded, captured, and those who died a natural death."

The Indians took quite a different view of this whole matter.

At a council held in Philadelphia in 1792, Cornplanter, the distinguished Seneca chief, thus addressed the President, Washington :

"Father—The voice of the Seneca Nation speaks to you ; the great Counselor in whose heart the wise men of all the thirteen fires have placed their wisdom. It may be very small in your ears, and therefore we entreat you to hearken with attention, for we are about to speak to you of things which to us are very great. When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you the 'Town Destroyer !' and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to their mothers."

The success of the expedition was hailed with plaudits of joy throughout the United States. On the 14th of October, Elbridge Gerry offered the following resolution, in the Congress of the United States, which was unanimously adopted :

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of Congress be given to His Excellency, General Washington for directing, and to Major General Sullivan, and the brave officers and soldiers under his command, for effectually conducting, an important expedition against such of the Indian Nations as, encouraged by the counsels, and conducted by the officers of His Britanic Majesty, had perfidiously waged an unprovoked and cruel war against the United States, laid waste many of their defenceless towns, and with savage barbarity slaughtered the inhabitants thereof."

On the 20th of October it was further "*Resolved*, That the second Thursday of Dec., be set apart and observed as a general day of public and solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God for that He hath prospered our arms, been a shield to our troops, and in the hour of danger pointed their swords to victory ! That He hath gone with them, that went out

into the wilderness against the savage tribes. That He hath stayed the hand of the spoiler and turned back his meditated destruction."

The greatest, grandest, noblest results of this expedition, and its successful issue remains to be told. Actuated by the feelings inspired by these proceedings of Congress, and the success of our arms to which they referred, the legislative power of Pennsylvania introduced, and on the first of March following, passed a law giving freedom to all slaves within her boundary. The preamble of the law contains the following statement of inducement for its passage :

" When we contemplate our abhorrence of the condition to which the arms and tyranny of Great Britain were exerted to reduce us,—when we look back on the variety of dangers to which we have been exposed, and how miraculously our wants, in many instances, have been supplied, and our deliverances wrought, when even hope and human fortitude have become unequal to the conflict—we are unavoidably led to a serious and grateful sense of the manifold blessings which we have undeservedly received from the hand of that Being 'from whom every good and perfect gift cometh.' Impressed with these ideas, we conceive that it is our duty, and we rejoice that it is in our power, to extend a portion of that freedom to others, which hath been extended to us ; and a release from that thralldom, to which we ourselves were tyrannically doomed, and from which we have now every prospect of being delivered."

From what has been given, it will be seen, there was no battle fought during the Revolutionary contest, that was more decisive in its results, that inspired greater hope or caused greater joy, if we except Yorktown, than that fought here on this ground. It fully equals in these respects, if it does not exceed those of Trenton, of Saratoga and Monmouth. In breaking down the Indian confederacy, the right arm of British power in America was palsied, and the principal field of their operations, was closed to them forever.

The haughty and chivalric spirit of this splendid race of savages, whose skill and eloquence in council, and whose mighty conquests, and long-continued domination over surrounding tribes, attracted the attention and won the admiration of the enlightened world, seemed to have been worthy of a better fate, but the degrading and demoralizing influence of association with the British and Tories, dragged them down to the lowest depths of depravity, and terminated their career amidst the execrations of mankind, with none to mourn their unhappy end.

ADDRESS OF MAJOR DOUGLASS CAMPBELL.

The following paper was prepared by Major Douglass Campbell, of New York city, to be delivered at the centennial, but he was unexpectedly obliged to go to Europe a short time before the celebration, and kindly furnished the address to the committee. It will be found to be of exceeding great interest, inasmuch as it opens up a new page in the history of the State, and points out to the investigator and the historian, a record unsurpassed, although too much neglected, and which places her in a light that shows the unselfishness of her patriotism and the grandeur of her magnanimity, in behalf of the union of the states.

G. S. CONOVER.

THE IROQUOIS OR SIX NATIONS, AND NEW YORK'S INDIAN POLICY.

Among the many curious features of so-called American history, perhaps nothing is more remarkable, than the little attention paid to the great native race, which, before the coming of the white man, occupied New York, while in most colonial histories, Indian

affairs occupy so large, and in many, so disproportionate, a space. The fact is, that the Indian Wars and massacres of colonial times, as told by most writers, are in the main, but of the slightest importance in American history, as compared with other events which they usually overshadow. The presence of the red man, is a matter not to be overlooked, for it created a race of frontiersmen, trained from infancy to the use of arms. Aside from this effect, however, the Indian of the Atlantic coast, who has disappeared before the European, has left scarcely a trace upon our character, and none upon our institutions. But in central New York there dwelt a native race, who form a marked exception to this rule. Pre-eminent as warriors and diplomatists, for nearly a century they held the balance of power upon this continent. Negotiations with them, served largely to educate the public men of New York, whose statesmanship gave her an influence out of all proportion to her size—and lastly, it was solely through their conquests, that the English laid claim, as against the French, to the vast territory called at that time the Ohio country, which New York generously ceded to the union, and out of which were subsequently carved the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. These facts alone, would make the history of this people of the first importance, and yet few writers distinguish them, from the petty tribes which passed away and left no mark. But there is still another consideration, perhaps of more interest to us, as Americans, than any which I have mentioned, and that is the bearing of their history on the Indian question of to-day. Since the first settlement of the European upon these shores, the question, "What shall be done with the Indians?" has, on the border, been the problem of all others. That border which ran through this State, a short hundred years ago, has now crossed the Mississippi, and speeds rapidly towards the Pacific coast.

We in our peaceful homes, are apt to think lightly of this question, but to hundreds of thousands it is of vital importance, while to the general government it has caused more perplexity than any single problem with which it has ever had to deal. Good men pray and weep, and bad men plot and quarrel over it, and yet the same old story runs on, wrong, plunder and outrage by the white, retaliation by the red man, and then his relentless slaughter.

We have met here, to-day, to devote a few hours to recollections of our Indian conflicts of a hundred years ago. Other speakers will give you the details of the victory which was won here. I, with your kind permission, purpose to speak in somewhat general terms of the famous Indian tribes which our ancestors met here in battle, of the policy which New York, in contrast with the other colonies, adopted towards the native owners of her soil, and of the debt which we owe to their presence and alliance. Let me first say, however, that I am not one of those who mourn over Sullivan's Campaign, and his treatment of the Indians. It was legitimate war, waged in the only mode in which war could be carried on against such foes. Nor am I an apologist for the atrocities committed by the savages during the Revolution. Those of my blood suffered too deeply at their hands, in the massacre at Cherry Valley, for their descendants ever to forget the story. But, after all, I blame much more the English monarch, who incited the fiendish warfare, than the red men, who took his gold and fought after their fashion. And still more deeply, do I abhor the memory of those, who led the dusky savages in murderous attack upon the colonists of their own race and kindred.

Upon these subjects, I spoke a year ago at Cherry Valley. To-day, I wish to speak of the chapter of New York's Indian history before the Revolution, with which I think, that New Yorkers, at least, should be acquainted.

When the Europeans landed in North America, they found a considerable part of the continent controlled by a confederacy of natives, whom the French named the Iroquois, and the English the Five Nations. The confederacy was composed of five tribes, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. Beginning with the Mohawks, who were located about forty miles west of Albany, and, who, being the most dreaded, often gave their name to the whole confederacy. These allied tribes extended for about two hundred miles along the Mohawk and the plains of western New York. In 1712, the Tuscaroras, a tribe located in Carolina, became involved in a war with their white neigh-

bors, in which they were defeated. The scattered remnants of this people, fled to New York, and were, about 1715, adopted as a member of the confederacy, receiving lands located between those of the Oneidas and the Onondagas. The new tribe never showed the energy and courage of their associates, and, according to tradition, they for some time, wore a woman's pocket as a tobacco pouch, in token of inferiority. After their arrival, the confederacy was known as the Six Nations.

The first thing about this race, which would attract our attention, accustomed as we are to the squalor of the modern Indian, is the character of their habitations. They dwelt in towns, of which the Mohawks, the least populous of all the tribes, had four.

These towns were fortified and, except against artillery or the assault of an overwhelming force, were well nigh impregnable. They were surrounded with palisades, pierced with loopholes, while within, were magazines of stones, to hurl on the heads of assailants, platforms for the defenders, and water conductors to extinguish fires. The area enclosed by these works of defense, was often several acres in extent, containing many dwellings, some of which were more than a hundred feet in length. These were constructed by driving large posts into the ground, binding them together with a network of poles, and covering the sides and arched roofs with layers of elm bark.

Anticipating the modern "apartment house," each of the larger structures, formed the home of several families. A passage way ran through the center, and the space on either side was floored with bark, and divided into compartments by partitions of the same material. Here before his family fire, kindled in the common passage way, each grim dark visaged chief would lounge away his winter days, above his head his store of Indian corn, and the mat of rushes, kept as a carpet for state occasions and behind him the roll of skins, which formed his cheap but luxurious couch. Surprised as one would be, by the appearance of such a town, and the sights within its walls, going outside the enclosure, the feeling would be increased. There, stretching for five or six miles, would be seen orchards, and in summer, fields of ripening maize, which showed that the owners were not dependent for their food solely on the fortunes of the chase.

Glancing now at their political condition, we find them as superior in this respect as in the physical. Each nation was a separate republic, governed by its sachems or old men, whose sole authority, however, consisted in the opinion held of their wisdom and integrity. They had, to be sure, no laws, no judiciary and no executive, for they had not yet passed beyond the point in all civilization where custom is the only rule of action. To the modern mind, such a sanction seems too slight for the foundation of a government, but early nations had no other, and history shows that this "Coke of custom," as a modern writer calls it, is at certain stages all powerful and all sufficient. So potent was it among this people, that the decrees of the tribal sachems or great council, were treated with as much respect, as if they had been supported by a sheriff's staff or a soldier's bayonet. In ordinary matters or in cases of pressing emergency, each nation acted for itself, but affairs of consequence, were transacted at general conventions of the sachems, held at Onondaga. There they determined on peace or war, and all other questions relating to the interest of the whole confederacy. After formal relations with the English were established, Albany became the center for all negotiations with the colonists, and thence was called the "Ancient Place of Treaties." Among the Five Nations alone, was found the Indian of the novelist and poet. We search the records of other tribes and find scarcely a trace of eloquence, but they were a nation of orators. Their gestures were graceful, the arrangement of their ideas showed careful study, and their similes and metaphors are unsurpassed for force and beauty.

They were also a race of born diplomatists. In self repression, in tact and political sagacity, they would put to the blush many a modern master of the diplomatic art. They understood the maxim "divide and conquer," and practiced it with an unscrupulous skill, which has rarely been surpassed. But although politicians, they were faithful to their friends. The early records of the colony glow with the tales of the devotion of the savage, who through rigorous winters, kept the settlers from starvation or rescued them from captivity among distant foes, and history hardly contains a parallel to the sacredness

with which they observed their treaties with the English, and through good and evil report, remained faithful allies in their incessant wars with France. But it was as warriors, that the Five Nations were pre-eminent. When Henry Hudson landed in America, they roamed as conquerors "from the St. Lawrence to Virginia, half of Long Island paid them tribute, and a Mohawk sachem was revered on Massachusetts bay." The next three-quarters of a century saw their empire so extended, that it stretched from far above the great lakes to the Carolinas, and was bounded only by the Mississippi on the west.

* Through its center flowed the Mohawk, on the east was Lake Champlain, on the west Lakes Erie and Ontario, with their connecting inland seas, while on the south the Hudson, Delaware, Susquehanna, Allegany and Ohio opened to them highways to a large portion of the continent.

But no mere advantage of position would alone account for their pre-eminence. That was due in the first instance to their intelligence and physical superiority. They had in addition a principal of coherence, which is one of the necessities of military success. This was found in their system of Totemship, as it was called. In addition to their division into tribes or nations, they were also divided into what were called clans, which were eight in number. Each of these clans had its emblem, some bird, beast or reptile. These were called Totems, and were used as the sign manual of the chiefs. The first in honor were the Bear, the Tortoise and the Wolf, then followed the Deer, the Otter and the Hawk. The members of each clan were named after their Totem, and were known as Bears, Tortoises and Wolves.

In theory this clanship was founded on a connection by blood, and hence members of the same clan were not allowed to intermarry. The marriage tie was little regarded, and so the children followed the Totemship of the mother; for example, if a Bear chief married a Wolf squaw, the children were Wolves not Bears. But the cohesion which among ancient nations was found in the family, here existed in the clan. Though its members might dwell far apart, they were connected by the closest ties. The murder of one must be revenged by all, and the door of the wigwam always stood open to him, who bore the mystic emblem of fraternity.

The conquests of the Five Nations, unlike those of most rude people, were not ephemeral. They did much more than to pass over the country and call it theirs, after its inhabitants had fled. Like the Romans of the old world, they levied perpetual tribute on the conquered, and severely punished any denial of their sovereignty. Colden, in his history, tells us how even in his day, the old men of New England remembered the time when the Mohawks made war on their Indians. How a whole tribe would flee like sheep before a single New York brave. He tells us that all the surrounding tribes paid tribute to the Mohawks, and feared to make peace or war without their consent. Every year or so, two old men went about to collect the tribute, and he says: "I have often had opportunity to observe what anxiety the poor Indians were under, while these two old men remained in that part of the country where I was. An old Mohawk Sachem, in a poor blanket and dirty shirt, may be seen issuing his orders with as arbitrary an authority as a Roman dictator."

Tradition preserves the details of the savage mode, in which about the beginning of the last century, the conquerors meted out vengeance for contempt of their authority. The Long Island Indians had for several years neglected to pay their customary tribute. At length they presumed to sell some land without consent of the Six Nations. One evening a Mohawk chieftain, in full war dress, appeared in their encampment, and stated that he bore a message to the tribe which he would deliver before a council. The next morning the council met, the Mohawk asked why the tribute had not been paid. For this default some excuse was offered, and he then spoke of the lands which they had sold without consent and demanded the names of the Sachems who had signed the deed, asking particularly for the one who had first affixed his seal. An old chief rose and confessed himself the culprit. As the words passed his lips, a blow from the Mohawk's

*To their conquests, the geographical situation of Central New York largely contributed. Their Long House, as it was called, lay on the crest of the most wonderful watershed of the world.

tomahawk cleft his skull, and the avenger turning on his heel took up his homeward path, leaving the council paralyzed with fear.

In one other respect they also resembled the Romans, and that was in the treatment of their captives, or rather such of them as were not doomed to torture. These were adopted into the families of the conquerors, and made members of the tribes, for slavery was unknown among them. Thus they constantly recruited their ranks, depleted by incessant wars. As their members at no time, probably exceeded four thousand warriors, but for these accessories, they must soon have wasted away, from the violence of their passion for glory and dominion.

Such is an imperfect sketch of the race that inhabited the valleys and plains of Central and Western New York. That among such a people, the white men should have gained a lodgment at all, is in view of the common opinion of the Indian character, one of the remarkable facts of history. But when to this is added, the nature and results of the relations established between the races, we see a condition of affairs so unexampled, as to seem worthy of much more consideration than it has ever yet received.

Two hundred and fifty years ago, the soil of the original thirteen states was occupied by the red men. In almost every instance they greeted the European on his arrival with acts of kindness. In return they have met with well nigh utter extermination. Historians tell us that this result, and the long and bloody wars by which it was accomplished were inevitable, that the savage must melt away before the approach of civilization. In New England, which witnessed the bloodiest of all these wars, we are told that the conflict of races was precipitated by the ferocity of the savage and his hatred of the whites.

Strangely enough, New York, within whose borders dwelt the most powerful and ferocious of these tribes, never suffered from their insurrections. During the Revolution, to be sure, they swept the hills and valleys of Central New York as with the besom of destruction, but they simply acted as the life-long allies of the British Government. Prior to that event, they had been the defenders of the colonists, and in fact, Massachusetts in her war with King Philip, sought their active aid. If extinction before civilization is the predestined fate of the Indian, the moralist can only mourn the fact, that the good of the many, should thus be purchased by the destruction of the few.

Looking at the history of the other thirteen states, such a result would seem inevitable, for the Indian has disappeared before the European. In New York, however, no such disappearance has taken place. At the close of the Revolution, the Mohawks removed to Canada, and about forty years ago, the Oneidas sold their lands and voluntarily emigrated to Wisconsin. The other tribes of the Six Nations remained in New York, always have had their rights respected, have increased in numbers during the century, and to-day have a growing population. In the light of these facts, it may well be, that some of our own theories should be revised. Why, the Puritans could not dwell with the Indians, can be read in every line of their history. The New England charter of 1620, set out with the statement that the country had been substantially depopulated of the natives, mainly by a great plague sent by Providence to prepare the way for English occupation. Then followed the audacious declaration, that the chief object of the grant was to Christianize the scattered remnants of the heathen tribes. Of the first recital, we find no trace in subsequent documents, but the declaration of the objects of the grant, was repeated in almost every New England charter, for more than a hundred years.

Such were the professed objects of the English colonization. Of the beginning of the work, what a commentary is found in the words of the good John Robinson, uttered only four years after the landing of the Mayflower: "Ah! how happy a thing had it been, if you had converted some before you had killed any!" Opening in blood, nothing in the subsequent history, need cause surprise. Some of the colonists labored zealously for the conversion of the natives, and they have been justly canonized in history. But when the greatest of them, John Elliot and Daniel Gookin, during King Philip's War, pleaded for some of the Indian tribes, asking only for Christian pity, and common justice, they were hooted at, denounced as traitors, and so threatened, that as Gookin declared, it was dangerous for him to walk the streets.

Historian like, Bancroft tells you that the Puritans bought the land from the Indians except in the case of the Pequots. How far this is from the truth, can be seen from the record. In 1633, Massachusetts Bay passed a law for settling the title to lands in this jurisdiction. It declared that what lands any of the Indians had possessed and improved by subduing them, they had just title to, according to Genesis 1:28. This reserving to the natives, the little patches around their wigwams on which they had raised Indian corn, and some of these they subsequently purchased. The rest of the land, with an assurance surpassing even our modern Indian legislation, was declared to belong the whites, according to Genesis 1:28, and by "the invitation of the Indians." The pretext for this was, I suppose, the "welcome Englishmen," pronounced by Samoset, shortly after the landing of the Mayflower. History will be ransacked in vain, for a parallel to this claim of title.

It would have been strange, indeed, if the heathen had borne tamely such wholesale robbery of their property, but early in the story, begins a worse record. In 1623 a company of worthless white indentured servants in Massachusetts, after robbing the cornfields of the people of Plymouth, changed their quarters and dispersed in little parties, prowled around like tramps, begging and stealing from the Indians. Had they been red savages, and the whites the sufferers from such depredations, their extermination would have been regarded as a bounden duty, for in a new country, such men deserve no mercy. But they were Englishmen, and when news was brought to Plymouth that the natives, tired of their thefts, were plotting for their destruction, the outrage was deemed unpardonable. Miles Standish with eight companions visited the Indian settlement "under the pretense of trade." Enticing the leading chief with three of his followers into a cabin, the door was closed and the Christians murdered the heathen in cold blood. This was the transaction that in the words of a learned historian, "excited some misgivings" in the mind of John Robinson. Events like this, with which the early history of America is full, roused the indignation of the natives from Massachusetts to Georgia, and resulted in the feeling which has been stigmatized as "the inextinguishable hatred which the red men felt for the white intruder." But crimes of this character, were not the worst that were perpetrated upon the natives. We hold up our hands in horror of the tortures practiced by the Indians on their prisoners. In 1637, the Christian white men of Connecticut, put a red captive to death, by tearing him from limb to limb with ropes fastened to his legs and arms. How, during the war with King Philip, the whites burned the savages in their wigwams, driving them back into the flames at the point of the bayonet, and how they murdered the women and children, is known to every reader; but robbery, torture and massacre, all pale before the crowning infamy which drove the natives to despair. The most distinguishing trait of the Indian, was his love of personal freedom. He knew no master and recognized no lord, save as in a dull vague way he looked up to the "Great Spirit." Living by the chase, he knew no labor save that of war. To such a nature, slavery was a thousand times worse than death, and yet to this fate the settlers of New England, Virginia and the Carolinas, consigned untold thousands of the natives, and in the case of the northern colonies, the horror of the deed was further aggravated. Had the red man simply been kept at home, and treated with the same indulgence as the slave from Africa, his fate would not have been so pitiable. But he was torn from his home and sold to the West Indian planters, where under a broiling sun and in miasmatic swamps, he dragged out the miserable remnant of his days. What must such wretches have thought of the Gospel of Peace and the white man's God! The practice began when Captain Hunt who accompanied Captain John Smith to New England in 1614, kidnapped twenty-seven Indians and carried them to Malaga for sale. After the Pequot War, the captives who were unfortunate enough to escape massacre were doomed to slavery, being sold to the West Indies, and the war with King Philip was closed by the same sad tragedy; among the victims on the latter occasions was a little grandson of the good King Massasoit, who had welcomed the Pilgrims of the Mayflower and had been their life long friend.

Between 1694 and 1744, Massachusetts passed a large number of statutes, offering bounties for the scalps of Indian rebels and enemies. The price for male scalps ran as

high as £100, for females something less, while for children ten years of age, it was generally £10. The same statutes provided, that the females and children taken alive should belong to the captors, provided they were sold out of the province. By a law passed in 1674, the colony of New Plymouth permitted Indians to be sold for debt and for stealing. In Virginia and Carolina, the record is the same. The Indians captured in war were always sold as slaves, and a pretext for hostilities was rarely wanting, in a favorable condition of the labor market. In fact, with such a code of ethics as then prevailed, the red men, however docile, were never safe. All through New England, and in the Southern colonies, they were constantly kidnapped in time of peace, and shipped to the West Indies. These facts you will not find in the flowery pages of Bancroft, nor will you hear of them at New England dinners, but go back to the statutes and old records, and your hearts will sicken at the full recital. I speak of them, to-day, in no invidious spirit, I mention them only in justice to the dusky race, which rarely is heard to speak for itself. Philanthropists urging justice to the Indian, are told, that we always have had, and always must have Indian wars, that the red man is cruel, treacherous, and hates the whites, that even Christian New England found him so, and had no remedy but extermination. Leaving out the facts of which I have spoken, this would seem to be the truth, but with the whole story told, we see its falsity. If we have had Indian wars, the white men have provoked them; if the Indians are bloody, the whites set them the example; if they are treacherous, it is because the whites have always broken faith. As is the record of the west, to-day, so is the history of all the eastern colonies but one, and there we see what the Indian was, when treated like a man.

I do not speak of Pennsylvania, for, after all, as Parkman has pointed out, we could hardly determine, from the experience of Pennsylvania, what the effect would be upon the Indian of a policy of justice. The people on whose territory the Quakers made their settlement, were the Delawares, who, themselves, had been debarred the use of arms. They had been conquered by the Five Nations, disarmed, and forced to adopt the opprobrious name of women. That Penn bought their lands was creditable to him, although he but followed the example set many years before by the Dutch, but that he maintained peaceful relations with them, is not surprising, since by force of circumstances, they were a kind of Quaker Indians.

Turning, now, to New York, we find a record presenting a marked contrast to that of all the other colonies. Here were no women like the Delawares, but a race the most powerful, the most blood-thirsty, and as the Jesuits declared, the most intractable of all the Indian tribes. Judging from the annals of Virginia and New England, the border settlements of New York should have been one broad field of massacre. And yet these settlements nestled down amid the very strongholds of this savage race, and with its warriors maintained an unbroken friendship. This fact alone, is very curious, but there is still another element which makes it more remarkable. About the time of the first discovery of the Hudson river, the French began the settlement of Canada. They hated the Dutch and the English alike, as heretics in religion and rivals in trade. With most of the northern Indians, the settlers on the St. Lawrence, who were mainly fur-traders, and not agriculturists, established very friendly relations. They were assisted greatly by their Jesuit missionaries, and in addition, understood, as the English never did, how to conciliate the native tribes. But the Five Nations proved an exception, for their alliance they could never gain. When Champlain ascended the St. Lawrence, the confederates were engaged in a war with the Algonquins, their ancient enemies. The new comers sided with the latter, and took an active part in the contest. Such was the beginning of the enmity which the Five Nations cherished for the French, during more than a century and a half. But this fact, although the only one noticed by most historians, is a very insufficient explanation of their long continued hostility, while it throws still less light upon their friendship for the people of New York.

The French speedily saw the folly of their first step, and its ill effects would soon have worn away, but for the presence on the upper Hudson of a race of men who understood how to deal with the Indians, as well as the French themselves, although they adopted a

very different policy. Albany was settled by men of pure Dutch blood, and for many years after the English conquest, they formed the chief population of Central New York. Around Manhattan Island, where the population was composed of men of diverse nationalities, Indian wars were not uncommon, but with the Five Nations, the Dutch maintained an unbroken peace. Much of this was due to one man, Arent Van Curler, who for a long time was superintendent of the colony of Rensselaerwyck, was one of the founders of Schenectady, and whose influence among the Indians was almost boundless. His humanity shown alike to Dutch, French and Indian, his good faith and strict integrity, were the secrets of his power. The natives paid his memory the highest tribute, in addressing all the Governors of New York, by the title of "Corlaer," the name under which he had been known to them. But it was not through the efforts of any man that the work was done.

How the Indian was treated by the English, we have already seen. The policy of the French was very different. Their rulers called the red men children, amused them with pageants, flattered their vanity and indulged their weaknesses. The fur traders and *coureurs de bois* plunged into the forest, lived with the natives, learned their language, and married their daughters. Side by side with them, or rather in their advance, were found the missionaries of the Society of Jesus. Such perils as they encountered, such sacrifices and hardships as they endured, no pen can trace. In almost every encampment was seen the little wigwam with its black robed tenant. There, men of learning and refinement passed their lives, at times half starved, without books, without companionship, and with no future save that of martyrdom.

But governor, fur trader and Jesuit, made each the same mistake. They thought to raise the Indian by stooping to his level, they sank, but the red man did not rise. The *Coureurs de bois* who took squaws as mistresses or wives, became themselves barbarians. The Jesuits baptized thousands, but they encouraged the natives to massacre and the torture of their prisoners, so that the only thing which distinguished the convert from the heathen, was the possession of a crucifix. The French officers gained the admiration of the red men, by their superior energy and daring, but they surpassed him also in the ferocity of warfare, appearing to his eyes only a more powerful race of savages.

The history of the French dominion in America makes a fascinating story, it is picturesque, romantic and full of stirring incidents. But when the lilies of France disappeared from Canada, the dusky natives stood in civilization just where Champlain found them, a century and a half ago before. They had been treated as children, supplied with playthings, corrected when too troublesome, and fed to repletion with superstitious tales, but they had never been educated to be men. Such a policy kept their alliance for it, was followed out with rare sagacity, but it never won their love.

Very different was the conduct of the Dutch. They simply treated the Indian as a man. Tolerant in religion, they respected his rude faith; truthful among themselves, to him they never broke their word; honest in all their dealings, with him they kept good faith. They suffered from no thefts, because they took nothing except by purchase. Their land titles were respected, because for every tract they had an Indian deed. They were scourged by no massacres, save from the enemy across the border, because they committed no robbery or murder.

This was the whole secret of their policy. It is easy to belittle it as historians have done by saying, that upon no other conditions, could they have lived among the natives. Of course it was politic, but the world had discovered that honesty is the best policy, without thence concluding, that it is any the less a Christian virtue.

These settlers in New York were traders, offshoots from the greatest commercial nation of the world. They made no pretense of doing missionary work. They were simply in pursuit of gain. But they had learned, that the only permanent success in life, rests on honesty and justice. This is the lesson that commerce teaches, and because it does so, it has become the civilizer of the world. Other nations came to America professedly to Christianize the Indians, and ended their labors by extermination. These men, the settlers of Albany and Schenectady and the fur traders of the Mohawk Valley, came only for

purposes of trade. They gave to America the alliance with the Five Nations, which largely controlled its destiny, and they laid the foundations of the policy, under which New York with an aboriginal population larger than that at the close of the Revolution, shows the United States how to deal with the Indian question.

In 1617, soon after the settlement of Albany, the Dutch made a treaty of friendship with the confederates. In 1645 this treaty was renewed by Keift and cemented by frequent presents or subsidies, it continued in existence until the conquest of New Netherland by the English in 1664. After some years, it was found that the French were supplying fire-arms to their savage allies, and the Dutch then entered upon the new policy of placing the same weapons in the hands of the Iroquois. The Indian soon handled his rifle with as much skill as the European, and its possession largely contributed to the conquests which the Five Nations had effected prior to 1672.

When Fort Orange, in 1664, surrendered to Colonel Cartwright as representative of the Duke of York, one of his first acts was to renew the old alliance, promising the natives the same advantages which they had received from the Dutch. Thus Albany still continued the "Place of Solemn Treaties."

Aside from this formal act, the first three English Governors of New York, paid but little attention to the confederates, failing to appreciate the benefits of their trade, or the value of their alliance. Yet ancient hatred of the French, seconded by the efforts of the Dutch, who still formed nearly the entire population of Central New York, sufficed for the retention of their friendship.

With the arrival of Dongan, in 1682, opened a new Indian policy, on the part of the English Government. The French were rapidly encroaching upon the ancient limits of the Five Nations, having already constructed a fort at the outlet of Lake Ontario. The pretext for its erection was, that it furnished a convenient place for holding treaties; the true reason was found in its strategical importance, as commanding the commerce of the lakes. They were also making swift inroads upon the Indian trade, and a force of Jesuit missionaries, scattered through the tribes, seconded their efforts at every point. Dongan was a Roman Catholic, and he was commanded by his ducal master to maintain peace with France, but he was the English Governor of New York, and his loyalty to his country, overcame all religious partialities. He was a man far-sighted, and of advanced ideas. He saw clearly, as none of his predecessors had done, the importance of the Indian trade, and the advantage of a close alliance which would interpose a compact body of brave and skillful native warriors, between the advancing frontiers of the English and their historic enemies. All through his administration, he hunted the Jesuit political missionaries from the province, as if he had been a Puritan, and he resisted the encroachments of the French, as though the Duke of York had issued no commands upon the subject. As the result of Dongan's positive position of friendship for the Five Nations, he won their confidence as no Englishman had ever done before, and the opportunity soon arose for a brilliant stroke of policy.

In 1684, a difficulty occurred between the confederates and Virginia, owing to some Indian outrages incited by the Jesuits. Dongan being applied to by the Governor of Virginia, invited the confederates to meet him, to discuss their grievances, and the invitation being accepted, a council was held at Albany. At this meeting, explanations and apologies were made by the Mohawks for the hostile action of the more western tribes, but this was only a minor part of the business accomplished. Before the council ended, the sachems of the Five Nations requested Dongan to affix the arms of the Duke of York upon their stockaded villages, or castles. It has been said that here Indians looked upon the ducal insignia, simply as a charm to protect them from the French, but to the Europeans, the act had a much broader significance. It was to them a token of submission to the English, and the whole course of the subsequent history, shows that the Indians themselves, to some extent at least, entertained this view. On the third day after the request of the sachems had been complied with, the Cayugas and Onondagas, said to Dongan: "We have put our lands and ourselves under the protection of the great Duke

of York." In 1687, Dongan, in a formal council at Albany, reprimanded the Five Nations, for treating with the French, without his consent, telling them that as subjects of England, they had no right to do so. In 1692, the sachems of the Five Nations, said to Major Ingoldsby at Albany: "Brother Corlaer, we are all the subjects of one great King and Queen; and in 1698, Lord Bellomont, in a letter to Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, said it could be manifested to all the world, by authenticated, solid proof, that the Five Nations were always considered as subjects of the King of England."

These among many incidents of the same character, would seem to show, that the confederates regarded the adoption of the Duke of York's arms, as something more than the acquisition of a charm. But, whatever its significance to them, one fact is very clear, after the treaty of 1684, the English claimed the Five Nations as subjects, who had voluntarily sought their protection and whom it was their duty and privilege to guard.

During the long and bloody wars between France and England which followed the English Revolution, the status of the Five Nations as subjects of Great Britain was stubbornly contested by the French. They strove in every way to seduce the confederates from their allegiance and if the English alone had opposed their projects, they doubtless would have been successful. That they failed signally, was due to the influence of Colonel Peter Schuyler, a Dutchman and the first mayor of Albany. Schuyler had succeeded to the position of Van Curler in the estimation of the Indians. Whatever "Quidder" as they called him, recommended or disapproved of, had the force of law. He gained his power by repeated acts of kindness, and his singular activity and bravery in defense of the province. His house in Albany was the head-quarters of the confederates, when they visited the city, and he seriously impaired his private fortune, by the gifts which he lavished on their chiefs.

Finally, in 1710, he, at his own expense, conducted five Mohawk Warriors to England, to lay before Queen Anne the necessity for more active measures against the French. They were received with every attention, presented at court with great solemnity, and their presence in the kingdom formed the nine days' wonder of the time.

On the 31st of March, 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht put an end to the war, which had so long desolated Europe and which had been so fiercely contested in the wilds of central and northern New York. By the terms of this treaty, the dispute regarding the status of the Five Nations was settled, for they were distinctly recognized as "subject to the dominion of Great Britain," nothing could be more emphatic and conclusive, than this recognition, inserted in a solemn treaty and following a contest of many years, in which the specific question had been distinctly raised.

After the Treaty of Utrecht, the colony grew rapidly. Settlers of other nationalities mingled with the Dutch on the Mohawk and upper Hudson. The old traditional Indian policy of the colony was weakened, and might have been abandoned but for the influence of one man, who arose to carry on the work begun by Van Curler and Schuyler. Fortunately, for the country, he followed their example and methods.

Of course I speak of Sir William Johnson of the Mohawk Valley. Coming to America at the age of twenty-three, although of good birth and family, he set out to make his own fortune and plunged into the forest. He opened a store, bought furs and traded with the natives. He won their admiration for he was athletic, brave and open-hearted. He won their confidence, for he always told the truth and treated them with justice. He was made superintendent of Indian affairs, but he never took advantage of his place to rob his wards. He was made a baronet but he never forgot his humble friends. For nearly thirty years, he stood up as the advocate of the Six Nations, compelling a recognition of their rights.

The struggle often was severe, for he encountered every obstacle that the greed or avarice of the whites could suggest, but he triumphed, enforced good faith towards the red men and retained their friendship until the Revolution. Thus it was, that New York solved her Indian problem, and now let us see, what were its effects upon the country. For a century and a half, France contended with England for the possession of this continent. The question which should be the owner, was of vast importance to the world.

It was a conflict between priest-craft and free-thought, feudalism and self-government. Progress was pitted against retrogression, the future fought against the past. The result we say was certain, but for many years victory hung in the balance. The French had great advantages, their power was concentrated, they had a single head, and their people were born soldiers. On the other hand, the English were scattered in little settlements along a straggling line of sea coast, had no war policy, no head and no concert of action. In addition, the French had as allies substantially, all the Indian tribes except the Iroquois. Had these tribes instead of slaying the French and their allies, united against the English, history would probably have told a very different story. It is mainly owing to their friendship, that an Anglo-Saxon and a Gallic civilization prevails to-day in North America. But we owe to the Six Nations and to the New Yorkers who kept their alliance, a debt of gratitude, for something more than active aid in war.

The final struggle between France and England for mastery on this continent, arose over their conflicting claims to the territory west of the Alleghany mountains, called the Ohio country, and the sole claim which England made to this, was through the Iroquois, of whose conquests I have already spoken. The first blood in what we call the French and Indian War, was shed in 1754, but war was not actually declared until two years later. In Europe, the respective contestants passed the intervening period, in the interchange of formal charges and countercharges, and the dissemination of documents explaining to the abler European powers, the grounds of their adverse claims. The official papers issued by the British Cabinet at this time, prove beyond all question, the nature of England's title to the Ohio country, and yet so far as I know, they have been substantially ignored by our historians. This is the less excusable, because a copy of the leading French memorial containing translations of the English documents, was captured on a French prize and published by Hugh Gaine and others, in 1777.

The French asserted, that the Appalachian or Alleghany mountains had always been regarded as the western bounds of the English Colonies. To the land beyond those barriers, France claimed title by virtue of prior discovery and occupation, and if the question was to be decided on these grounds, her right was incontestible. Her voyagers had explored the Ohio and Mississippi, she had planted settlements on the disputed soil, and had connected Canada and Louisiana by a cordon of forts, almost before an English foot had stepped upon the territory. England saw that upon any such basis of argument as this, her claim was utterly untenable. She therefore set up no title by discovery, but fell back on her Indian title and on that alone.

In 1727, Cadwallader Colden had published in New York the first part of his great work, on "The Five Nations." In that volume, he gave an account of the early treaties with Dongan. In 1742 he wrote the continuation. The whole was published in London in 1747, and a new edition was issued in 1755. The British Cabinet therefore had before it, all the Indian treaties and other evidence on which to base the assertion of its rights. On the 7th of June, 1755, the ministry at London issued its final memorial in answer to one from the French Court, in which the latter's claim was set forth as based on prior undisputed profession. After discussing the Treaty of Utrecht, and showing that in face of such a solemn admission, France could not dispute the fact that the Five Nations were subjects of Great Britain, it sums up England's claim to the Ohio territory in these words: "What the court of Great Britain asserts and insists upon, is this, that the Five Iroquois Nations, acknowledged by France to be the subjects of Britain are either originally or by conquest, the lawful proprietors of the territory of Ohio in question."

But there is something in addition to this memorial, which is perhaps even more striking in its character. The British Government had caused extensive surveys to be made and at a large expense had prepared an elaborate map of North America. This was drawn by John Mitchell, under the direction of Pownall, Secretary of the Board of Trade, but was probably engraved and printed at Amsterdam. It bears date February 13th, 1755, and was doubtless intended to accompany the memorial which was sent to the various courts of Europe. On this map, the conquests of the Six Nations extending from the Carolinas on the south and the Mississippi on the west, to far above the great lakes on the upper

limit, are laid down with great distinctness, while elaborate foot notes give the dates of the treaties, by which this territory had been placed under the protection of Great Britain.

Such was the claim of Great Britain, on which she went to war with France, and now we come to the last chapter of the story, and this is one which New Yorkers should preserve, for it reflects undying glory on our State. You will learn nothing of it in your histories, for they have been written by men who were ignorant of or have concealed the facts.

The French were driven from North America. The Ohio country took the name of the North-Western Territory, and we are told that after the Revolution, Virginia gave it to the United States; and the changes on her magnanimity have been rung, for nearly a hundred years. Look at the record and let it tell the facts.

On the 15th of November, 1777, Congress adopted the articles of confederation. One of their sections, after providing for a court to settle disputes between the states as to boundaries and kindred questions, concluded as follows, "provided also that no state shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States."

On the 26th, of June, 1778, the articles were engrossed and on the 9th of July, the states began to give them their formal ratification. In a few days, most of the states did sign, but Maryland held back, and before her signature could be obtained, obstacles had arisen which threatened the disruption of the infant union. As the war progressed, it became evident that American Independence was simply a question of time and that a brief one. Westward of the Appalachian mountains stretched an expanse of fertile territory, equal in extent to that of all the thirteen colonies which lay along the sea board. This was the country conquered by the Six Nations, and which had been cheerfully recognized as appendant to New York, so long as that relation involved only an expenditure of men and money. Now that it promised to be of value, other claimants to its possession, speedily arose. Virginia asserted that her ancient charter, which however had been cancelled, fixed her western boundaries at the Pacific, and that under the elastic words, "west and northwest," lines could be run to embrace the whole country westward to the Mississippi, and northward to the great lakes. Massachusetts following this example, claimed that her western boundary was also to be located under her first charter, which had been annulled in 1684, and that her limits extended to the Pacific ocean. Connecticut not to be outdone, entered the field claiming that by her charter of 1662, she also stretched to the South sea. As King Charles had, in 1664, granted to the Duke of York all the territory west of the Connecticut river, and as the boundary between New York and Connecticut had been settled by formal agreement, it is very difficult to see upon what principle this claim was founded. As for Massachusetts, her first charter had been formally annulled, and she had accepted a second, which granted, in 1691, long after the grant to the Duke of York, expressly provided that her territory should extend "westward as far as the Colonies of Rhode Island, Connecticut and the Narraganset Country."

But despite these facts, the claims were asserted, and hence other colonies, whose bounds could admit of no dispute, were filled with a just alarm. They claimed that the territory unsettled at the outbreak of the war, and claimed by the British Crown, if wrested from the common enemy by the united efforts of the thirteen states, should be regarded as common property, and subject to the disposition of congress for the common good. Thus matters stood for more than eighteen months. It had been proposed, that Congress should have power to fix the western boundaries of the different states, but this proposition was at once rejected. The claimants stood firm in the assertion of their rights. Virginia had, in her Constitution of 1776, laid title to the whole territory, and in 1779, opened a land office for its sale. Maryland was now more determined than ever, not to sign the Articles of Confederation, and the withdrawal of some of the other states seemed imminent. At this crisis, when the American Union was trembling in the balance, New York stepped forward with a magnanimity unparalleled in history. On the 29th of January, 1780, General Philip Schuyler, then a delegate to Congress, wrote a letter to the New York Legislature, suggesting that it should cede her claim to the United States. On the 19th of February, the Legislature passed an act authorizing her delegates in Congress to define the

western boundary of the State, and to convey to the United States, for the general benefit, all the remainder of the western territory. On the first of March, 1781, James Duane, William Floyd and Alexander McDougal, as representatives of New York, and on her behalf, executed the formal instrument which defined her western limits, substantially as they now exist, and transferred to the United States all her claim and title to the land lying beyond such boundary. On the same day, but after the execution of this grant, Maryland, by her delegates, formally ratified the Articles, and the Confederation was at length complete. Meantime, Connecticut and Virginia, lamely following in New York's footsteps, had also authorized deeds of cession. The act of Connecticut, however, provided simply for transferring to the United States such part of the land claimed by her, as should be in proportion to that relinquished by the other states, but without any right to jurisdiction over the land thus ceded, while the act of Virginia was equally objectionable. It authorized a cession, only, of the land north-west of the Ohio, and upon the condition, among others, that the United States should guarantee her title to all the remaining territory, including what now forms the State of Kentucky. These proposed cessions, with that from New York, which had been executed, but not accepted, were referred to a committee of Congress, consisting of five members.

On the first of May, 1782, this committee made a unanimous report, which is, perhaps, the most important document connected with the whole transaction. It shows, what were the claims made by the statesmen of New York to the North-Western Territory, and how those claims were regarded at the time by Congress.

The report sets out with the statement, that the committee had been attended by the agents on the part of New York, Connecticut and Virginia, that the representatives of New York and Connecticut had laid before them several claims, with vouchers to support the same, but that Virginia had declined any elucidation of her pretensions. That they had carefully examined all the vouchers submitted to them, and obtained all the information as to the state of the disputed lands, and that they were of opinion, that Congress should accept the cession from New York. In support of this conclusion they say:

"The reasons that induced your committee to recommend the acceptance of this cession are:

1st. It clearly appeared, to your committee, that all the lands belonging to the Six Nations of Indians, and their tributaries, have been in due form put under the protection of the Crown of England, by the said Six Nations, as appendant to the late government of New York, so far as respects jurisdiction only.

2d. That the citizens of the said colony of New York, have borne the burthen, both as to blood, and treasure, of protecting and supporting the said Six Nations of Indians, and their tributaries, for upwards of one hundred years last past, as the dependents and allies of the said government.

3d. That the Crown of England has always considered and treated the country of the said Six Nations, and their tributaries inhabiting as far as the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, as appendant to the government of New York.

4th. That the neighboring colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, had also, from time to time, by their public acts, recognized and admitted the said Six Nations and their tributaries, to be appendant to the government of New York.

5th. That by Congress accepting this cession, the jurisdiction of the whole Western Territory, belonging to the Six Nations, and their tributaries, will be vested in the United States, greatly to the advantage of the Union."

They then recommend, that Massachusetts and Connecticut should "release" to the United States, all their claims, and pretensions of claim, to the said Western Territory, without condition or restriction, and conclude with the opinion, that Congress should not accept the cession from Virginia, nor guarantee the tract of land claimed by her. In support of this conclusion, they state among other reasons, that all the land which Virginia proposes to cede, belonged to the Six Nations, or their tributaries. That a great part of the land which she proposed to retain, was also within the claim of the State of New York, as the country of the same tribes, and was beyond the western boundary of

Virginia, as established by the King of Great Britain in council, previous to the Revolution.

In accordance with these conclusions, the cession from New York was accepted by Congress, on the 29th of October, 1782, and the proposed deed from Virginia was subsequently rejected.

Such, was the mode in which New York gave up to the Union, her claim to this vast territory, and such were the conditions, under which it was received by Congress. If any one feels curious to see how American history has been written, let him now turn to the pages of Bancroft. The grave historian passes over in silence, what such writers as Story, Kent, and Curtis notice, as the most significant event of the Revolutionary struggle.

The sons of New York may well feel proud of her record, as they contrast it with that of the other states. In 1783, Virginia passed another act, ceding to the United States all her claim to the land north-west of the Ohio. From this act, the provision regarding the guarantee of her other territory was omitted, and in the next year the cession was accepted. Virginia retained such title as she had, to the land out of which Kentucky was subsequently formed, and the proceeds of its sale went into her treasury. In 1785, Massachusetts ceded to the confederacy, all her claim to the land lying west of the present boundaries of New York, but compensated herself, by making a demand upon New York, for a large portion of the land lying within her western limits. In 1786, this claim was compromised, by the surrender to her of a tract of many hundred thousand acres, a part of which was subsequently known as the Holland purchase. In 1786, Connecticut made her cession to the general government, but it began one hundred and twenty miles west of the western boundary of Pennsylvania, thus excluding about six millions of acres, now within the State of Ohio. Many persons in Congress considered the acceptance of this deed as a dangerous act, and among others, Washington protested against it, arguing that it would be construed as a tacit admission of her title to the land excepted from its operation. But the overwhelming desire to quiet the last pretension to the great north-west prevailed, and the conveyance was finally received. The predictions of the opponents of the measure were speedily realized. Emigrants from Connecticut claiming under her grants, flocked into the reservation, and a large part of it was soon disposed of. Finally in 1800, with the spirit of compromise which always characterized its action, the general government authorized the President, to issue letters patent to the Governor of Connecticut, for the land within the tract, on condition that all claim to territorial jurisdiction over it, should be surrendered to the United States. This was done, the tract became part of the State of Ohio, and Connecticut's treasury received the proceeds of its sale, which went to form its school and college fund.

It has been well said, that the union of the United States, is the outgrowth of sacrifices, and concessions. Of these, New York has certainly borne her share. Under the confederacy, Congress had no power to levy duties, this could be done by the states alone. The constitution took this power from the states and conferred it on the general government. New York held the key to the continent. With her rivers almost connecting her with the great lakes and the boundless west, she might have sat by her noble harbor, like the ancient queen cities of the east, levying tribute on the commerce of America. We know what this means, when we see the proportion of the expenses of the general government which is paid from the receipts of her custom house. All this she gave up, when she joined the union. In the earlier days of the confederation which I have spoken of, to-day, it is probable that had she held out for terms, she, like Virginia or Connecticut, might have filled her treasury from the proceeds of some of the north-western lands. But, as she has never regretted the consent which made her a member of the union, so she has never repented of the gift which made that union possible. The consciousness of her own magnanimity, has been enough reward. But history owes it to itself, if not to her, at least to keep her record right.

ADDRESS OF JUDGE SYLVESTER DANA, OF CONCORD, N. H.

In perusing the annals of the past, we often encounter the names of prominent actors in the events of this world's history, of whom we know little or nothing, aside from their connection with those events. They come upon the stage, act their part, and then disappear. No research for other details of their lives, can attain much, if any success. All else is engulfed in eternal oblivion.

Not so of the commanding General of the expedition, whose chief battle we here celebrate. Far more abundant, and circumstantial than of most of his contemporaries, are the materials of his history. They abound on every hand; in the public archives, in the writings of his associates, in camp and in civil life, and in the prolific productions of his own pen.

Of him I will now speak, omitting all allusions to the transactions of the Indian Campaign, which have been so well narrated in the historical address.

The father of Gen. John Sullivan, Owen Sullivan, belonged to an Irish family in the higher walks of life, and emigrated to this country early in the last century. On his passage he formed the acquaintance of a young woman, who subsequently became his wife.

Having received an excellent education, he became, upon his arrival in America, a teacher of youth, and so remained during the entire period of his active life at Somersworth, New Hampshire, and in the adjacent town of Berwick, Maine. He lived in those places to the great age of 105 years, retaining his faculties till his last sickness. He had five sons, of whom four participated in the Revolution, the eldest having died previous to its commencement.

The third son, John Sullivan, was born at Somersworth, in the county of Stratford, New Hampshire, February 18th, 1740. Under his father's instruction, he received a superior education for that period, and after a voyage in his youth, he commenced the study of the law, in the office of an eminent practitioner in Portsmouth, the principal town in the colony, and soon evinced extraordinary aptitude for his chosen profession. Upon his admission to the bar, he settled in the town of Durham, in his native county, and purchased a house, which continued to be his residence until his death. There he entered upon a lucrative practice, and also found time to inaugurate various manufacturing enterprises, for which that part of New Hampshire has been ever since distinguished.

Thus passed some ten years of General Sullivan's earlier manhood, during which he accumulated a fair estate.

Then came the first rumblings of the Revolution. Sympathizing heartily with the cause of American liberty, he early enlisted his fellow citizens in a military company, which he drilled with great assiduity. He devoted much attention to all the great campaigns of ancient and modern times, and could particularly describe their principal battles.

While representing Durham in the Legislature of New Hampshire, in 1774, he was chosen a member of the first Continental Congress, which assembled at Philadelphia, in September of that year. His name appears upon important committees, and he became particularly distinguished during that session, by his eloquent reply to Dickinson of Pennsylvania, who proposed a second address to the King. This speech of General Sullivan elicited much praise from John Adams, with whom he was on terms of intimate friendship.

Upon returning to New Hampshire, he, in company with two others, planned an expedition against Fort William and Mary, at the entrance of Portsmouth harbor. Silently, on one dark night in December of that year, the party landed and surprised the fort. In it they captured 16 cannon, many small arms, and 97 kegs of powder, which latter, for a time, were chiefly secreted under the pulpit of the church in Durham, near General Sullivan's residence.

During the following spring, an ox cart load of this powder was dispatched to the army near Boston, and was of invaluable service to the Americans, at the battle of Bunker's Hill.

In 1775, Washington having been appointed Commander-in-Chief, General Sullivan was

chosen one of the eight Brigadier Generals under him. He was present at the siege of Boston, and when the army there was depleted, by the expiration of the term of service of certain Connecticut troops, he repaired to New Hampshire, and brought down 2,000 volunteers to take their places. He soon was appointed Major General, and went to Canada, where, with great address, he rescued, by a successful retreat, the remnant of Montgomery's army from capture by the British.

At the disastrous battle of Long Island, in 1776, General Sullivan was taken prisoner, but was soon exchanged. He was present at the battles of Trenton and Princeton. At the battle of Brandywine, in 1777, his horse was shot under him. He participated in the battle of Germantown, and was with the army in its dreary *hibernation* at Valley Forge. He was, in 1778, assigned to the command of the army in Rhode Island, where, in conjunction with the French naval and military forces, it was hoped that a fatal blow would be given to the British. Although the army under General Sullivan there did its duty, and gained important advantages, yet complete success was thwarted by the withdrawal of the French fleet, in consequence of a severe storm and other unknown causes.

In 1779, General Sullivan was selected by Washington, to administer chastisement to the Indians, who had, during the previous year, devastated the settlements in the Susquehanna Valley. You have already heard, how faithfully he discharged that duty.

Soon after the termination of that successful campaign, in consequence of ill-health, arising from a constant service in the field of nearly five years, General Sullivan resigned his commission, much to the regret of Washington, who addressed to him a complimentary letter.

General Sullivan was a positive man, who entertained and freely expressed his sentiments, and his allusions to the inertness of the Board of War, for not seasonably and sufficiently furnishing supplies for this expedition, rendered him an object of disfavor in some quarters, but the result proved that he was right, for the army, on its return march, had to be put on half rations of meat and flour. From the criticism to which he was subjected, his reputation has emerged unscathed.

In June, 1780, General Sullivan was chosen by New Hampshire, to represent her again in Congress, which he did with marked ability. Two years later, he became Attorney-General of the State, and rendered great service at a very important crisis.

In 1786, General Sullivan was elected Chief Magistrate of New Hampshire, and was subsequently twice re-elected.

He was President of the convention in that State, which adopted the Constitution of the United States, and by his personal influence contributed much to that result. He was afterwards chosen an Elector at the first presidential election.

In 1789, General Sullivan was appointed by President Washington, Judge of the U. S. District Court of New Hampshire, and held that position until his greatly lamented death, January 23d, 1795, which was hastened by his exposures in the armies of the Revolution. He then had attained the age of 54 years and 11 months—some 50 years less than his venerable father.

His wife survived till 1820, and he left three sons, all graduates of Harvard College, and a daughter.

Much more could be said, in praise of the character and achievements of General Sullivan, which will ever be appreciated by a people, who have received such lasting benefits from his public services. And of all the eminent worthies who served the American cause during the Revolutionary struggle, not one manifested a more disinterested patriotism, a more ardent and well directed zeal, and under the circumstances, attained more complete success than did John Sullivan.

NEWTOWN.

(ELMIRA).

General Sullivan's Official Report of the Battle of Newtown, to General Washington.

[From "The Military Services and Public Life of Major General John Sullivan," by Thomas C. Amory, at Page 121.]

NEWTOWN, August 30, 1779.

"I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency, that, having formed the junction with General Clinton without loss, we marched from Tioga the 26th, in the afternoon. The rains had swelled the Cayuga,* so as to render our march to Chemung very difficult, as we had to ford the river twice in our route. We arrived there in the evening of the 28th, and marched for the place early in the morning of the 29th, about eleven o'clock, a messenger from Major Parr who commanded the rifle corps, the advance of the light troops of the army under General Hand, informed me the enemy had, about a mile in front of the town, a very extensive breast-work erected on a rising ground which commanded the road, in which we were to pass with our artillery, and which would enable them to fire upon our flank and front at the same time. This breast-work they had endeavored to mark in a very artful manner, and had concealed themselves behind it in large numbers.

"I had before been apprised of the enemy's having a very large encampment at that place. I found that the work was in a bend of the river, which, by turning northward, formed a semi-circle. There was a deep brook in front of this work, over which the road passed, and then turned off to the right, parallel to the course of the rising ground, upon which their works were constructed. This would have enabled them to flank the line of march of one column of our troops, had it advanced without discovering the work. They had also posted on a hill about a hundred and fifty rods in their rear, and considerably on their left, a strong party, in order, as I suppose, to fall on our right flank, when we were engaged with the works in front, and to cover the retreat of the troops which occupied the works, in case they should be carried, and to

* Now known as the Chemung river.

take advantage of any disorder which might appear among our troops in the pursuit. This hill was very advantageously formed for their purpose, as it terminated in a bold bluff about a mile in the rear of their works, and about two hundred yards from the river; leaving a hollow way between the hill and the river of about one hundred and fifty yards, and ending on the north in a very narrow defile. This hollow way was clear of trees and bushes, and was occupied by them as a place of encampment for part of their army.

“General Hand formed the light corps of the army in the wood within four hundred yards of their works. The riflemen in his front kept skirmishing with the enemy, who frequently sallied out and suddenly retired, apparently with a view of drawing our men into the works, which they supposed had not been discovered. The growth upon the hill being pine, interspersed with very low shrub oaks, they had cut off shrubs and stuck them in the ground in front of their works, and had some reason to suppose that we should not distinguish them from those growing in the eminence. General Hand remained at his post until I arrived with the main army. General Poor's brigade, which formed the right wing of the main army, deployed in the rear of General Hand's; General Maxwell's brigade, which formed the left wing, came abreast with General Poor, and remained in column ready to act as occasion might require. It was observed, that there was another chain of hills terminating in a point rather in rear of our right, and about one mile distant from the right of our line.

“It was conjectured, that the enemy had taken post upon one or both the hills, in order to fall on our right and rear, when we attempted to attack their works. General Poor was therefore detached to gain the hill first described, and fall into the enemy's rear. Small reconnoitering parties were likewise detached to make discoveries at the other hill, and to give notice of any appearance of the enemy there, and still to guard more effectually against any attempt from that quarter. General Clinton's brigade, which forms the second line of the army, was ordered to turn off, and follow in the rear of General Poor, to sustain him in case of necessity, or to form a line to oppose any force which might fall in his rear, or attempt to gain the flank or rear of the army. When sufficient space of time had been given to General Poor to gain the hill in their rear, our artillery was to announce our attack in front, which was to be made by General Hand's corps supported by General Maxwell's brigade, if necessary. Maxwell's brigade, was therefore held in a closed column, in order to give the necessary support to the attacking party, or to form a line to oppose any force which might attempt to attack us, either in our front or rear.

“Colonel Dubois, with the right flanking division of the army, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, was advanced on the right of General Poor; and Colonel Ogden, with the left flanking division, of two hundred and fifty more, was posted near the river, with directions, as soon as the attack began, to advance along its bank, and gain the enemy's right, to prevent any escape across. General Poor moved on to gain the hill, and General Clinton followed as directed, but both of them were for some time delayed by a morass. General Poor had already arrived at the foot of the hill, when the cannonading began in front of their works, but, upon attempting to ascend it, he found a large body of the enemy posted there, who began to fire upon him. His troops charged with bayonets, and sometimes fired as they advanced. The enemy retreated from tree to tree, keeping up an incessant fire, until his troops had gained the summit of the hill. General Clinton detached two regiments to reinforce General Poor, and then followed himself with the residue of his brigade, as directed. The two regiments arrived just before the summit of the hill was gained, and prevented the enemy from turning his right, which they were then attempting. Our cannonade in front, and, I doubt not, the unexpected fire from General Poor on the enemy's left, occasioned them instantly to abandon their works, in the utmost confusion. They fled in the greatest disorder, leaving eleven of their Indian warriors and one female, dead on the ground, with a great number of packs, blankets, arms, camp equipage, and a variety of their jewels, some of which are of considerable value.

“We took two prisoners,—one a Tory, the other an enlisted negro, in one of the Tory companies. They both agree that there were five companies of whites, and their main strength consisting of the Indian warriors of seven nations, and that this was the place where they meant to make their principal opposition, and that they had been waiting here eight days. Both the Butlers, Brant, and Captain McDonald were here, each having a separate command. Brant had some time since [been] slightly wounded in the foot, but had recovered. They further say, they sent off their wounded on horseback. Some of them, no doubt, were carried off in canoes. Many of their dead must have been carried off or concealed, as we found many bloody packs, coats, shirts, and blankets, and in short, every appearance, not only of havoc, but of fright and confusion, was left behind them. The main army pursued them about a mile, and the light corps about three; but fear had given them too great speed to be overtaken.

“Our loss was three killed and thirty-nine wounded, principally of General Poor's brigade. Among the latter were Major Titcomb, Captain Cloyse, and Lieutenant McAuley, all badly; the latter is since dead;

the other two, it is hoped will survive; the residue are principally slightly wounded. General Poor, his officers and men, deserve the highest praise for their intrepidity and soldierly conduct, as do Colonel Proctor and the whole artillery corps. Major Parr and the rifle corps also distinguished themselves by their great vigilance and spirited conduct. In short, every officer and soldier conducted in a most soldierly manner, and those who were not immediately in the engagement, manifested their eagerness for the combat in every action. Indeed, the conduct of the whole army was truly pleasing, and gave the most striking evidence that no equal number of troops can oppose their progress. I cannot help saying, that the disposition of the enemy's troops, and the construction of their works, would have done honor to much greater officers than the unprincipled wretches who commanded them. The numbers of the enemy cannot be ascertained; but from the extent of their works, and the posts they occupied, they must have been numerous.

"This place, in English called Newtown, was a large, scattered settlement, abounding with extensive fields of the best corn and beans; so extensive and numerous, as to keep the whole army this day industriously employed in destroying, and the business yet unfinished. From the vast quantity of corn planted at this place and its vicinities, I conclude it to have been designed as their principal magazine. The town, which contained about twenty houses, was burnt; and Generals Clinton and Poor, on their yesterday's route, fell in with another of thirty buildings, about two miles to the east of this, which is also destroyed. The number of Indian towns destroyed since the commencement of the expedition, including those burnt by General Clinton previous to the junction, is, I think, fourteen, some of them considerable, others inconsiderable."

JOHN SULLIVAN.

LETTERS TO COMMITTEE ON INVITATIONS.

In response to the communication of Judge W. F. Warner, chairman of the executive committee, letters were received from the following persons, some of whom accepted the invitation and promised to be present, others appreciated the honor conferred on them, while a number regretted their inability to be present, but extended their hearty thanks and expressed an earnest hope that the undertaking might be successful :

His Excellency, the President of the United States.

Hon. W. A. Wheeler, Vice-President United States.

General William T. Sherman.

O. M. Poe, of Gen. Sherman's Staff.

Stewart VanVliet, Assistant Quartermaster General.

General James McQuade, Head-Quarters G. A. R.

Hon. Lucius Robinson, Governor of New York.

Hon. John T. Hoffman, Ex-Governor of New York.

Hon. A. G. Curtin, Ex-Governor of Pennsylvania.

Gen. George B. McClellan, Governor of New Jersey.

Hon. B. F. Prescott, Governor of New Hampshire.

Hon. Nat. Head, Governor of New Hampshire.

Governor Thomas Talbot, of Massachusetts.

Hon. Charles B. Andrews, Governor of Connecticut.

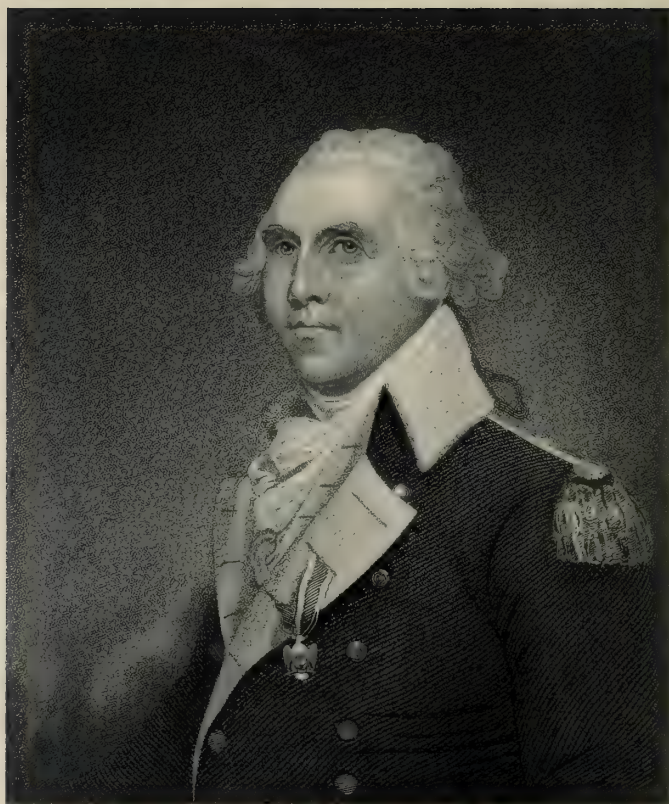
Hon. G. C. Walker, Ex-Governor of Virginia.

Benson J. Lossing, Esq., the Historian.

Hon. John G. Parke, of Vermont.

C. N. Shipman, Esq., and others.

Hon. Sylvester Dana, of New Hampshire, stating that he has obtained permission to take from the State capitol for the purpose of loaning the committee, if desired, the portraits of Major General Sullivan, Brigadier General Poor, and Colonels Cilley and Scammel.



Peter Gannwoort

Biographical Sketch of Colonel Peter Gansevoort.

BY REV. DAVID CRAFT.

PETER GANSEVOORT was descended from one of the oldest Albany Knickerbocker families, his great-grandfather, Harmen Gansevoort, having settled in that place as early as 1660, and owning a lot on the corner of Broadway and Maiden Lane, still held by his descendants. He was born at Albany, July 17th, 1749, and died July 2d, 1812. He was appointed by Congress, July 19th, 1775, a Major in the Second N. Y. Regiment, and joined the army under Montgomery, which invaded Canada. March 1, 1776, he was made Lieutenant Colonel, and November 21st, of the same year, Colonel of the Third Regiment. In April, 1777, he took command of Fort Schuyler, and gallantly defended it against the British under St. Leger, who, after besieging it from the 2d to the 22d of August, abandoned the siege.

Both in the conduct of the armed defence and in his diplomatic correspondence with St. Leger, he evinced undaunted courage and great tact. To a messenger, sent by the British Colonel, demanding his surrender, he replied: "I consider the message you have brought, a degrading one for a British officer to send, and by no means reputable for a British officer to carry. For my own part, I declare, before I would consent to deliver this garrison to such a murdering set as your army, by your own account, consists of, I would suffer my body to be filled with splinters, and set on fire, as you know has at times been practiced, by such hordes of women and children killers as belong to your army." To a more formal demand for surrender, he replied: "Your letter of this day's date, (Aug. 9, 1777,) I have received, in answer to which I say, that it is my determined resolution, with the forces under my command, to defend this fort to the last extremity, in behalf of the United American States, who have placed me here to defend it against all their enemies." In thus preventing the co-operation of St. Leger, he materially affected

the plans of Burgoyne and hastened his defeat. By this gallant defense, Colonel Gansevoort encouraged the patriots, and for it he received the thanks of Congress. In the spring of 1779, he was ordered to join Gen. Sullivan in the Western Expedition, his regiment forming the left wing of Clinton's Brigade. In 1781, the State of New York appointed him a Brigadier General. He afterward filled a number of important offices, among which were Sheriff of Albany county, a Regent of the University of the State of New York, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and for fortifying the frontiers, Military Agent, and Brigadier General in the United States Army. He was a man of commanding presence, and engaging personal manners, an agreeable companion, as well as a fearless Captain.

Seneca County.

(WATERLOO).

SENECA COUNTY.

(WATERLOO).

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF GENERAL SULLIVAN'S

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE IROQUOIS, IN 1779.—HELD

AT WATERLOO, N. Y., SEPTEMBER 3rd, 1879.

"Amidst these scenes of calm repose, that no signs of conflict show,
We're met to hear the tale rehearsed of Sullivan and his foe,
And fight the battles o'er again of a hundred years ago."

The last four years have been distinguished for Centennial and patriotic celebrations. The first, in memory of the Declaration of American Independence, was opened on the Fourth of July, 1876, and was one of the most imposing memorial exhibitions known in the history of the world. Five years previous to that date, the President of the United States had suggested the fitness of such commemoration on the one hundredth anniversary of this bold and patriotic declaration. The place proposed was Philadelphia, inasmuch, as here stood the memorable Hall in which the declaration was voted, and in which the first Colonial Congress was held.

The ground set apart for the Celebration, was dedicated on the Fourth of July, 1873. Invitations were cordially extended to other governments to share in the exhibition, and to enter into friendly competition with the United States in the arts of peace. These governments as cordially accepted the invitation, and, through their authorized commissioners, sent specimens of their arts, products and manufactures, reflecting great honor upon their respective nations, while our own people, in

NOTE.—In the year 1879, the Waterloo Library and Historical Society, published a book of 350 pages, comprising the proceedings of the Seneca County Centennial of Sullivan's Expedition, the material for which was prepared and compiled by Hon. Diedrich Willers, Jr., of Varick, Seneca county, including also a sketch or brief history of the Library and Historical Society, by Rev. S. H. Gridley, D. D., and some other papers of historical interest. The undersigned is alone responsible for the selections here published, and which have been taken from that publication. Very much interesting matter he has felt constrained to omit.—GEO. S. CONOVER.

measuring the progress of an hundred years, found occasion to rejoice in the achievements they had made, and in their successful rivalry of olden nationalities.

As this national commemoration related to the declared purpose of America to be free, others have quite naturally followed, in celebrating events contributing to the fulfillment of the purpose. Thus in our own State, after an appropriate celebration of the Centennial of the formation of our State government, at Kingston, July 30th, 1877, on the 6th of August, 1877, salutes, at early dawn, were fired along the valley of the Mohawk, inviting the people to the commemoration of the battle of Oriskany, fought just one hundred years before. On the 19th of September following, was observed the Centennial anniversary of the battle of Bemus Heights, or Stillwater; and on the seventeenth of the next month, (October) was commemorated at Schuylerville, N. Y., the termination of the brilliant campaign of Saratoga, with the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne and his army, an event, for which the way was essentially prepared by the two previous battles. The ceremonies attending these anniversaries, enlisted some of the first talent of the State, and were conducted with joy and gladness, echoing the feelings which the victories inspired in the hearts of those who achieved them, and in the hearts of the American people.

The year 1879 had been distinguished as the one hundredth anniversary of the incursion of Major General John Sullivan, into the territory of the Six Nations; and it seemed proper, that a campaign contributing so much to the success of the American Colonies in their struggle with Great Britain, should be commemorated, especially by those now living in the very track of this memorable and devastating march. Hence, as Seneca county, lying in the line of this incursion, shared in the general punishment inflicted, and was thereby opened to the settlement of a race capable of proving the value of the soil and of introducing the arts of a Christian civilization, it seemed especially fitting that the anniversary should be marked by some suitable memorial observance, within the limits of that county.

The honor of suggesting and recommending such observance has been quite justly accorded to the Waterloo Library and Historical Society. Nearly two years before the coming of the anniversary, Dr. S. R. Welles, in a paper read before the Society,* spoke of such celebration as due to the memory of the actors in the Sullivan Incursion, and suggested that, as Seneca county was, in part, the theatre of this campaign, the descendants of the hardy pioneers who first settled on the soil laid open by it, should meet in September, 1879, and celebrate, with the Society, the Centennial

* This paper will be found at the close of these proceedings.

of this campaign. On the 6th of February, 1879, this suggestion came formally before the board of trustees, when a committee of three was appointed to call a meeting of the citizens of the town, with the view of electing a town committee of the same number, to act with the committee of the society. By direction of this joint committee, consisting of Rev. S. H. Gridley, D. D., Chas. D. Morgan, S. R. Welles, M. D., committee on the part of the Waterloo Library and Historical Society; Hon. S. G. Hadley, Hon. A. L. Childs, James Joyes, Benjamin Bacon, Gideon Bowdish, committee on the part of the town of Waterloo, the Supervisors of the several towns of the county were requested to suggest representatives of their towns respectively, who should meet in conference at Waterloo on the 19th day of March, 1879, to consult on the subject of a County Centennial Celebration.

The supervisors of the several towns, in full sympathy with this commendable movement, promptly responded to the request of the committee, and transmitted to the secretary, the names of their respective committees, composed of representative and patriotic citizens of the several towns, to-wit:

COVERT.—Dewitt C. Wheeler, Supervisor; Rev. Lewis Halsey, Lyman B. Parshall, Major Orlo Horton, J. L. Ryno.

LODI.—Charles J. Van Liew, Supervisor; Hon. Peter Lott, Samuel S. Gulick, Peter V. N. Bodine, Claudius Coan Covert.

OVID.—DeForest P. Seeley, Supervisor; Prof. W. L. Hyde, Henry V. L. Jones, John N. Wilson, J. S. Harris.

ROMULUS.—John Monroe, Supervisor; John G. King, Richard M. Steele, E. Seeley Bartlett, Henry S. Miller.

VARICK.—John V. Crane, Supervisor; Hon. Robert R. Steele, Daniel C. Burroughs, Dr. Andrew J. Alleman, Hon. Diedrich Willers, Jr.

FAYETTE.—Martin L. Allen, Supervisor; Robert J. Swan, William W. Stacey, Samuel McIntosh, John R. Stone.

SENECA FALLS.—William Walker, Supervisor; D. B. Lum, Charles L. Hoskins, Hon. Gilbert Wilcoxon, E. W. Bull, Edward Mynderse.

WATERLOO.—John E. Richardson, Supervisor; Hon. S. G. Hadley, Benjamin Bacon, Hon. A. L. Childs, James Joyes and Gideon Bowdish.

JUNIUS.—C. J. Hampton, Supervisor; N. H. French, Hon. William W. Vandemark, Hon. Orin Southwick, William E. Phillips.

TYRE.—William A. Stevenson, Supervisor; Levi Van Buskirk, Dr. E. J. Schoonmaker, Israel B. Haines, John Barry.

As the result of this meeting, one representative from each of the ten towns of the county was appointed to act with a committee of five from the Waterloo Library and Historical Society, as a County executive committee, to make arrangements for the proposed celebration. The names of the executive committee, thus appointed, are as follows.—

COVERT.—Dewitt C. Wheeler.

LODI.—Casper B. Vescecius.

OVID.—Henry V. L. Jones.

ROMULUS.—Andrew Jackson Bartlett.

VARICK.—Charles H. Sayre.

FAYETTE.—Robert J. Swan.

SENECA FALLS.—Harrison Chamberlain.

TYRE.—Rev. Pulaski E. Smith.

JUNIUS.—Hon. Orin Southwick.

WATERLOO.—Hon. Sterling G. Hadley.

WATERLOO LIBRARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Rev. Dr. S. H. Gridley, Hon. Samuel R. Welles, Fred. H. Furniss, Gen'l Mynders D. Mercer, Alonzo H. Terwilliger.

The secretaries of this committee were Dr. S. R. Welles of Waterloo, and Hon. Diedrich Willers, Jr., of Varick, on whom devolved the responsibility of conducting the correspondence of the committee, together with the chief labor of arranging and maturing plans for the Centennial observance. Meetings of the executive committee were held at different times, at which the details connected with the celebration were enlarged and perfected, and reports of committees were received and acted upon.

At the meeting of June twenty-first, the committee on location of grounds for the celebration, reported in favor of holding the same in the Academy Park, in the village of Waterloo. After consideration and discussion of the advantages of this and other locations, the executive committee voted to hold the celebration at the Maple Grove Fair Grounds, in the northeast portion of the village of Waterloo, the free use of which, for this occasion, had been generously accorded by the owner, Mr. Wm. H. Burton. The wisdom of this selection was fully vindicated on the day of the celebration.

At this and subsequent meetings of the executive committee, special invitations to attend the celebration were extended to the veterans of the war of 1812; to pioneer settlers of Seneca county, still living, who located within the territory of the county, prior to its organization, March 24th, 1804, or persons born in the county, prior to that date and still residing therein; to surviving soldiers of the late war, (1861-1865); to the press of this county, and to the Forty-Ninth Regiment of the National Guard of this State.

The initiatory steps having been thus taken, the work of preparation for the celebration began to take shape actively, as well at Waterloo as in the several towns.

And now the work of preparation progressed from day to day; in some of the towns active efforts were successfully instituted to recruit

and drill troops of mounted men to take part in the procession. In most of the towns, the young ladies were also enlisted in the cause. As they appeared, robed in white, on the day of the commemoration they formed an attractive feature of the procession.

THE LOG CABIN.

“ My own native home, in the cot on the hill,
The place of my birth ! Oh it gives such a thrill
Of joy and sensation ! I cannot forget
The little log cottage, I honor it yet.”

The committee conceiving the idea of adding a special attraction to the grounds, in the erection of a “Log Cabin,” as a reminder of pioneer life, took the necessary steps to secure the requisite material therefor, and designated Tuesday, August twelfth, as the day for erecting the same.

A writer in the *Seneca County Courier*, describes the “raising” or erection of the log cabin, as follows :

“The erection of the primitive log cabin on the Fair Grounds on Tuesday, to be used at the Sullivan Celebration, attracted a large number of people, fully six hundred being on the grounds at different periods of the day. The idea of erecting a log house similar to those occupied by the first settlers of this County, was conceived by Solomon Carman, and through his efforts the cabin has become a fixed reality, and is now in readiness for the celebration. It is a structure eighteen by twenty-four feet, and contains thirty-seven logs. The material, with the exception of the sawed lumber for flooring, etc., was secured, by contribution, from the farmers and others.

The executive committee, having set apart the log cabin as the headquarters of the pioneer settlers of the County and of the veterans of the war of 1812, imposed the duty of arranging and decorating the cabin, on Col. H. F. Gustin, who spared no effort to adorn the interior and exterior, with furniture and equipments of the old time regime.

From the cross beams overhead, were suspended on wooden hooks, flint lock rifles, shot gun and musket, with powder-horn, bullet-pouch and shot-bag. On shelves in one corner of the room, were arranged pewter plates and platters, with pewter drinking cups—and near by stood an old-fashioned water bucket, over which was suspended the gourd, as a drinking vessel.

In the open fire-place was the lug pole and trammel, iron pots and kettles used in cooking, bake kettles, skillets and spiders, gridiron, toasting iron, ladles, skimmers, toasting fork, fire dogs or andirons, with heavy shovel and tongs resting thereon. The wooden bread trough, in which

our grandmothers kneaded their bread, and the braided straw bread-baskets, in which the dough was deposited, preparatory to being placed in the bake-oven, with the olden-time flax wheel and hatchel, were duly remembered, and the ancient bed warming pan was not forgotten, while pending from the beams were strings of dried apples and pumpkins.

In the open porch, the ox-yoke and chain, heavy Dutch harness, Dutch scythe, sickle, winnowing fan, and other implements of old-time husbandry, had an appropriate place—while upon the exterior of the building, the never-to-be-forgotten coon skins were duly affixed.

In short, upon the interior and exterior, were displayed specimens of all the important articles of furniture, adornments and equipments of the log cabin of "ye ancient time."

THE PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY.

"A farmer's life, is the life for me,
I own, I love it dearly,
And every season full of glee,
I take its labors cheerly."

At a meeting of Seneca County Council of the Patrons of Husbandry, held August fourteenth, representing the several Granges, (with their membership of eight hundred composed of the sturdy representative farmers of the several towns, their wives, sons and daughters), action was taken to secure the attendance at the celebration, of a representation from the several Granges in the County, and a committee of seven was appointed to make arrangements therefor.

Subsequently a special committee of one from each Grange was appointed to prepare and arrange a grand car, representative of the order, decorated with the products of husbandry—grain, fruits and flowers.

VETERAN SOLDIERS.

The soldiers of the late war, 1861-1865, residing in Seneca County, in response to the invitation of the executive committee, took early measures to secure representation at the celebration, and at an informal meeting of such soldiers, held at Waterloo, August fifteenth, the following resolution was adopted and ordered to be published in the newspapers of Seneca and adjoining Counties:

"*Resolved*, That the ex-soldiers of Waterloo invite every ex-soldier, sailor and marine in Seneca County, to participate in the Celebration of Gen. Sullivan's Campaign, to be held at Waterloo, September third," etc.

How well the brave soldiers of Seneca County responded to this call, the large procession on the day of the celebration, of members of the Grand Army of the Republic, and of Veteran Soldiers in citizen's dress, attested.

SKOI-YASE MONUMENT.

Reference is here made, to the action of the Historical Society in providing for the erection in the Village Park, of a monument commemorative of the destruction by Col. John Harper, by command of General Sullivan, of the Indian village of Skoi-yase, located upon the site of the village of Waterloo. It is only necessary to add, in this connection, that the dedication of the monument formed one of the interesting features of the celebration day.

GRAND STAND.

The committee on decoration spared no time or expense in fitting up a Grand Stand at the Fair Grounds, a description of which appears elsewhere, and which, as completed and decorated, was the admiration of every visitor. In the prosecution of its labors, the committee received from Hon. Wm. H. Bogart of Aurora, (who from the beginning, took a very commendable interest in the celebration,) and from others, many valuable suggestions which were duly regarded.

AN EXPLORING EXPEDITION.

During the summer preceeding the celebration, several exploring expeditions started out under the auspices of the Waterloo Library and Historical Society, to determine the line of march of the army of General Sullivan across Seneca County, as well as of the detachments of Col. Henry Dearborn, Col. John Harper and Col. Peter Gansevoort. These expeditions were under the direction and supervision of Gen. John S. Clark of Auburn, an accomplished antiquarian, historian and surveyor, and with him were associated at different times, Mr. C. Marsena Hubbard of the Seneca County *Courier*, (who furnished that newspaper with a series of very interesting historical articles relating thereto,) Messrs. Frederick H. Furniss, Francis Bacon and H. F. Gustin of Waterloo, and Mr. Geo. S. Conover of Geneva, an enthusiast in historical research.

WEDNESDAY, September 3rd, 1879.

"THE DAY WE CELEBRATE."

Day dawned with moderate temperature and skies overcast—barometer indicating rain.

The day was ushered in by a salute fired with the old village gun, "Little Mac," and the bells in the village rang out a merry peal from one end thereof to the other. From nearly every window and house-top, particularly upon the line of march of the procession, there was a brilliant display of bunting, flags and streamers, floating in the breeze, while nearly all of the buildings, public and private, were elaborately decorated and festooned; in fact, the whole village was decked in holiday attire. The scene was enchanting, and calculated to awaken enthusiasm and patriotic feeling in the most stoic heart.

THE DECORATIONS.

For the following account of the decorations, most conspicuous and striking, throughout the village, the publication committee is indebted to the gifted pen of Rev. George Wallace, of Waterloo :

"Any description of the event of our third of September, 1879, would be incomplete without special mention of the decorations displayed upon public buildings, stores, offices and private dwellings.

Upon many a building there arose, for the first time in its history, the liberty pole. Busy merchants, for days previous to the commemoration, dispensed more flags, bunting and other materials for decoration, than ever floated on the breeze in all the visions of their dreams.

Transparencies of varied designs were abundant, and these, with a multitude of Chinese lanterns, hanging under trees, in doorways, from piazzas and arches, gave promise of brilliant and beautiful illumination.

China, the oldest of the nations, in these simple articles, fashioned after the handiwork of her people, gave witness to the onward progress of the nation of a hundred years, now in the march of Anglo-Saxon civilization, girdling the globe, and stretching its arms across the great Pacific, in the meeting of the west and east.

Across and above the streets, in broad banners, were portrayed brief records of the valorous deeds of our hero, who proved his patriotism before he led his famous expedition against the Six Nations.

At the west end of Main street, where the column formed in line of march, we read :

THE LONG HOUSE OPENED WESTWARD.

Upon the Union School building there ran the legend :

SKOI-YASE,
HE-O-WEH-GNO-GEK,
ONCE A HOME, NOW A MEMORY.

In the business centre of the village there appeared :

OUR VICTORY WAS DEAR-BORN ; BUT HAS LONG LIFE.

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN,
THE REBEL OF 1774,
THE TRIED AND TRUE PATRIOT,
THE FRIEND OF WASHINGTON.

NEW YORK HONORS THE MEMORY OF THE BRAVE SON OF NEW HAMPS-
SHIRE.

DURHAM PULPIT GAVE THE
COUP-DE-GRACE AT BUNKER HILL.

At the intersection of Virginia and Main streets there was a large
WELCOME !

as though to concentrate and intensify the "welcomes" displayed, without number, on public buildings and private dwellings, banners and streamers.

Everywhere, also, were to be seen

1779.—SULLIVAN.—1879.

1779.—HARPER.—1879.

Upon the log cabin, the description of which will be found elsewhere, there was the inscription :

FROM THE ASHES OF THE WIGWAM.

The Union School was brilliant in its gay adorning of the tri-color of our banner, as though rejoicing that education in the peaceful humanities

had displaced the primitive school, where the young warrior learned the arts of savage warfare, and the young squaw too soon began her education in the severe lessons of her burdened life.

The flags and bunting on roof, in window and on front of stores, rehearsed the story of the arts and trades and commerce of an age of peace. The exquisite taste of woman was shown in the decoration of Christian homes with flower and vine, with graceful draperies, with banners hung aloft, by clear transparencies among the leaves of living green, and by innumerable tapers, deftly placed, to symbolize, as it were, the inner light and glory of these homes, whose hearths have drawn their cheering warmth from the camp fires of the soldiers in the wilderness.

There was a veritable Indian wigwam to be seen before the door of a pleasant home, beneath the foliage of a mighty oak, recalling, in its structure, its furniture and adornments, the homes of men a century ago.

The wheels of the factories were still. The looms stood silent and looked out of the window to see the pageant go by—but not until they had flung out their banners to the summer breeze. The passer by might say: "Here, where the Indian maiden sat beside the shining river, adorning the moccasins of her chief with the colored quills of the porcupine, now the skilled hands of trained industry weave into beautiful and durable clothing, the wool of the far-off Australian land, dyed in many hues."

Main, Inslee, Williams, Virginia and North streets, throughout the whole line of procession, removing all that might seem unsightly, even the dust that might arise, put on their best array, hung out their banners of welcome, and cried: "All Hail!"

The *Waterloo Observer*, after referring to the location of the press tent adjoining the log cabin, gives the following description of the arrangements at the Fair Grounds, and of the decorations at the grand stand therein:

"Extending south and east from the press tent was a long line of tents occupied by the committees, the Grand Army and ex-soldiers, and the citizens of the ten towns of Seneca County. North of the tents, and in plain view on the opposite side of the grounds, was the grand stand, sixty-five feet in length and containing accommodations for five hundred persons. It was most tastefully decorated; so handsomely was it trimmed, and so numerous were the compliments paid it, that we think a brief description will be interesting. Its foundation was the grand stand of the Fair Grounds. The cornice, frieze and columns were fully draped with red, white and blue bunting. Directly in the center and in front of the stand was the speaker's platform 16 by 20 feet, covered and ornamented with the national colors. Above the balustrade was a tablet 8 by 13 feet, inscribed as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of Congress be given to His Excellency, Gen. Washington, for directing, and to Major-General Sullivan and the brave officers and soldiers under his command, for effectually conducting, an important expedition against such of the Indian nations, as, encouraged by the counsel and conducted by the officers of his Britannic Majesty, had perfidiously waged an unprovoked and cruel war against these United States."

This banner was surmounted with a large shield, bearing the honored name of General Sullivan, from which sprung the allied banners. On a line with the top of the balustrade, were four smaller shields, bearing the names of Clinton, Maxwell, Hand and Poor. On a line beneath these decorated shields were the names of Harper, Dearborn, Butler, Gansevoort and Scott, while underneath were pendants of green silk inscribed with the names of the Indian villages, Skoi-yase, Ken-dai-a, Swah-ya-wa-na, Cho-ha-ra, Con-daw-haw and Skan-na-yu-te-nate. Rising above the Sullivan shield, was a staff bearing the national flag, while on either side, on staffs slightly lower, were the national colors of our allies, the French, Spanish and Dutch flags, and the thirteen-starred flag of the revolution. Above the speaker's stand, in large letters, was the inscription :

1779—FROM BARBARISM TO CIVILIZATION—1879.

while directly in front of the stand was a green shield bearing the familiar name, "Skoi-yase." The scene within the grounds, as viewed from the entrance, was one of striking beauty and grandeur. On the one side, was the grand stand, rich in its profusion of colored bunting, banners and evergreens, while stretching away to the right were the tents of the respective towns and committees, all forming a most magnificent spectacle, and one never to be forgotten."

To the committee on decorations, whose skill, taste and enthusiasm developed so much that was fair to look upon, to the citizens, wives and daughters, whose art for adorning revealed itself everywhere in things of beauty, and to many friends in Geneva, Seneca Falls, Aurora, and other neighboring towns, who sent flags and banners, and came themselves to mingle in the general joy, the local committees owe their warmest thanks. When *they* keep holiday in memory of a stirring event of national or local interest, "may we be there to see."

THE OUTPOURING OF THE MASSES.

"Come as the winds come, when forests are rended ;
Come as the waves come, when navies are stranded."

Soon after sunrise, the masses of the people from the interior of the county, began to arrive in the village, young and old, on foot, on horse-back, and in all manner of conveyances, from the light phaeton and pleasure carriage, to the heavy and substantial farmer's wagon,—every one attired in holiday garb, and bent upon enjoying the day, with a light and happy heart.

The early morning trains upon the New York Central railroad, came in heavily laden with passengers, and during the day, extra trains were run at frequent intervals, to convey the crowds of people thronging the railway stations for many miles, east and west, "bound for Waterloo." From Seneca lake, small steamers brought their loads of human freight from the south part of the county, and from Geneva, without transshipment, through Seneca river to Waterloo, while from Seneca Falls, the

somewhat primitive mode of travel by canal boat, was revived to a partial extent, to meet the exigencies of travel.

In the large village of Seneca Falls, four miles to the eastward, many of the extensive manufactories suspended operations for the day, to enable their employees to attend the celebration, and business was generally abandoned, so great was the outpouring of its people to the celebration.

Many of the people from the south towns of the county, came by the Geneva & Ithaca railroad to Geneva, and thence by the New York Central railroad.

The large attendance from localities outside of the county, Geneva, Phelps and other towns to the westward, and from Auburn, Cayuga, and other points eastward, caused much delay in the arrival of the trains.

The representation of young ladies dressed in white, from Romulus and Junius, coming a long distance overland, in handsomely arranged vehicles, arrived early at the appointed place of rendezvous.

A large delegation from the town of Fayette consisting of a troop of mounted men, bands of music, and an elaborately decorated carriage with young ladies in white, ready at a moment's notice to fall into line in the procession, assembled at an early hour at South Waterloo.

The Grangers of the county, with their magnificently arranged and decorated car, assembled near the Fair Grounds, whence they early reported themselves in readiness to take their place in the procession.

The soldiers of the Grand Army of the Republic and the veterans of the late Civil War, were also promptly at their appointed place of meeting, ready to fall into line at the tap of the drum, under the direction of their Commander.

The delegation from Seneca Falls, consisting of a troop of mounted men from that town, escorted by a detachment of the Yates Dragoons from Syracuse, with a handsomely arranged car with young ladies dressed in white, a number of veterans of 1812, and a representation of the industrial interests of Seneca Falls, arrived at Waterloo, shortly before eleven o'clock A. M.

The Forty-Ninth Regiment of the National Guard, S. N. Y., came by special train from the east, and did not reach Waterloo until eleven o'clock.

The labors of General Geo. M. Guion, Grand Marshal of the day, now actively began.

" And there was mounting in hot haste ; the steed,
The mustering squadron, and the clattering car,
Went pouring forward with impetuous speed,
And swiftly forming in the ranks, etc."

Under the well directed arrangements of the Grand Marshal and his assistants, however, the numerous and diversified organizations in attendance, were speedily formed into line, and at twelve o'clock noon, the signal gun sounded and the procession began to move with precision—the line of march extending from the west end of Main street (and west end of the village) down Main street to Inslee, through Inslee to Williams, up Williams to Virginia, through Virginia to North, through North to Swift, and through Swift to Maple Grove Fair Grounds, a distance of two and one-quarter miles—the procession being nearly two miles in length, and requiring a full hour to pass a given point.

The following was the order of the procession, as actually carried out, (some changes having been occasioned by reason of the non-attendance of several organizations and the attendance of some others not named on the programme of the Grand Marshal) to-wit:

FIRST DIVISION.

Platoon of mounted police, in charge of Under-Sheriff Peter U. VanCleeef.

Assistants: E. Nugent, A. C. Clark, M. Moore.

Grand Marshal: Gen. George M. Guion.

Assistant Marshals: General J. B. Murray, Major J. K. Loring, A. S. Holenbeck, Dr. J. W. Day.

Aids to Grand Marshal: Captain H. N. Rumsey, I. L. Huff.

Forty-Ninth Regiment Band.

Brigadier General J. Dean Hawley, Tenth Brigade, and staff.

Forty-Ninth Regiment, National Guard, S. N. Y., Colonel Jay E. Storke, commanding, with eight companies, total strength, 368 men.

Battery H. Artillery, Tenth Brigade, S. N. Y., Captain Paul Birchmeyer, 26 men, with two twelve-pounder Howitzer guns.

Following in carriages:

Hon. Josiah T. Miller—President of the Day.

Hon. Wm. Dorsheimer—Orator.

John Reamer, Esq.—President of Village of Waterloo

Diedrich Willers, Jr., Samuel R. Welles—Secretaries.

Rev. David Craft—Historian.

Rev. Dwight Williams—Poet.

Rev. Dr. S. H. Gridley, Rev. P. E. Smith—Chaplains.

Vice-Presidents of the Day.
 Sullivan Executive Committee.
 Pioneer Settlers of the County.
 Veterans of the War of 1812.
 Invited Guests.
 The Reverend Clergy.
 County Officers.

Waterloo Cornet Band.

Village Officers of Waterloo and Local Committees in Carriages.
 Tally-ho Coach containing representation of young ladies of Waterloo,
 dressed in white.
 Ancient Carriage, once owned by President Van Buren, in which the
 Marquis De LaFayette was conveyed on his tour through
 Seneca County, in 1825.

SECOND DIVISION.

Mead's Brass Band of Geneva.

Ontario Encampment No. 84, of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows
 of Geneva; twenty-five men in full Patriarchal uniform
 and regalia, under direction of its principal
 officer, John P. Inman, Captain.
 Grand Army Band of Seneca Falls.
 Tyler J. Snyder Post No. 72, of the Grand Army of the Republic,
 Waterloo, John A. Casterlin, Commander; 90 men.
 Cross Post No. 78, Grand Army of the Republic, Seneca Falls, James
 Dillon, Commander; 50 men.
 Swift Post No. 94, Grand Army of the Republic, Geneva, Herman F.
 Fox, Commander; 40 men.
 Independent Battery of young men attached to Swift Post, G. A. R.,
 Geneva; 20 men in uniform, with their cannon, the little "Spitfire."
 Gordon Granger Post, No. 7, Grand Army of the Republic, Phelps, L.
 P. Thompson, Commander; 20 men.
 Soldiers of the War of 1861-1865, not attached to the Grand Army of
 the Republic; 500 men in citizens' dress.
 The Veteran Soldiers, marching in columns of four, in charge of Com-
 mander John A. Casterlin.

Phelps Brass Band.

Seneca County Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, Hon. Wm. W. VanDemark of Junius, Grand Master; with grand car, appropriately decorated with the products of husbandry, with impersonations of Ceres, Pomona and Flora, followed by delegations from the subordinate Granges of the County in carriages, two abreast, to the number of about one hundred vehicles, and more than three hundred Grangers.

THIRD DIVISION—COVERT AND LODI.

Centennial Committees, Officers and Citizens in carriages.
Town Marshals—Isaac H. Stout, Homer Booram.

FOURTH DIVISION—FAYETTE.

Canoga Brass Band.
Carriage containing representation of young ladies of Fayette, dressed in white.
Centennial Committee, Officers and Citizens in carriages.
Skoi-yase Martial Band.
Troop of one hundred mounted men, under the direction of Uriel D. Belles, Town Marshal, Chauncey L. Becker and Isaac D. Burroughs, Assistants.

FIFTH DIVISION—JUNIUS.

Junius Martial Band.
Carriage containing representation of young ladies of Junius, dressed in white.
Centennial Committee, Officers and Citizens in carriages.
Troop of fifty mounted men, under direction of Henry Bishop and Edward Dean, Town Marshals.

SIXTH DIVISION—OVID.

Centennial Committee, Officers and Citizens in carriages.
Town Marshals—D. P. Seeley, Dr. A. W. McNames.

SEVENTH DIVISION—SENECA FALLS.

Seneca Falls Cornet Band.
Centennial Committee, Officers and Citizens in carriages.
Carriages containing representation of young ladies of Seneca Falls, dressed in white.

Troop of fifty mounted men, under command of Major J. Marshall Guion, Samuel Jacoby, Adjutant, escorted by a detachment of the Yates Dragoons, commanded by Captain Michael Auer; twenty-five men in full uniform and equipments.

An exhibit of the manufacturing industries of the Goulds Manufacturing Company, and of Rumsey & Co., neatly arranged upon handsome wagons.

Citizens in carriages.

Col. James H. McDonald and J. N. Hammond, Town Marshals.

EIGHTH DIVISION—ROMULUS AND VARICK.

Carriage containing representation of young ladies of Romulus, dressed in white.

Centennial Committees, Officers and Citizens of Romulus and Varick in carriages.

George W. Jacacks, H. F. Troutman, E. Cole, Town Marshals.

NINTH DIVISION—TYRE.

Centennial Committee, Officers and Citizens in carriages.
Town Marshals.

TENTH DIVISION.

Citizens in carriages.

The procession reached the Fair Grounds at 1:45 P. M., and the officers of the day, orator, historian, poet and invited guests, took position upon the grand stand.

Order having been obtained, the exercises began.

Rev. Dr. S. H. Gridley, of Waterloo, invoked the Throne of Divine Grace, in a fervent and impressive prayer.

John Reamer, Esq., President of the village of Waterloo, then delivered an *Address of Welcome*, to the immense concourse of people in attendance, (variously estimated at from 10,000 to 20,000 persons,) in the following words :

“LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

In behalf of the village of Waterloo, I bid you welcome, on this occasion. We have met to celebrate an event, which happened one hundred years ago. It was an event, which opened to the feet of the white man, the dark and dangerous pathways of the forest. The result has been to

displace the wilderness, and place in its stead, the beautiful surroundings that we see to-day. In 1779, a few rude wigwams marked the locality of our present village. To-day, its site is marked by houses of comfort, by mill and factory, by church and school house, and all the indications of industry, religion, civilization and progress. One hundred years ago, Skoi-yase offered a cold reception to General Sullivan's men. To-day, Waterloo throws wide her doors, and gives to the sons of these men, a royal welcome.

It has been the aim of our efforts, that this day should be one long to be remembered, with pleasure, by all who honor us, with their presence. The assemblage, before me, leads me to hope that our efforts have not been in vain. While I bid you welcome to our village, in the name of its officers, I join to that welcome, the assurance, that words of mine can but feebly express, the warm and heartfelt greeting of each individual citizen."

At the conclusion of Mr. Reamer's remarks, Hon. J. T. Miller, of Seneca Falls, President of the day, delivered the following address:

"GENTLEMEN—MEMBERS OF THE WATERLOO LIBRARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY ;
FELLOW CITIZENS :

History is made up of a succession of events. Time is measured by epochs.

We have assembled, to-day, to commemorate one of those events, which, by reason of its influences on the destinies of a people and a continent, marks the beginning of an epoch, whose termination is appropriately fixed at the close of one hundred subsequent revolutions of the seasons.

One hundred years ago these broad lands, now lying unrolled before us, like a map of the fabled gods, and presenting a surface of wondrous beauty, variety and grandeur, were in the possession and under the control of a far different race of people—a people loosely held together by some traditional form of tribal government or compact—but existing, as they had existed from their first discovery on this continent, without a knowledge of any of the arts or sciences, ignorant of the use of letters and of numbers, uninfluenced by the progressive tendencies of the growing civilization of other lands, and entirely unconscious of a divine revelation.

As individuals, this primitive people possessed courage, endurance, fortitude, at times amounting to the highest type of heroism ; as a people, they were not without sentiment and patriotism. They were passionately fond of the places of their birth, were ever ready to defend their homes and their hunting grounds, and they revered the mounds which contained the bones of their ancestors. But they were without the condition, the principle or possibilities of progress.

Not far distant from where we now stand, this system of western paganism and the progressive civilization which came with Christianity from the east, met in the shock of battle.

Weary from the effects of a long march through a wilderness almost untrodden by the foot of a white man ; worn down by continued toil, privation and exposure, *the army of the civilized*, under command of General Sullivan, entered the favorite hunting and planting grounds of the Five Nations, and ultimately encamped on the side of the clear, cold waters of the deep, dark, mysterious, and in the superstitious belief of the simple-minded aborigines, storm-haunted Seneca.

The Indian braves, until then, the unchallenged lords of these forests, were aware of the hostile invasion, and prepared to give battle to the unwelcome invaders.

Indian cunning and Indian cruelty were here to contend on their natural and familiar ground, with the white man's science and the white man's discipline.

It has not been assigned to me on this occasion to recount the various incidents of this eventful struggle, nor am I called upon to defend the fierce destruction of Indian property and life, which, in obedience to orders from the Commander-in-Chief, followed the conflict at Newtown.

Within, or near the boundaries of our county, at least three important Indian settlements were destroyed, the horses and cattle were driven away, their cornfields, orchards and gardens uprooted, their wigwams were burned, and their warriors slain within sight of the ascending smoke, which told them of the invasion and destruction of their homes; the women and children, with the aged and decrepit, were compelled to seek safety in the recesses of the forest, to divide with the wolf and the bear the scanty subsistence provided by nature for her children. Your distinguished orator and gifted poet will describe to you these events in language which I must not anticipate, and in diction which I could not imitate, while your historian has compiled a record, which will forever remain in the archives of your society, an object of interest and a source of instruction.

No actor in the scenes which we have this day met to commemorate, remains with us to tell the story of those early times. The Indian and the white man, parties to these sanguinary struggles, have alike disappeared. In endeavoring to trace, verify and reproduce their history, we necessarily grope in doubt, in darkness and uncertainty. Wonderful changes have taken place, but so silent and gradual have been the processes, that no record of the transition remains more enduring and reliable than that of the footstep in the sand. These broad lands then covered by primeval forests, sheltering a sparse and untutored population, are now everywhere teeming with transplanted life and civilized industries and activities. Cities and villages, churches and school houses, works of art and inventions of utility, productive farms, cultivated fields, fruitful gardens and peaceful homes are everywhere to be seen, but of the original red man, who then held these broad domains by grant from God Himself, and of the first white settler, who, in obedience to a law of progress, implanted within his bosom by the same All-Wise Creator, wrested these lands for the purpose of cultivation and improvement, from their pagan proprietors, few trustworthy traces remain.

One hundred years hence, and we, too, will have passed away. Not one of all those now here present, will remain, to tell the story of these, our times. Our children's children will, doubtless, meet on occasions like this, perhaps to celebrate on this very spot, the centennial of the organization of this Historical Society, under whose auspices, we are this day principally convened. If so, I fancy the names of Gridley and of Fatzinger, of Hadley, of Welles and their associates will then be recalled, and their unselfish labors, their intelligent researches, their zeal for the truth of history, their taste and their generous liberality, will form themes for orators and poets, yet unborn. But none of us will be there, and it is because all of the living will die and pass away, as all of the past have died, that monuments and commemorations, like those we are about to unveil and inaugurate, become useful and important. They serve as the landmarks of progress, and become standing witnesses of the truths which shall be narrated in history. As the annual recurrence of the festival of Christmas, the solemn fast of Good Friday, and the joyous feast of Easter, bear perpetual, intelligent and demonstrative testimony to the reality of the birth, the crucifixion and resurrection of our Lord, so may these secular festivals memorialize to coming generations, the occurrences of important, material and political events.

It seems very proper that we, who live in this highly favored land, and in this active and inventive age, should make, for posterity, memorials of our time, more enduring even than that of inscriptions on granite and brass; and that we should rescue, from oblivion, the mementoes and characteristics of an earlier age and people, before every trace of them shall be forever covered up or swept away.

Go forth, then, ye gleaners and gather up the fragments of our early and local history, that none may be lost. See to it, that forest and stream, lake and river, hill and valley,

rock and mound, be made to tell that which they have seen, and to surrender to your careful and conscientious keeping, the secrets and the treasures committed to their charge. Let your stalwart men follow in the footsteps of the Indian hunter, and on the trail of the savage warrior, while your young men and maidens, in the very exuberance of youthful glee and health and enthusiasm, shall tread again amid the shadows of the moonlit evening, or the early dews of the rosy morning, the fairy rings which encircled the giant oaks, beneath whose spreading branches, tales of love and war were whispered, in a language long since lost, during the centuries which have passed.

Our country is full of mementoes of an earlier age, and of a people no longer seen among us. It is the ascertained birth-place and the probable burial place of one or more of the most distinguished of Indian orators; and there is not a rood of land along its lakes and rivers, which has not been lighted by the council fires, witnessed the war dances and heard the harvest and hunting songs of the Senecas, the Cayugas, the Onondagas, the Oneidas and the Mohawks; while every sunny knoll has been crimsoned with the blood of victims to heathen rites and savage customs; and every shady dell has witnessed the fierce and sanguinary struggles between a receding paganism and an advancing Christian civilization.

To develop, illustrate and perpetuate these mementoes, and to profit by the lessons of history which they silently teach, is one of the objects for which the Waterloo Library and Historical Society has been organized, and for which this County assembly has been convened.

In the name, therefore, and on behalf of the officers and members of that society, and in the name and on behalf of the corporate authorities and citizens of the town and village of Waterloo, who will also this afternoon celebrate the semi-centennial of their municipal organization, and in the name and on behalf of the whole people of Seneca, I bid you all welcome and invite you to assist in the ceremonies of the day."

It is now my privilege to introduce to you the Orator of the Day, **LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR WILLIAM DORSHEIMER**, of Buffalo, who will deliver an oration, which, on the invitation of your committee, he has kindly prepared for this occasion.

ORATION OF HON. WILLIAM DORSHEIMER.

MY FELLOW CITIZENS:

The arrangements, which have been made by your committee, assign to another, the duty of reviewing the historical events, you are assembled to commemorate. I may, therefore, address myself to some of those more general considerations, which this occasion suggests.

In view of the scene before our eyes, it is an interesting reflection, that only a century ago an armed expedition came here, which the government had sent against the Indian tribes, just as, sometimes, in these days, expeditions are sent against the Indians, who inhabit the head waters of the Yellowstone, and the Columbia. I know of no other association of this centennial period, which so strikingly emphasizes the changes, and progress of the last hundred years. A hundred years ago, all this region, which stretches from the Mohawk to the Great Lakes, was covered by an unbroken forest, and owned by a few thousand savages. It is now the seat of the most powerful, the wealthiest, and I think I may say, the most liberal, and enlightened American State.

I will make it my part, to-day, to describe the influences, which have, in my judgment, been most influential, in producing this change; and, I will also mention, what I think are the most important achievements, of the century which has passed.

The history of New York, has, from the first, been an epitome of the history of the United States. In colonial times, it was the home of an Indian confederation, of such power, that its alliance was sought, by the principal nations of Europe. The policies of Versailles, and St. James, were worked out here. Addison, describes the presentation of an embassy, from the Iroquois, at the court of Queen Anne. Here, were undertaken the

enterprises, which gave its chief glory, to the administration of the elder Pitt, and here, those events occurred, which decided, that this continent should be English, and not French. Here, too, were fought the decisive battles of the Revolution. Lexington, and Bunker Hill, were a call to arms; Oriskany, and Saratoga, gave us the French Alliance, and made our independence certain.

This has been not only the strategic point in war, but, also, in government. The first Congress of the Colonies, was held in Albany. Our constitution was a model to the framers of the Federal Constitution, our laws in relation to railways, insurance and manufacturing corporations, have been copied, in other states; and our banking laws are the foundation of the national banking system.

All those forces, which, since the establishment of our government, have acted upon our country, and formed our national character, have been in operation here. Here, where you live, was the first West. Here, were first seen those great movements of our population, which have been a curious and characteristic feature of our history. New York has, always, been hospitable to the stranger.

The Dutchman, who founded our State, had established a liberal polity, such as was to have been expected, from the sagacious merchants of Holland. New Englanders were attracted, not only by more fertile soils, but even more by a wider liberty, and by a government, which left room for individual freedom. The people of Nantucket, came into the valley of the Hudson, and Yankees from Connecticut, came into this lake region, and into the Genesee country, a little further west.

From the first, this was a commercial State; the Hollanders had made treaties with the Indians, and the furs and peltries of the forest, sought a market, at the mouth of the Mohawk. Independence was hardly achieved, before New York began enterprises to facilitate trade with her sister states. In 1791, an Act was passed, authorizing a survey for a canal, to connect the streams of the interior, with the Hudson. In 1793, an Act was passed, "for opening navigation between Lakes Erie and Ontario." The preamble to the Act of 1817, states in language of singular beauty, the generous and patriotic policy, with which the building of the Erie and Champlain canals, was undertaken. I will read it to you:

"WHEREAS, Navigable communications between Lakes Erie and Champlain, and the Atlantic ocean, by means of canals, connected with the Hudson river, will promote agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, mitigate the calamities of war, and enhance the blessings of peace, consolidate the union, and advance the prosperity, and elevate the character, of the United States; and, *whereas*, it is the incumbent duty, of the people of this State, to avail themselves of the means, which the Almighty has placed in their hands, for the production of such signal, extensive, and lasting benefits to the human race; *now, therefore*, in full confidence that the Congress of the United States, and the states equally interested with this State in the commencement, prosecution and completion of those important works, will contribute their full proportion of the expense; and, in order that adequate funds may be provided, and properly arranged, and managed, for the prosecution, and completion of all the navigable communications, contemplated by this Act.

1. *Be it enacted*, by the People of the State of New York, represented in Senate, and Assembly, etc."

I need hardly remark, that neither Congress, nor the other States, contributed to the work; New York did it alone. The same liberal spirit, has ever since controlled the management of our public works. The State has expended upon them, more than fifty millions, but the tolls upon their trade, have been so reduced that the treasury has ceased to derive any revenue, therefrom, and it becomes daily, more certain that they will presently be made free highways for commerce.

New York was the first American State, to feel the full force of that tide of foreign emigration, which began, it is true, soon after the Revolution, but which swelled into a considerable volume, subsequent to 1830.

Since the barbarous tribes of the east, invaded the west of Europe, and overwhelmed the civilization of Rome, there has been no migration among men, upon so great a scale,

and in its consequences, so important, as this. Over vast regions, and among many nations there was but one desire. The young men and women came first, the elders followed, and soon whole families, and even, entire neighborhoods came. Fleets were launched to bring them. It was not a wish for a better material condition alone, which governed them. The spirit of liberty, spoke to every race. There was no peasant who had not heard of the new land, where men were free. The words of Franklin, and the deeds of Washington, were known in the remotest corners of Europe. Dramatic accompaniments were not wanting; some there were, whom famine drove away, others fled from the penalties of unsuccessful revolt. But there were other influences, more familiar and even more powerful. In many an Irish cabin, in many a Highland cottage, in many a German village, stories were told, by voices tremulous with sympathy, of the adventurous youth, whom all the eager listeners knew, who had gone beyond the seas, and had won, both wealth and station.

In no way have our institutions shown their strength more strikingly, than by the assimilation of this great horde of strangers. There were many, who looked with fear upon this incursion of people, who were strange to our institutions, to our laws, and many of whom, were strange to our language. There were some, who proposed legal defences against the dangers they apprehended. But such was the trust of the people in their own strength, that these apprehensions soon vanished. At the close of the Civil War, the world wondered to see a million soldiers disbanded and taken back into the body of the nation which had sent them forth, not only without disturbance, but without an effort. It was a far greater marvel, to see these millions of Irishmen, Scotchmen, Germans, Danes, Swedes, French and Italians, turned into Americans, and that, so completely, that in a single generation all their peculiar characteristics, and even their native languages had disappeared; and this, by processes so effective, and so general, that they remind us of the processes of nature, of the mighty forces which melt the snows of winter, and which transform the juices of the earth, and the constituents of the air and the sunshine, into the harvests of autumn.

New York was the first American Commonwealth, which gathered the fruits of this great emigration. The liberal policy, which had attracted the New Englanders, drew hither also, the foreigners. What have they not done for us? Not only have they built our canals, railroads and cities, not only have they tilled our farms, manned our ships, tended our flocks, and borne our burdens, but they have fought upon every battle-field, and assisted in every triumph of our history. Montgomery died under the walls of Quebec; Fulton, of Irish descent, launched the first successful steamboat upon our waters; Sweden gave us the inventive genius of Ericson; Ireland sent here the legal learning of Emmet, and the soft eloquence of Thomas Francis Meagher. The son of one Irish emigrant has long been the leader of the American bar, the son of another, represents you in the Senate of the United States.

In other places, I have dwelt upon the two great lines of policy, which, in my judgment, did most to work out these results; I mean religious toleration, and popular education. The populations of Europe, could not have lived here at peace with each other, and with ourselves, unless we had tolerated, without a question, every form of religious opinion. Neither could these strangers have been changed into Americans, by any other instrumentality, than the common school.

A free people established a free State, a free church, a free school, and their next great achievement, was a free press.

The independent newspaper of to-day, is a product of New York. I do not wish to be understood as saying, that powerful journals were first established here. The press of Europe, of Germany, France and Italy, is both able, and influential, but it is a means by which brilliant writers address the public, rather than a news press. The journals of England are unequalled in their way; they are the best newspapers in the world for what happened a week ago. But the great newspaper to which we are accustomed, which photographs yesterday for us, presenting every feature of human vice and virtue, of joy and sorrow, of success and defeat, of suffering and triumph, every battlefield, every ship-

wreck, the heir of Austerlitz dying amidst the long African grasses, and the young traveler falling from the icy, and precipitous crags of the Matterhorn—this marvelous creature, so instinct with life and energy, with a strength which is never weary, and resources which are never exhausted, whose audacity is only equalled by its enterprise and courage—this is a creation of our time and our State.

A Scotchman and a Vermonter, who came to New York at about the same time, produced the modern newspaper.

There are some who have feared that the power of the press, might prove dangerous to society. But the people, at whose desire, the newspaper came into being, have known how to control it. That public opinion, which the press does most to instruct, provides also the limitations which are necessary to prevent this modern Titan from abusing his power.

The presence here, of so many populations, and the possession of newspapers so widely circulated, have made New York a political stage, second only in importance, to that of the National Government. It has long been possible for a man to win a national reputation, here. No one now remembers that DeWitt Clinton was once a Senator in Congress, while Horatio Seymour has never held any office under the National Government.

There are some states which are always controlled by one party. Not so here. No political party has ever obtained an undisputed ascendancy here. New York is always debatable ground; nor can its political action, often, be predicted.

No public man has ever had the control over us, which Calhoun, Clay, Jackson, Webster, acquired over the communities in which they lived. Even Hamilton, Jay, the Clintons and Livingstons, VanBuren, Marcy, Wright and Seward, were simply the most conspicuous amongst a number of able men.

We have always had close relations with all the other states. As the waters which fall upon our hills, flow into many seas, some into the Gulf of Mexico, some into the Bay of Newfoundland, some through the capes of the Delaware, while others unite with the Potomac and the James, so the currents of our business and commerce, flow into every port, and reach every people. In return, we are affected by the things which concern them. Not only are we disturbed by their distresses, and enriched by their prosperity, but their opinions act upon our minds. It thus happens, that we never have had any controlling local politics in New York. Even when we try to shut out national questions, we find that we cannot, and our elections turn upon the issues, which interest the whole country.

The circumstances I have mentioned, make New York not only a conspicuous, but a difficult field in politics. Men and measures meet here severe criticism, and, of necessity, some misrepresentation, but there is always a full opportunity for free discussion before the people, and the atmosphere of our public life, though it be rude, seems to be grateful to bold and hardy men.

My fellow citizens, the achievements of this century have been the work of the people, and not, in any great part, the work of individual citizens, however distinguished. It has been the industry, the generosity, the wisdom, the saving common-sense, of the plain people of this State, which has controlled its policy, raised it to influence and maintained its power. I do not know of any other community, of which this may be said, with so little qualification.

A century ago, there were, in the principal European countries, enlightened and sympathetic men, who looked, with mingled emotions of hope and fear, at the experiment of the people's government, which the Americans had undertaken. I think we have realized all that those generous spirits hoped for.

One hundred and one years ago last March, before our independence had been won, the illustrious Turgot wrote of us, these prophetic words:

"It is impossible not to offer vows, that this people may arrive at all the prosperity, of which it is susceptible. It is the hope of the human race. It can become its model. It must give the example of political liberty, of religious liberty, of commercial and industrial liberty. The asylum, which it opens to the oppressed of all nations, must console the earth. The facility which it affords for escape from a bad government, will force the European governments to be just and enlightened."

Surely, the aspirations of that prophetic soul have been completely answered. I have tried to show that they have been answered, as respects our own people and country ; it remains to point out, how this prophecy has been fulfilled, as respects other nations. And here, I will yield to the impulse, which always moves a New Yorker to speak of, and for, the whole country. That our example has acted powerfully upon Europe, no one denies. I do not refer, alone, to the French Revolution, but to events which have been more peaceful in operation, and, perhaps, in results.

We have shown the world, that there is no occasion for war on religious grounds, and that a government may safely tolerate all religions. We have shown, that race and language do not create insurmountable barriers between men. That the Celt and the Teuton have inherited no cause for quarrel. We have shown, that the education of all the people, does not cause discontent and disorder, but that it is a source of wealth, and a strong defence to the State. We have shown, that a press absolutely free from censorship and control, is not a source of danger, but that, by giving opportunity to display the truth, and to expose the wrong, it becomes a conservative influence upon society. We have shown the world, the advantages of free trade, between communities, widely separated, and whose industries greatly differ—albeit, our conduct, as respects foreign nations, belies both our practice and precept at home.

We have also shown the value of national unity. Taught by our example, Italy and Germany, both for centuries divided into a number of petty sovereignties, have been transformed into states of the first rank, as respects strength and power.

These results give promise of a greater future, and of an influence upon mankind, even more valuable. If the States of America find it to their advantage, to meet in annual Congress, why may not the States of Europe do the same ? Indeed, when important occasions arise, they do so, now. Whatever cavil there may be over its results, the fact that the question of war and peace in Europe, was presented to the Congress of Berlin, is full of hope for the future. An English gentleman, the Governor of an English Colony, said to me lately, that he looked forward, to some future association of all the English speaking peoples, but when this generous thought is suggested to an American, he remembers that the ancestors of his countrymen are not all English, and he widens the aspiration into the hope that, in the near future, all the nations will be accustomed to meet, from time to time, in Congress, for the adjustment of their differences.

My fellow citizens, you are descended from all the great, and heroic races. Heirs of a glorious past, to you, and to your children, belong the opportunities of the future. Your duty is plain. It will be your part to preserve the institutions you have inherited, and to widen and complete them. Do you begin to feel the evils, which disturb older communities ? Do you find that property gathers in the hands of the few ? That classes separated by barriers, difficult to surmount, grow up amongst you ? That business associations acquire a power inconsistent with the general welfare ? You will know how to deal with these dangers, for you will remember how your fathers dealt with the perils of their day. You will resort to methods which are consistent with peace and liberty. You will apply the solvents of universal education, of free discussion, and of untrammelled political action.

It needs no prophetic vision to tell something of the future. If peace be preserved, those who meet here, to celebrate the second centennial of the conquest of the Six Nations, will be citizens of a State, containing twenty million people. We may be certain, that during the century which now begins, achievements will be made as great, and as difficult as the achievements of the last century. The orator of that day, may speak in a strain, even more triumphant than mine. He will be able to describe a civilization, more refined than ours ; wealth more evenly distributed ; knowledge more general ; society reposing under a safer guardianship ; and our country, with its liberties assured, still showing to the nations of the earth, the way to peace and freedom.

During the delivery of Mr. Dorsheimer's oration, the storm threatened during the forenoon, set in from the south-east, accompanied with heavy rain, which continued to pour down for several hours, and until the conclusion of the exercises, at the grand stand. While this had the effect to greatly thin out the crowd, assembled about the stand, to listen to the speaker, yet many remained to the close, so great was their interest in the exercises of the day.

The historian, Rev. David Craft, was next introduced, by the President of the day, and delivered the historical address, prepared by him, for the occasion. Mr. Craft, at the request of the Waterloo Library and Historical Society, kindly re-wrote and extended his address, so as to form a complete history of the entire Sullivan Campaign of 1779, and it was thus published in the volume of proceedings, issued by that Society. He has now again thoroughly revised, and amplified the same, and it will be found in another place in this volume.

JUDGE MILLER, upon the conclusion of the Historical Address, introduced the POET OF THE DAY, the REV. DWIGHT WILLIAMS, of Trumansburgh, who pronounced the following

P O E M.

SULLIVAN CENTENNIAL.

We walk, to-day, the halls of story,
 'Mid pictures of the olden time,
 And voices, from an ancient glory,
 That charm us as a silver chime ;
 The old and new join loving hands,
 The past before the present stands ;
 The ages give each other greeting,
 And years recall their old renown,
 Their deeds of chivalry repeating
 That won for them a golden crown.

The wheels that roll in fire and thunder,
 And bear us on with startling speed,
 Rattle the dust of nations under
 The flowers of forest, lawn and mead ;
 The great departed still are near,
 The spirit of the past is here ;
 For where we tread, the old Mound-Builders
 Looked forward through the mists of time,
 As we look back ; the scene bewilders,
 And all the distance seems sublime.

But where a hundred years have lifted
 Their stones of memory on the road,
 We pause, in honor to the gifted,
 Who wrought for liberty and God ;
 We tread the dust of history,
 And build thereon our altars free ;—
 From stage to stage the world ascending
 Marks all its steps with blood and fire ;
 And God and truth the wrong contending,
 Are working out the world's desire.

A hundred golden-hued Septembers
 Have blessed the weary hands of toil,
 Since in the heat of smoking embers
 A victor trod his path of spoil ;
 Not for the love of war he went
 With sword and torch, and armament,
 But wild, the Iroquois had lighted
 A thousand fires of hate and scorn,
 From Cherry Valley's homes affrighted,
 To far Wyoming's vale forlorn.

Then Washington, with martial ardor,
 Called Sullivan in haste to go,
 And cross the Indian's forest border
 And lay his fields and orchards low ;
 Till charging Brant in ambuscade,
 He fled from Newtown's fray dismayed ;
 And bold Cornplanter swiftly hasted
 To warn his villagers of scath,
 And tell of wigwams burned and wasted
 Along the victor's blazing path.

From Catharine Montour's castle burning,
 So near She-qua-gah's wild cascade,
 Defenseless Indian mothers turning,
 Fled to the forest depths afraid ;
 From lake to lake the shock of fear
 Had startled all the atmosphere ;
 And darting through the woodland thickets,
 The skulking warriors made retreat,
 And listened for the advancing pickets,
 As on they came with flying feet.

For ah ! the Iroquois had broken
 The promise of their early trust ;
 And violate, the false word spoken,
 Had brought their sachems to the dust ;
 It was the cruel fate of war
 And left its blight on fields afar ;
 Charred heaps but marked each Indian viilage,
 And there was deep and bitter wail ;
 The harvest gone of scanty tillage,
 And want was on the warrior's trail.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS.

Strong was that wild confederation—
 The grand republic of the woods—
 That moved the tribes to consternation
 In far-off forest solitudes ;
 They skimmed across the lakes of blue,
 And from the depths the salmon drew ;
 They twanged the arrows lightly feathered,
 And pierced the timid flying fawn ;
 And at the corn dance weirdly gathered,
 They praised their war-chiefs dead and gone.

A tear, a tear for stately Logan,
 And Skanandoa, worn and old,
 Whose war-cry, like the Highland slogan,
 Had summoned war-chiefs, strong and bold ;
 Speak low, Red Jacket's classic name,
 The Cicero of Indian fame ;
 And where the tablets tell their story,
 With little cost of art's designs,
 We may not blush, but own their glory,
 And praise them at their lowly shrines.

Ah, never more their councils gather,
 With war-whoop shrill, or pipe of peace ;
 Red children of a great All-Father,
 We've seen their watch fires fade and cease ;
 No more Cayuga's silver sheen,
 Or Seneca with depth serene,
 Invite the dainty Indian maiden
 To muse beside the singing waves ;
 The breezes seem with sorrow laden,
 Above the dust of sleeping braves.

And when the soldiers in their marches
 Advanced on that September morn,
 And pushed along through woodland arches,
 Or passed the fields of yellow corn,
 They caught a vision far away,
 A dream of peace—a happy day,
 When they should drop their lurid torches,
 And build along these lovely slopes,
 And sit at home in their own porches,
 Where died in smoke, the Red Man's hopes.

They passed along the rocky ledges
 Above the gorges deep and wild ;
 And dreamed along the water edges,
 With nook and glen and cove beguiled ;
 And thought of sloping farms, that yet
 Should wear the golden coronet
 Of coming, far-off, glad Septembers,
 When they should fear no foeman's scorn,
 To leave the waste of dying embers,
 Along their fields of ripening corn.

They tell us in our nation's story,
 That first to lead the patriot van,
 In all our years of martial glory,
 Was this, our hero, Sullivan ;
 When at old Portsmouth by the sea
 He wrought a deed of chivalry ;
 And took a store of ammunition,
 And hid it 'neath the pulpit stairs
 Of Durham church, in safe condition,
 To answer holy patriot prayers.

At Bunker Hill they used the powder—
 At Bunker Hill of Yankee fame ;
 And so the blast of war grew louder,
 And wider spread the patriot flame,
 'Till Independence Bell rang out
 The people's grand defiant shout ;
 And face to face across the Atlantic
 George Washington and George the Third,
 Stood in the might of arms gigantic,
 'Till all the lands in wonder heard.

But peace came down on loving pinions ;
 The Lion sought his royal lair ;
 The Eagle in his own dominions
 Breathed free his native mountain air ;
 The young Republic, like a bride,
 Sat in her beauty glorified,
 And tossing out her herald banner
 The breezes caught it with delight,
 From Plymouth Rock to broad Savannah,
 With folds of Red and Blue and White.

A hundred years—her footstep quickens ;
 Her next Centennial height she tries ;
 The gold dust on her banner thickens
 Above the smoke of sacrifice ;
 Up from the stormy years she comes,
 With blast of trumpets, roll of drums ;
 The King of Kings is her defender,
 She wears His star upon her breast ;
 And thronging chariots attend her,
 The joy and beauty of the West.

What if the vision grows romantic ?
 We hold the promise of the seers,
 The Mayflower trod the wild Atlantic
 To drop the germ of Freedom's years ;
 A hundred times the ripened corn
 Has filled up plenty's golden horn,
 Since Indian hate and scorn of Tory,
 Were changed to long and tranquil peace ;
 The heroes live in grateful story,
 Nor shall their fame chivalric cease.

Cornplanter's dynasty is ended ;
 No scion of Red Jacket reigns ;
 The last lone Seneca has wended
 His way to far-off western plains ;
 The wavelets of these lakes that surge
 But sing a melancholy dirge,
 In memory of the vanished races,
 That brought their captors from afar,
 Where Art now rules with royal graces,
 Beneath a new benignant star.

Here where the blue lakes gleaming cluster,
 And highlands look in beauty down,
 For nobler warfare let us muster,
 Where Freedom sits with golden crown ;
 Not in the path of blood and fire
 For long renown do we aspire ;
 We build above the mounds that moulder,
 We beautify the warrior's trail,
 The world grows grand, while growing older,
 And peace is here, all hail ! all hail !

The great Republic lives ;
 And still our Father, God,
 His royal favor gives,
 And guides us by his rod ;
 A hundred years of prayer
 Have brought us bravely on,
 Hail ! manly, strong and fair
 The land of Washington.
 A hundred years, Huzza ! we sing their past renown ;
 And long may Freedom's star our heights of azure crown.

Speed on, O Union great !
 And when a hundred years
 Shall come and go elate,
 May Freedom's loving cheers
 Be heard on land and sea,
 And God shall have the praise
 Of nations great and free,
 Through earth's on-coming days.
 A hundred years, Huzza ! we sing their past renown ;
 And long may Freedom's star our heights of azure crown.

Take victor palms and sing
 Beneath our spreading dome :
 Let all the arches ring
 Within our temple home ;
 This is our jubilee ;
 Hosanna for the past ;
 And long as time shall be
 Reign Freedom to the last.
 A hundred years, Huzza ! we sing their past renown ;
 And long may Freedom's star our heights of azure crown.

Letters were received by the Committee on Invitations, of Sullivan Centennial, and by Waterloo Reunion Committee, from a number of invited guests. Some were from former residents of Seneca County, who told of incidents of early days; others, from historical investigators, who narrated facts, of historical interest, or forcibly recorded the salutary effect, and beneficial results, of the Sullivan Campaign, while others, were from prominent persons of this, and other states, who breathed forth sentiments of admiration, and hearty approbation of the fitting tribute, that was to be paid to the memory of the brave officers, and soldiers, who participated in the enterprise, an event, which advanced the cause of civilization, and hastened the settlement of this part of the State, by a hardy, intelligent, and patriotic class of people. The following, are selected for publication :

FROM JEPHTHA R. SIMMS, THE HISTORIAN.

Author of "History of Schoharie County, and Border Wars of New York," etc.

FORT PLAIN, N. Y., August 19, 1879.

DEAR SIR : .

I wish it were practicable for me, to accept your kind invitation, and be at Waterloo, on the approaching September 3rd, to unite with the Seneca County lovers of freedom, in celebrating the Centennial anniversary, of General Sullivan's Campaign—one of the important events of our national struggle for Independence.

The adventure of rolling back upon the Indians, of Western New York, retaliatory measures for their cruelties inflicted upon the exposed frontier settlements, for two years, and the beginning of the third—conspicuous among them, the destruction of Wyoming, and Cherry Valley, is said to have been conceived by the Commander-in-Chief, the great and good Washington.

This invasion and destruction, of their own homes, taught the Indians of the Six Nations, or a majority of them, by sad experience, that the quarrel between Great Britain and her colonies, was one they should have kept aloof from; and yet, poor souls, they were far less to blame, than were their English instigators. And, although they hung like a curtain of death, upon the whole frontier, during the war, yet their adherence to kingly rule, gave us the possession of their lands at an earlier date, and on easier terms, than could otherwise have been expected.

Alas, the poor Indian! he gave his hunting grounds for settlement, and his friendly protection, to a people foreign to his own, and aided in nourishing, and cherishing them, until he became an easy prey, to their avarice, and chicanery. Although there seems to have been an over-ruling Providence, in the general removal of the red man, from his American hunting grounds, from causes, or from reasons, inscrutable to us; yet who can fail to drop a tear of sympathy, over the graves of their fathers; or, in speaking of, or listening to, the euphonious names they gave to our mountains, lakes and water courses, fail to experience a melancholy thought, that once those names were chanted in song, on the lips of nature's children—free as the mountain deer—courageous as the jungle tiger—hospitable as a Samaritan; to be known in those places, no more forever.

Wishing the good people of Seneca County, every success in their laudable endeavor to perpetuate the patriotic deeds, as well as the sufferings, of their ancestors, whose footsteps were often traced in blood—and whose virtues and love of country we should ever emulate.

I am yours, very respectfully,

J. R. SIMMS.

FROM HON. WINSLOW C. WATSON.

PORT KENT, Essex Co., N. Y., August 11th, 1879.

DEAR SIR :

Accept my warm acknowledgment of the civility of your committee in extending to me an invitation to your approaching Centennial. It would afford me the greatest pleasure to be present on this occasion, but I fear that my feeble health will prevent. In communing with your people, I should scarcely feel myself a stranger to them, either in sympathy or in a familiarity with the historic events, which have illustrated the region. I am able to trace in my feelings, an association with Seneca county, to my early childhood.

My father, Elkanah Watson, held large personal interests in the district; he was on terms of intimate friendship with many of its prominent pioneers, and the system of waters which flows from your beautiful lakes, was the scene of those explorations, which stimulated his conceptions of internal improvements. He had regarded the expedition of General Sullivan as among the most important and effective in its results, of the measures of the Revolutionary War. Most of its leaders were his near associates, and under Sullivan himself, he had served at the siege of Newport, Rhode Island. All these circumstances combined to impart to him a strong interest in your section, and, by his habitual conversations, he communicated to me a familiar acquaintance with your county and its annals.

In the summer of 1817 or 1818, I made, with my father, the journey from Albany to Geneva. It was not direct and we occasionally crossed the line of march of General Sullivan's army. The first point of this route, which we touched, was the shelving shores of Otsego lake, where the fields and wigwams of the Indians had been submerged by, to them, the portentous swelling of the waters. Near Cooperstown, we saw the site of the dam erected by General James Clinton, the cause of the fearful portent, and the spot whence the flotilla started on its strange descent of the Susquehanna.

We followed, through nearly the length of Seneca County, the march of the invading army and heard everywhere traditions of the devastations of the happy villages and fertile tracts of the Indians. My recollection is particularly vivid, of the beauty and richness of the territory about Appletown, and the evidences still apparent of the terrible ruin that had desolated it. Many venerable fruit trees were yet standing, witnesses of the magnitude and extent of the former orchards, while innumerable mutilated and coarsely chopped stumps, attested the haste and method of this destruction.

We enjoyed for several days, the princely hospitality of Colonel Wilhelmus Mynderse at Seneca Falls. He was an old cherished friend of my father, and eminent among the class of early settlers whose high qualities impressed an enduring influence upon the character of your community. My memory reverts to his residence, as a long, low mansion, with a broad verandah, and standing near the famous Red Mills, and at right angles with the Seneca river. The village of Seneca Falls, I recall, resting in scattered buildings, chiefly on a single main street.

On our drive toward Geneva, I observed men and teams engaged in levelling the earth, on a spot which I was informed was the foundation for a new court house (Waterloo). When I now review the circumstances, the locality seems to have been, at that time, almost an open country. I have no remembrance of the presence of a village, and certainly nothing more than a small hamlet. The county buildings were located at Ovid.

Although I have often since, traversed the borders of your county, in the old-time post-coach, on a canal packet boat, or upon the wings of steam, I have not visited its interior since that journey. I know of its vast progress and am conscious of the embellishments with which art, and taste, and wealth, have invested and adorned it, but the actuality of its aspect, as I beheld it more than sixty years ago, is still firmly daguerreotyped upon my memory. I am constrained to remember the lovely district, between your unequalled lakes, as revealing the sad vestiges of the aboriginal occupation, then lingering on its scenes, its grand primeval forests, its fields often blackened by charred logs and stumps, and just carved from the wilderness, and an affluence of native wealth, only beginning to throb into vitality.

The illusion is strange, but pleasant ! With congratulations for the patriotic sentiment, which inspired your action, and with an earnest desire for the complete success of your measures, I am, very respectfully, yours,

WINSLOW C. WATSON.

FROM MAJOR M. M. JONES,

Secretary of the Oneida Historical Society.

UTICA, August 28th, 1879.

GENTLEMEN :

Your cordial invitation to attend the Seneca County Centennial, at Waterloo, was received, and I had hoped, until now, to be present. Confessing myself an enthusiast upon the subject of local history, could I be present, I have no doubt of a rich treat.

Thousands of facts in our Colonial and early State history, have been lost or hidden, through carelessness or design, and our people have had their attention constantly drawn to other colonies and states, with whose records, those of New York, will bear honorable comparison. New York, has never had fair play in our histories. While the honorable actions and sentiments of others, have had prominent places, well underscored upon the pages of history, those of New York, have been belittled or entirely ignored.

Plymouth Rock and Jamestown, Bunker Hill and Yorktown, and many other points, have been given due prominence, but the discovery of Hudson's river, the settlement of its banks far up, prior to the landing of the Pilgrims, the battles of Long Island, White Plains, Bennington and Oriskany, the siege of Fort Stanwix, Sullivan's campaign, with the battle of Connewawah, &c., have had little prominence assigned them, while Saratoga, the battle of greater importance than all others, and from which our alliance with France resulted, has barely escaped oblivion, may be to save the honor of men of other states.

Our centennials have, at this late day, taught our own people, as to the loyalty, acts and courage, of New Yorkers. For a hundred years, prior to 1776, there had been a contest, always zealous, not always discreet, between the people of the colony, and the aristocratic, governing element. Opposition to the Stamp Act, and the oppressive measures of the colonial Governors of that period, brought to the front, a large number of the best soldiers and statesmen, of New York, in the Revolution. A large portion of the Dutch element, in the colony of New York, was loyal to the cause of Independence. In New York city, the Stamp Act was resisted by public meetings, and irregular assemblages of people—the stamp officers compelled to resign, and the stamps delivered to the Mayor—the Lieutenant Governor hung in effigy, and his coach burned ; soldiers, after firing upon the people, were attacked and disarmed in the street, the residences of military officers sacked, and destroyed ; large quantities of tea thrown into the river, vessels with cargoes of tea, ordered to return to England, non-importation associations formed and their rules enforced, the most radical, and revolutionary sentiments enunciated in public meetings—and all within range of the guns of the port and the men of war lying in Hudson, and East rivers. The Legislature of Massachusetts, and the Governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island, entered heartily into the Revolution, which was bitterly opposed by the Governors and Councilors, and a large majority of the Assemblies of New York, and yet, the people of New York were as zealous and active, for the ten years prior to 1775, as those of any other colony. These facts should be known.

The expedition of General Sullivan, in 1779, was a military necessity. Hordes of savages were deriving their sustenance from their towns and villages in Western New York. These villages were easy of access, not only to their proprietors, the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, to which they returned to recruit, after their expeditions for murder and pillage, but they furnished rendezvous for the Indians of Canada, and the lakes, and for

the brutal Tories, who had discarded civilized warfare and so, often put Brant to the blush by their barbarities. After the Mohawks had been driven from the Mohawk Valley, they, for the time, found a home with these three western tribes. The Indians raised in these fertile regions, immense crops of corn and beans. They had extensive orchards of apples, pears and peaches. These villages were unfailing bases of supplies, for while the men were absent on the war path, their women performed their usual labors in cultivating the soil. Whatever some sentimental historians may have said as to its inhumanity, and unchristian policy, General Sullivan's expedition did greatly weaken the Indians, and, although they may have subsequently fought for revenge, they were no worse than before. The same arguments used against General Sullivan's campaign, may be used against every invasion of an enemy's country. The Indians were, for once, made to feel the power of the United States.

The story of the advance of General Clinton, by the way of Otsego lake, of the hardships, endurance and labors, of his men, seems almost incredible. As a sort of precursor, Colonel Van Schaick had advanced from Fort Stanwix, and destroyed the villages, granaries and orchards, of the Onondagas, in the April previous. General Sullivan put a finishing touch to the villages, crops and orchards, of the Cayugas and Senecas, (the latter tribe out-numbering all the rest), and thus were these hordes of hostile Indians, and their families, thrown upon the British for sustenance, saying nothing of the number of Indians captured and killed.

I hope your centennial will prove a success, as it certainly will, if it leads the people of Western New York, to gain a more accurate, unprejudiced and extended knowledge of the history of the territory, once the Colony, now the State of New York.

With respect, very truly yours,

M. M. JONES.

Letters regretting inability to attend were received from the following persons :

Hon. Lucius Robinson, Governor of New York ; Hon. Edward Sullivan, Boston, Mass., a great-grandson of General Sullivan ; Chief Justice S. E. Church ; Hon. Clarkson N. Potter ; Hon. Erastus Brooks ; Hon. Richard O'Gorman, New York city ; General James McQuade, Grand Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, of N. Y. ; Benson J. Lossing, the historian, Dover Plains, N. Y. ; Hon. Pomeroy Jones, historian of Oneida Co., Lairdsville, N. Y. ; Hon. O. H. Marshall, Buffalo ; Professor J. Dorman Steele, Elmira ; Hon. Benjamin F. Angel, Geneseo ; Rev. Charles Hawley, D. D., Auburn ; H. G. R. Dearborn, Esq., a grandson of Col. Henry Dearborn, Boston, Mass. ; Stanwix Gansevoort, Esq., Glens Falls, N. Y., a grandson of Colonel Peter Gansevoort ; Hon. Asgill Gibbs, Rochester, N. Y., in his 93rd year, (a former resident of Ovid, N. Y., where he practised law 65 years before) ; Jacob Fatzinger, Allentown, Pa. ; also, from Governors Talbot, of Massachusetts, Bishop, of Ohio, Hoyt, of Pennsylvania, and McClellan, of New Jersey ; United States Senators, Hon. Francis Kernan, and Hon. Roscoe Conkling ; Ex-Governors Hon. John T. Hoffman and Myron H. Clark ; from Hon. William M. Evarts, Hon. John Sherman, Hon. David M. Key, Hon. Charles Devens, Hon. Carl Schurz, of Washington, D. C. ; Ex-Governor Gilbert C. Walker, of Virginia ; Hon. Thomas C. Amory, of Boston, Mass. ; Hon. Samuel Sullivan Cox, of New York City ;

Hon. J. H. Wade, Cleveland, O.; Hon. George F. Danforth, Rochester; Hon. James C. Smith, Canandaigua; Hon. George B. Bradley, Corning; General C. D. MacDougall, Auburn; Dr. F. B. Hough, Lowville; Hon. Elias W. Leavenworth, Syracuse; Hon. Abraham Lansing, Albany; Hon. John B. Linn, Bellefonte, Pa.; Hon. Horatio Ballard, Cortland; Richard Varick DeWitt, Esq., Albany, and a number of others.

The exercises at the Grand Stand were concluded with the Benediction, pronounced by REV. PULASKI E. SMITH, of Tyre.

While the Order of Exercises for the day, was in the main, observed and carried out, the rich musical treat—both vocal and instrumental—which had been prepared, was unavoidably omitted, by reason of the rain storm, and the consequent necessity of somewhat shortening the programme.

THE COLLATION.

“Of all appeals—although
I grant the power of pathos and of gold,
Of speeches, beauty, flattery, there is no
Method more sure at moments to take hold,
Of the best feelings of mankind which grow
More tender as we every day behold,
Than that all-softening, overpowering knell,
The tocsin of the soul—the dinner bell.”

The audience at the grand stand having been dismissed, the Officers of the Day, Speakers, Invited Guests, and many others, repaired to a large tent, provided by the local committee, upon the Fair Grounds, where an elegant collation had been prepared, which was served by the ladies of Waterloo.

RESPONSES TO SENTIMENTS AND TOASTS.

The cloth having been removed, the President of the Day, Judge Miller, announced the following sentiments, for the several towns, in alphabetical order, which, in each instance, was responded to, by a resident of the town named:

COVERT.

The home and covert of a frank, industrious and frugal population—the banner agricultural town of the County—whose inhabitants, while honoring the name of an early settler—cannot be charged with covert behavior.

Responded to by REV. LEWIS HALSEY.

FAYETTE.

While no longer bearing the name of the Father of his Country, honors the name of one of his distinguished Generals, and the inhabitants of her historic soil, from lake to lake, and from Canoga, the birth-place of Red Jacket to Skoi-yase, do honor to General Sullivan and his army.

Responded to by MR. SAMUEL MCINTOSH.

JUNIUS.

The parent of towns—while some of her children now greatly surpass the parent in wealth and population—yet not in a bountiful soil and in a quiet, peaceful and prosperous yeomanry.

Responded to by HON. W. W. VANDEMARK.

LODI.

The southern entrance door, through which most of the early settlers of the south part of this country entered, and whose soil was first trodden by General Sullivan's army upon his march across Seneca County.

Responded to by MR. P. V. N. BODINE.

OVID.

Once having the sole seat of justice of Seneca County, located upon her classic hills, shares with Waterloo, in the government of the model little County of Seneca.

Responded to by REV. W. L. HYDE.

ROMULUS.

Not like ancient Rome, the ruler of the world, but the home of an honest, sturdy, patriotic yeomanry.

Responded to by REV. L. J. GROSS.

SENECA FALLS.

The earliest settled and most populous town of the County ; the enterprise of her capitalists and the skill of her mechanics have made her name and manufactures known throughout the world.

Responded to by HON. GILBERT WILCOXEN.

TYRE.

Unlike her ancient namesake, without a seaport, except the ports upon the line of the canals—is also unlike ancient Tyre, in being the home of a law-abiding, God-fearing people.

Responded to by MR. E. F. STRONG.

VARICK.

The central town of the County ; the youngest of the Seneca tribe ; her beautiful domain only limited by the charming lakes—Cayuga and Seneca ; in name she honors a revolutionary patriot—Colonel Richard Varick, the trusted Secretary of General George Washington.

Responded to by the REV. J. WILFORD JACKS.

WATERLOO.

Named in honor of the memorable battle-field of Waterloo, which decided the fate of nations, and of the world—occupying the site of the ancient Indian village of Skoi-yase, visited by General Sullivan's army, a hundred years ago—a fitting spot upon which to erect a monument to General Sullivan and his army.

Responded to by MR. FRED'K L. MANNING.

At the conclusion of the responses to SENTIMENTS FOR THE TOWNS, the President announced the following—

GENERAL TOASTS.

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN—and the officers and soldiers of his command—whose services we this day commemorate.

Assigned to HON. EDWARD SULLIVAN of Boston, Mass.*

THE ARMY AND NAVY—Always ready, in any emergency, to defend and preserve the liberties of our country.

GENERAL J. DEAN HAWLEY of Syracuse.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—In union there is strength.

Assigned to MR. WILLIAM L. STONE of Jersey City, N. J.*

THE SOLDIERS OF 1812—The brave men who carried the country safely through the second war with our ancient enemy, Great Britain.

MR. JASON SMITH of Tyre.

THE SIX NATIONS OF INDIANS—Once a great powerful confederation. “Who is there to mourn for Logan?”

HON. BENJ. F. HALL of Auburn.

THE PIONEER SETTLERS OF SENECA COUNTY—A hardy, industrious band of workers, to which we owe our present advancement and prosperity.

Responded to by MR. D. B. LUM of Seneca Falls.

THE STATE OF NEW YORK—The Empire State, the foremost in the Union, in population, wealth, commerce, intellectual and material resources.

Responded to by HON. WILLIAM H. BOGART, of Aurora.

THE LADIES—While they take no part, in the conflict of arms, upon the battle-field—yet, to their patriotic example and heroic endurance, of privation and suffering—we greatly owe the priceless liberties, which we enjoy.

Assigned to GENERAL J. H. MARTINDALE, of Rochester.*

THE FARMERS—When their occupation is prosperous, all trades, professions and classes are prosperous.

MR. WILLIAM G. WAYNE, of Seneca Falls.

THE MECHANICS—To whose enterprise and inventive skill, Seneca County is greatly indebted.

MR. WILLIAM H. POLLARD, of Seneca Falls.

THE PRESS.

Responded to by REV. MR. O'SULLIVAN, of Camillus.

THE JUDICIARY AND THE LEGAL PROFESSION.

Responded to by HON. SANDFORD R. TENEYCK, of New York City.

THE CLERGY—Commissioned to proclaim the message, of peace on earth and good will to men, yet, in time of war, they have never failed to bear their part, by voice and arm, in support and defense of their country.

Responded to by REV. DR. DIEDRICH WILLERS, of Varick.

* Not in attendance.

The omission of several of the responses was due to the absence from the collation, on account of the storm, of several gentlemen, to whom the duty of responding had been assigned.

The committee exceedingly regret that, on account of the absence of a stenographer, the failure to secure for publication the eloquent and scholarly responses of HON. WILLIAM H. BOGART, HON. S. R. TEN-EYCK, and REV. MR. O'SULLIVAN.

The remarks of MESSRS. LUM and WILLERS, two of the venerable and prominent citizens of Seneca County, are subjoined.

In response to the toast, "The Pioneer Settlers of Seneca County," Mr. D. B. Lum, of Seneca Falls, spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT, GENTLEMEN AND LADIES:—

Wholly without preparation, I hesitate to respond to the sentiment proposed, but I am unwilling to let this occasion pass, without rendering my hearty tribute, to the memory of those, whose remains lie in honored graves, and who were "The Pioneer Settlers of Seneca County," some ninety years ago, or ten years subsequent, to General Sullivan's march across this County, which we celebrate, to-day.

General Sullivan accomplished his mission, in a few weeks of sanguinary war. *His mission was to destroy.* The Pioneer Settlers of Seneca County had a nobler mission. *Theirs* was a mission of *peace*, but far more difficult of accomplishment than Sullivan's. They came to subjugate the forest. They came to dispute, with the beasts of the forest, the right of eminent domain (so to speak), to exercise dominion over this fair land; and, although their mission was one of peace, theirs was a most formidable work. It is almost impossible, at this day, for one unfamiliar with life, in a wilderness country, to appreciate the difficulties, the dangers and privations, which had to be endured, by those who built and occupied, our first log cabins, far apart in the woods, *artificial commas on nature's page*—signifying a brief rest.

And, sir, it has been by the toil, and sweat, and sufferings, of those *first families*, that the foundations of our present prosperity, and of our social fabric, have been cemented. It is to their privations, their patient endurance, and their persistent and determined efforts to conquer every obstacle, that we are indebted, for whatever we enjoy, of moral and social privileges, with the many blessings of civilization. Time presses, and forbids extended remarks. I regret my inability to do full justice, to their memories and their virtues. It is no uncommon boast with man, to claim association with the "first families" of the land—and I must confess, to a weakness in that direction, myself. I, too, can emphatically claim intimate association with the "first families of Seneca County," some of whom (whose children were once my neighbors or playmates), I will mention, that their names may be preserved for our next centennial, in 1979, viz.: Lawrence Van Cleef, the Revolutionary soldier, whose two daughters are here, to-day—the eldest, Mrs. Polly Chambers, aged ninety-three years, came to Seneca Falls, with her parents, in 1789, and is the sole survivor of the pioneers of that year—James Bennett, Benajah Boardman, Ezekiel Crane, Peter and Ezra DeGarmo, Messrs. Beadle, Southwick, Bowdish, Green, Samuel Bear, Job Smith, the Dunlaps, Halseys and Wilsons, Fawcetts, Kinnes, Wisners, Coverts, Deys, with many others, among whom I must not omit to mention, Colonel Wilhelmus Mynderse, the first business man to open a set of account books, in the territory of this County—which books were kept in pounds, shillings and pence, (£. s. d.) and are now in possession of the Waterloo Historical Society.

The pioneer settlers of Seneca County were but human. They rest from their labors, and their works follow them. If they had faults, (and who has not?) let them be written in sand—but let their virtues be traced in marble.

THE CLERGY.

Responded to by REV. DIEDRICH WILLERS, D. D., of Varick, as follows :

MR. PRESIDENT :

Holy writ informs us, that upon the birth of the Saviour of mankind, the heavenly hosts united in proclaiming, "Glory to God in the highest—and on earth, peace—good will to men."

Our Saviour himself in His beautiful Sermon on the Mount, taught the multitude—"Blessed are the peace-makers."

And still through all the years, since the Prophet foretold the coming of a reign of universal peace, and while the lessons of peace and good will, have been constantly taught and inculcated,—“war and rumors of wars,” have been heard, and will continue to be heard—"for the end is not yet."

In the good time, when all shall become one shepherd and one fold, wars shall cease and the angel of peace will have full sway.

The minister of the Gospel, when set apart, and consecrated to the service of God, undertakes a spiritual warfare against Satan and his cohorts, and enlists under the banner of the cross. He has to engage in many spiritual conflicts, but if he labors faithfully in the cause of his Master, he has the assurance that his labors shall not be unrewarded.

The clergy—as declared in the sentiment under consideration—have also duties to perform as citizens of the country, and have never yet failed when the country has been engaged in war, to take an active part in its support and defense.

In the war of the Revolution, the clergy with comparatively few exceptions, were true patriots, ranging themselves on the side of the colonies. Many of them for the time laid aside the ministerial office, and took up arms in defense of their country.

In the campaign of General Sullivan, which we, to-day, commemorate, Rev. Samuel Kirkland bore an important part. As missionary among the Seneca Indians, he had become acquainted with the Indian language, and from his knowledge of the country, acquired by residence, was enabled to render very efficient service.

Rev. John Caton, a pioneer clergyman of this County, with whom your speaker had an acquaintance, was a patriot of the Revolution, and after laying down the weapons of war, took up those of a Christian warrior.

NOTE.—The Rev. Diedrich Willers, D. D., died at his residence, in the town of Varick, Seneca County, N. Y., on Sunday, May 13th, 1883, in the 86th year of his age. He was born at Walle, near Bremen, Germany, February 6th, 1798. He entered the army of Hanover, September, 1814, and served in the German division of the allied army for nearly five years; was an active participant in the memorable battle of Waterloo, Belgium, June 16, 17 and 18, 1815, with the allied army under the Duke of Wellington. In this battle, the company of which he was a member, consisting of 120 men, was reduced to 12 privates and 2 non-commissioned officers, and the battalion of 400 men to less than 80 survivors. He continued with the allied forces as army of occupation in France, for three years, after the downfall of Bonaparte, when he was honorably discharged and awarded a silver medal in recognition of his military services. He arrived in the United States in November, 1819, and engaged in school teaching, while preparing for the ministry, and so thorough was his application, that he was ordained to the ministry in 1821. He was settled in that year, as pastor of the German Reformed church at the hamlet of Bearytown, in central Seneca County, and ministered to that people for a consecutive period of sixty years and eight months, and until January 1st, 1883, when his resignation took effect, rendered necessary by growing infirmities. While ministering to his own people, he served also at different periods at six other preaching points in the county, and at seven or eight other points in Tompkins, Cayuga, Wayne, Livingston and Niagara counties, performing a large proportion of the travel, incident to so extended a field of labor, on horseback, especially during the first half of his ministry. During this ministry he preached about 5,800 regular Sunday discourses, almost equally divided between the German and English language, besides many funeral and special discourses, and performed a large amount of ministerial labor in the solemnization of marriages, and in the administration of the rites of baptism and confirmation. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Franklin-Marshall College, at Lancaster, Pa.—G. S. CONOVER.

Much might be said of the noble stand for civil liberty, taken by the patriotic clergy of Boston, already in the early stages of the Revolutionary strife, in refusing to announce the proclamation of the British Governor, or of the service of Witherspoon, Muhlenburg, Weyberg, Larose, Nevelling, Wack, and many others in every part of the country, during the war, but time will not permit.

As in the war of the Revolution, so also in the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the late war of 1861-65, the position of the clergy, was in no wise an uncertain one, and many of them, then, also took up arms, and endured all the rigors of military campaigns, in defense of an imperilled country.

Your beautiful village and town, in which we to-day meet, to celebrate this centennial anniversary, took its name from the battle-field of Waterloo, a little village in Belgium, upon the continent of Europe, in which memorable action, which decided the fate of nations, (June 18th, 1815,) your speaker, then in his youth, bore an humble part, as a soldier in the ranks, fighting in support and defense of his fatherland.

After five years of military service, exchanging the weapons of the battle-field, for service in the army of the Lord, under the banner of the cross, in this, his adopted country, he has been serving under that banner, for more than fifty-eight years of continuous ministerial labor, in this delightful region of the State of New York.

It has afforded your speaker great pleasure to meet here to-day, many old pioneer settlers of this County, who, with him, having passed the period, ordinarily allotted to man, must, in the course of nature, soon be called away, and give place to others, upon the theater of life.

That our descendants, may at the close of another century, celebrate this day—a free, happy, and God-fearing people, is my heart-felt wish and desire.

SKOI-YASE MONUMENT.

MONUMENT ERECTED IN MEMORY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE INDIAN
TOWN, SKOI-YASE, NOW WATERLOO.

In June, 1879, the project of erecting such memorial was introduced to the board of trustees of the Historical Society. In the increasing attention paid to local history by the people of New York State, one of its first fruits is the erection of monuments, as especially suited to call attention to the past, and to awaken and sustain interest in the events which these monuments are intended to commemorate.

Such memorials naturally suggest traditions and recitals concerning the events to which they point, and by means of the inquiry incited, greatly increase historic knowledge and public interest. This view of monumental record, suggested the erection of a stone structure, that would perpetually remind the people of Waterloo, of the former occupants of the soil on which they now have their homes, and also of one of the most effective agencies that led to the removal of the Red men.

The society having resolved to erect such monument, and determined as to its dimensions, appointed Mr. Walter Quinby as the committee to

execute their purpose, by securing the necessary funds, and supervising the erection of the structure. Lawrence Claffy was selected as the builder, and in due time, by faithful oversight, the monument was completed. Its dedication was reserved to form a part of the exercises of the Centennial Celebration.

The village park was chosen as the site of the monument. Its material is undressed lime stone, found on the south bank of the river, in sight of the village. Its dimensions are as follows: Foundation under ground, four feet deep and seven feet square; first base, five feet square; second base, four feet; shaft three feet at the bottom, and two at the top; the whole rising a little more than fifteen feet from the ground.

Inscription on south front:

SKOI-YASE,*
HE-O-WEH-GNO-GEK.

Inscription on the north side:

ERECTED SEPTEMBER, 1879,
TO COMMEMORATE THE DESTRUCTION OF THE
INDIAN VILLAGE,
SKOI-YASE,
BY COL. JOHN HARPER, UNDER ORDERS OF
MAJ. GEN. JOHN SULLIVAN,
SEPTEMBER 8, 1779.

The structure is not so imposing as some may have desired, but is deemed by those who devised it, an appropriate memorial to designate the site of an humble Indian town, of eighteen houses, the destruction of which formed a link in the chain of events, that accomplished the extirpation of a savage race. In proximity to this rude monument, which marks the place where stood, a hundred years ago, the *Indian Wigwam*, now stand the *Church and School House*, the nobler monuments which tell the change *from barbarism to civilization*.

* "He-o-weh-gno-gek," signifying in the Indian tongue, "Once a Home, now a Memory,"—was kindly suggested by W. H. Bogart.

The orthography of the name Skoi-yase as given by Lewis H. Morgan, LL. D., in his "League of the Iroquois," is as follows: Cayuga dialect, Skoi-yase; Seneca and Onondaga, Sa-yase; Tuscarora and Mohawk, Ska-yase; Oneida, Sko-ne-ase; the signification being, "Place of Whortleberries." General Sullivan, calls it Schuyero, and in the journals of the officers of his army, it is found as follows: Sergeant Moses Fellows, Long Falls; Major Norris, Shaiyus or Large Falls; Sergeant Major George Grant, Schoyere; Col. Dearborn, Skaigees or Long Falls; Thomas Grant, of the Surveyors, Saiyon; Lieutenant Jenkins, Scawwaga.

In the treaty with Cayugas, Feb. 1789, it is Skayes; Major Hardenbergh, the Surveyor of Military Tract says, Scaware; Governor George Clinton, in 1789, wrote Scawyce, and it is so spelled on the original survey map, of township twenty-nine, (Junius) and in the Cayuga treaty of 1795, and was thus most commonly spelled. Samuel Bear, the early mill owner in 1802, wrote Scawyes, and there are many other variations in the orthography, such as Scayues, Scays, &c., as there were no fixed rules for writing proper names in early times.—G. S. C.

DEDICATION OF THE MONUMENT.

The storm having subsided, and clear skies again restored, the committee determined to complete the order of exercises for the day, by the dedication of the monument erected by the Waterloo Library and Historical Society, in the Academy Park.

About six o'clock P. M., an immense assemblage of people surrounded the speaker's stand, in front of the Union School building, (the former Academy). The call to order was by Mr. Walter Quinby of Waterloo, who acted as chairman.

Prayer was offered by REV. DR. S. H. GRIDLEY, after which the chairman introduced HON. ALBERT L. CHILDS, who delivered the following address:

"MR. PRESIDENT AND CITIZENS OF SENECA COUNTY:—

After the festivities of this great day, after the eloquent oration of the Lieutenant Governor of the great State of New York, the historical address of the distinguished gentleman from the Keystone State, and the musical rhymes of the poet from an adjoining County, it seems, indeed, superfluous that the programme should be supplemented with any words of mine. But, my friends, the Waterloo Library and Historical Society, named as it is, after our town, reaches out in its influence, all over the County of Seneca. Its researches and interest are not local, but extend to other towns. This association was the prime mover in the Sullivan Centennial Celebration of to-day. It has received the assistance and hearty co-operation of all the towns in this County, and the celebration has been eminently successful.

This monument here, was erected by the efforts of the Waterloo Library and Historical Society alone. It was deemed proper then, that the dedication of the monument, should be a part of this day's proceedings. It is placed here not to commemorate General Sullivan's Campaign against the Six Nations, but simply to mark the place where once stood the Indian village of Skoi-yase. The Indian term means "the rapid water." It was before the Seneca river was harnessed in, to do the drudgery of turning the mills and furnishing power to drive the industries and manufactures of this village and Seneca Falls. It was when the waves of yonder river leaped like a wild, untamed steed, down the ravines and through the gorges in the distance, until panting, they rested with the quiet waters of Cayuga.

This Indian village was destroyed and Sullivan's march was a journey of destruction. We do not mourn, however, as do many. When the trees, the monarchs of the forest, are laid low and their shade and grandeur are gone, when the beautiful flowers are plowed under, we know it is that the grain may be harvested for generations to live. So when the Indians pass away, it is for a higher, nobler, and better civilization and life. The river is no longer "the rapid water," because it is used to benefit mankind. The village of Skoi-yase no longer exists, because an enlightened race has built up a village with happy homes and institutions that bless mankind. This monument is not for Sullivan. The school house and yonder church and yonder temple of justice, are the monuments, lasting and permanent, to mark the progress made, since General Sullivan and his band came through this region between the lakes.

This land of ours was not made for monuments of marble, bronze or granite. In Egypt, where it never rains and where the atmosphere does not wear away the works of man, the pyramids, the Cleopatra's needles and the catacombs with their inmates, will last thousands of years. Not so with our land. The Almighty brings the winds and storms and earthquakes to keep men from erecting monuments, driving them to establish

institutions that are beyond the reach of the elements ; stimulating the genius of industry, discovery and invention, until the giant strides of progress are made that astonish the world. A hundred years ago and the procession of to-day would have been in Indian file, with the scalps of human beings, the skins of wild beasts, the hoofs and horns of the medicine men, and the rattle of music for the war dance, mingled with savage yells. To-day, the grand, magnificent procession we have witnessed, marks the progress of a century. The sweet music, the intelligent citizens, the samples of invention from our sister village, the beautiful car with its Goddess of Liberty, its Ceres, Pomona and Flora, representing the grain, the fruits and the flowers ; all of the charming features of this splendid procession, mark the progress, too, of a century. The railroad, the telegraph, the telephone and the miracles of science, art and inventive genius, were all unknown to the first procession. The one that comes, the next Centennial, will look back to this and see the progress of another hundred years.

The flag that Sullivan and his men triumphantly carried, was the old stars and stripes. There were but thirteen stars, then. . Now, there is three times the number, save one ; all bright, joyous States, blest with good government. The wars through which this banner has been triumphantly carried by the valiant sons of America, have endeared it to the people and shown to the world that the soldiers and citizens of to-day, are not unworthy of their sires before them.

Not long ago I saw a picture. The sun was rising on a charming landscape. The foliage and verdure were rich and beautiful. The morning glories twined around the pillars of a porch. A young lady stood looking at the scene. In one corner a cage was hanging and in the swing was a little bird singing. The name of the picture was " The Morning Song." The tiniest, most insignificant part of the picture gave title and name to the whole. And I have thought to-day, that this modest monument, erected by the Waterloo Library and Historical Society, to mark the place where once this Indian village stood, together with the feeble exercises of its dedication, compared with the grand programme of to-day, are small, and of no power and influence whatever. But they are the morning song of a new century that has dawned upon us. The rude stones from yonder quarries, piled upon this spot, are eloquent in their silence and native, rugged, strength. They awaken thoughts and aspirations that bring forth grand results. The history of the past, and the wonderful improvements of a century, lead us to expect great things yet to come. To keep up the progress of the past, sacrifices must be made, and great efforts put forth by the present generation, for those who come after.

All this will be done, and the same spirit of obedience, faithfulness, and devotion, as exhibited by General John Sullivan and his men, a hundred years ago, will be shown on a grander scale by the present and coming generations. This monument will remain until, in coming years, a better one takes its place, but our government and our institutions, the monuments of an enlightened, Christian people will remain through many centuries."

At the conclusion of Mr. CHILDS' speech, JUDGE B. F. HALL of Auburn, was introduced, and spoke as follows :

" Monumental tributes to real, or supposed greatness, have been frequent in the other hemisphere, ever since the days of Nimrod, and with the exceptions of such massive piles as the great pyramid, and two or three others, which refuse to communicate, those venerable and majestic structures, have been, and yet are, reliable oracles of ancient gratitude and wisdom. They register accurately, the sentiments and feelings of their builders, towards their real or supposed benefactors and heroes, as well as the skill and taste of the artisans of their century and age. They mark the epochs of their erection, by evidences which survive better, than any other, the ravages of time.

Our fathers, naturally enough, inherited the general idea of their historical value, as imperishable records, and as soon after the establishment of our nationality, as they were able to do so, they began to reduce it to practice—so that even now, at the expiration of

a very short century, and that, too, for the most part occupied in felling the forests, and establishing homes, our countrymen have found means, and time, to raise some token of gratitude upon nearly every battle-field from Concord to Yorktown, and to embellish the parks and *plazas* of our cities and villages, with thousands of elegant personal tributes to Washington and his generals, soldiers, civilians and statesmen.

The series of centennial observances all over the country, appear to have given a fresh impetus to monuments of the old revolutionary struggle ; and I presume we may consider yours, one of the latest. It was a fortunate thought which moved you to erect it. It was honorable alike to your citizens and place. Your tribute of homage is complete without any contribution from Cayuga. Nevertheless, I beg leave in the name and behalf of those I represent, to add a single sprig to your chaplet. I contribute it, not for embellishment, but to indent our footsteps in the sands of time, to be found by your children, and mine, after we are asleep.

Although I suppose this structure was intended by you, to be a tribute of homage to Sullivan alone, I consider it also a tribute of homage to Washington as well. For although Washington and Sullivan, acted different parts in the drama of the Revolution, their association in labors, dangers, heroisms and fortitudes, united their names in tradition and history. They were embalmed together in the affections of their countrymen, and they stand together in the eternity of their fame. Left to themselves the warriors of the Six Nations, would not have perpetrated the outrages at German Flats, Cherry Valley and Wyoming, and would not have created the necessity for Sullivan's campaign to destroy their villages, cornfields and orchards in Central New York. Instigated and hired by the British authorities, they united with the Tories, in perpetrating those outrages, and thereby created the necessity for chastising them, and driving them back. But it was a hard necessity, notwithstanding.

The past cannot be recalled. They did create the necessity. Sullivan's forces did come here to destroy, and did destroy the Indian village on this spot, one hundred years ago. You have commemorated the event with a magnificent demonstration. But the recollection of the demonstration would pass away, with the lives of those who witnessed it, except, for this monument to perpetuate it. This will stand as a record which future generations will read. And standing as it does, in the campus of your Academy, it will grow in importance with the succession of years. It is now a mere pillar, to denote the site of ancient Skoi-yase, when Sullivan's army swept through it, one hundred years ago. In fifty years, it will be regarded as classic ; and in a hundred, it will be regarded as sacred. And from this time forward, so long as it stands, it will commemorate the event and the day, and hallow the spot.

It will become the young people of the villages, and the students of the Academy, particularly, to guard it well."

With the last rays of the setting sun, the exercises were concluded at Academy Park.

FIREWORKS AND ILLUMINATIONS.

In the evening the streets of the village were thronged with people, congregated to witness a magnificent display of fire-works at Academy Park—the finest display ever witnessed in Waterloo. The illuminations of the night of Centennial day were beyond all praise. The following circular had been a few days previous, widely distributed :

"The local executive committee of the town of Waterloo and the Historical Society, are well aware that they only express the wish of

nearly all the citizens of Waterloo, when they recommend that on Wednesday, September 3d, the day of the coming Celebration of Sullivan's Campaign, the residences, places of business, hotels, etc., be handsomely decorated. In the evening there should be a general illumination throughout the town. The national flag should be seen on every building on that day."

Suggestions so fully in harmony with the spirit of the occasion were acted upon with enthusiasm.

The brilliancy that came in with the morning, exiled for a few hours in the afternoon by black clouds and wind and falling rain, returned in the evening in a dress of beauty. Under the sky of a summer night, a blaze of rejoicing began to glow as the sunlight faded from the west. More than a thousand Chinese lanterns flashed their signals of red, and white, and blue. They hung on wires stretched from tree to tree—noticeably on both sides of Virginia street, from North to Main, on continuous wires. They were everywhere, in trees, doorways, windows and balconies, all houses were illuminated, doors and windows were thrown open, and there was a blaze of light, without and within; while at the intersection of Main and Locust streets, the brightness culminated in the brilliant illuminations of many-colored fire and in the red glare of the rockets scattering in the sky their showers of stars.

THE RECEPTION IN THE EVENING.

Following the fire-works, and concluding the observances of the day came the reception, held under the auspices of the local committee, in the large upper room of the Malt House on Main street, handsomely arranged and decorated for the occasion—which was largely attended.

VETERANS OF 1812, AND PIONEER SETTLERS.

At the Log Cabin a number of veterans of the War of 1812, and pioneer settlers were in attendance during the day.

Well might the language of Daniel Webster, addressed to the band of revolutionary patriots present at the laying of the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill monument, be applied to these veterans and pioneers:—

"Venerable men! you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives, that you might behold this joyous day."

YOUNG LADIES.

A hundred years hence, (when the bi-centennial commemoration of the Sullivan Expedition occurs,) after the maidens, dressed in white,

whose bright and smiling faces proved so great an attraction at the Centennial, will have all passed away—it will be a matter of great interest to know that so many of them took a part in the proceedings at Waterloo, on September 3d, 1879, as the representatives of certain towns:

The following is a brief account of the same:

WATERLOO—Ten young ladies, all dressed in white, trimmed with the national colors, and crowned with wreaths of white flowers, and seated in an elegant Tally-ho-Coach, drawn by four horses, under the direction and escort of Mr. Francis Bacon.

ROMULUS—Nine young ladies, all dressed in white, blue tarlatan sashes, turban caps, trimmed with blue and red—drawn in a carriage, driven by Mr. Bartlett Cooley, of Kendaia.

SENECA FALLS—Was represented by thirteen young ladies, representing the thirteen original states. All dressed in white, adorned with red and blue favors, and each bearing a miniature national flag—drawn in a carriage, with four horses decked with plumes, under the direction and escort of Mr. D. B. Lum.

JUNIUS—Was represented in the procession by twelve young ladies, all dressed in white, and wearing appropriate scarfs and badges—drawn in a handsomely decorated vehicle, under the escort of Mr. William Strang.

FAYETTE—The following extract from the *Waterloo Observer*, gives an account of the representation of the young ladies from Fayette:

A car, especially prepared for the occasion, contained the Goddess of Liberty, and the thirteen original states of the union, represented by young ladies.

The Goddess of Liberty wore a white silk skirt, rich with large gold stars, blue bodice, red baldric, trimmed with smaller gold stars. Upon her head was a liberty cap, in her right hand she held a spear, her left hand rested upon the shield of the union, the American eagle seated, with folded wings, at her feet, on the right. She sat on a raised platform, at the rear of the car, with the representatives of the thirteen states ranged in a semi-circle, below and in front of her, commencing with New Hampshire, on the left, the others following in regular order, ending with Georgia, on the right. These young ladies were arrayed, tastefully, in white, each with a broad blue baldric, with the name of the appropriate state in gold letters. The car was sixteen feet long, by eight feet wide, with a canopy of red, white and blue, the latter color being festooned at the sides, and sprinkled with gold stars. The columns and rail, supporting the canopy, were draped in white, banded by narrow red and blue ribbons, and brilliant with gold stars; a drapery of red, sprinkled with silver stars, depended from the platform, hiding the running gear, and giving a finish to the whole. The top was surmounted by a handsome blue sign, gold bordered, with the name of the town in white letters, and, capping the whole, was the bald eagle, with wings outspread, on a pedestal, draped with red and stars. In the rear of the car, rose a flag staff, with gold ball, from which floated the American flag. The car was drawn by four large and handsome horses, appropriately decorated, each with a rider, strikingly dressed in red, white and blue. The car was guarded by six out-riders.

THE GRANGERS.

The attendance of the Seneca County Grange, of Patrons of Husbandry, with the grand car, or chariot, decorated with the products of husbandry, formed one of the principal features of the procession.

The grand car consisted of a large platform, twenty-four feet by twelve feet, erected upon a wagon, and drawn by six horses. This platform was neatly and tastily decked and festooned with productions of the earth—grain, fruit, vegetables, flowers and evergreens—and contained a representation of the Goddesses of Grain (Ceres), of fruit Pomona, and of flowers (Flora), of ancient mythology.

Following the grand car, in carriages and farm wagons, came a representation from the following subordinate Granges of the County :

Junius Grange No. 34.—Gideon Bowdish, Master.
 East Fayette Grange No. 40.—Chas. B. Randall, Master.
 Seneca Grange No. 44.—Wm. M. Hunt, Master,
 Kendaia Grange No. 64.—E. Seeley Bartlett, Master.
 Rose Hill Grange No. 116.—John G. Pearson, Master.
 Magee's Corners Grange, No. 139.—E. J. Schoonmaker, Master.
 West Fayette Grange No. 249.—Wm. Eshenour, Master.

The entire procession filled about one hundred vehicles, containing fully three hundred members of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry, under the immediate direction of William Andrews, as special marshal, and his aids.

THE 49TH REGIMENT, NATIONAL GUARD, S. N. Y.

The military appearance and marching, of the 49th Regiment, National Guard, was the admiration of all present, at the celebration, and formed one of the note worthy features of the procession.

The Regiment paraded with the following strength :

Field and Staff.....	5
Non-Commissioned Staff.....	9
Regimental Band.....	31
Officers and Enlisted Men of the Eight Companies.....	323
Total Strength.....	368

SOLDIERS OF THE WAR OF 1861-1865.

The representation of soldiers of the late war, was not confined to Seneca County. In addition to the posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, from Waterloo and Seneca Falls, the Posts of Phelps and Geneva were largely represented.

Ex-soldiers, not connected with the Grand Army, were also in line, to the number of about five hundred.

A substantial dinner of pork and beans, sandwiches and coffee, was served to all the soldiers present.

To sum up the result of the Celebration, in a few words—*it was a grand success*, far exceeding the most sanguine expectations, of its warmest advocates and friends.

This Centennial Commemoration of General Sullivan's Campaign, has had the effect to draw out and mass together, for preservation, many important historical facts and data, relative to the early settlement of our County and its pioneers. The exploration of the line of march of General Sullivan's army, and of its several detachments, already alluded to, is another of the grand and important results attained thereby.

Observances of this kind cannot fail to keep alive a spirit of exalted patriotism, in the recounting of the trials, privations and patriotic deeds

of the brave men of the Revolution, to whom we owe our independence and our free institutions.

“The land is holy, where they fought,
And holy, where they fell,
For by their blood that land was bought,
The land they loved so well,
Then glory to that valiant band,
The honored saviours of the land.”

The record of the Seneca County celebration at Waterloo, would not be complete without the following paper, which has been alluded to, in the proceedings, and which was, in fact, the initial movement, as it first brought prominently before the Waterloo Library and Historical Society, the project of holding a Centennial Celebration of the march of General Sullivan's army.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE WATERLOO LIBRARY AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY, NOVEMBER 27, 1877, BY S. R. WELLES, M. D.,*
OF WATERLOO, N. Y.

To an American, comparing his country with the nations of the old world his native land had for him *hitherto* but a *present* and a *future*. Coming into existence, as a development of a new growth, emanating from many ancient forms of government, and representing all phases of old world life and thought—a union of elements diverse and heterogeneous, but by the wonderful chemistry of a natural law of national assimilation, so fused and blended, as to produce a homogeneous and harmonious whole—his country seemed an *evolution*, from confusion and discord, to a new and higher national state of being. Thus formed, the young America was left to make for herself a name and record among the nations of the world.

To the American, in the vista of the past, was revealed no long line of barbaric monarchs, or feudal sovereigns, to stimulate his loyalty or nourish his national pride, no splendid cathedrals, whose massive walls and sculptured images, told in eloquent silence of the perpetuity of a national faith, no turreted castles fostering ancestral pride, no galleries of art, where, looking upon the inspired canvas, he could claim kinship with the great master of centuries long past. To him, except as claiming a common humanity, the bard, the painter, and the sculpture of past ages, were *alien*; he had but an ownership, in common with all the world, in the Shakespeares, the Dantes, and the Goethes, the Raphaels, and the Angelos of the distant past. I have said *hitherto*, but now at the expiration of a hundred years—a hundred years which have rolled around so quietly, that their lapse has been scarcely noted—it suddenly beams upon the nation's consciousness, that, working bravely in the present, untrammelled by prejudices, and usages of the past, and unshackled by theories, she has made for herself a history and a name. A hundred years' apprenticeship ended, she invites the world to inspect the work of her 'prentice hand. With pardonable pride, she points the nations to her achievements, her progress, and her industries, and receives their congratulation and welcome, to full communion and fellowship, in the sisterhood of nations, and now, assured of her position, confident of the *present*, hopeful of the *future*, she can look back through all the struggles of her birth, growth and progress, and behold a glorious *past*.

* Now (1880-87)—President of said Society.

During the last few years, with one accord, and as if by common impulse, in sympathy with the spirit of the years, individuals and communities have halted in their eager race for wealth, have taken a breathing spell in their pursuit of pleasure, and looking back over the path they have traversed, have scanned the landmarks, estimated the distances, and wisely gathered up the experiences of the past. It was in this spirit of retrospection that this organization was effected, moved by it, we are here to-night. Our local history is brief. The short span of a man's life covers it. There are those yet among us, who, with their own eyes, have seen all of Waterloo, from its birth, have grown with its growth, have read its history from living pages, as it was made, known all the actors, viewed all the shifting scenes as unrolled, and closed by time. 'Tis a short story, beginning with the old log mill of 1794, and ending with us here to-night.

It is our part to gather up the fragments of the leaves of the past, it is for those who follow us, to guard the future, that no page be lost hereafter.

Like travelers standing on the sites of buried cities, we stand upon the graves of a lost race, a great people submerged by the tide of an alien civilization. Grant, that this was their inevitable destiny—no flattering unction will destroy the consciousness which links forever, with the red man's name, the cruel wrong he suffered, nor will time efface the memory of valorous deeds, and proud endurance, which makes classic the soil the Iroquois once trod. As we stand where once he stood, in the pride of absolute, unquestioned sway, and whereof now naught remains, save here and there a name, given by him to a lake or stream—a name, the only heirloom of a lordly race—imagination invokes the spirit of the past, and we can hear the wail of the last of the Iroquois, as he looks upon the hunting-ground lost to him forever.

“ Thea-an-de-nea-gua,* of the martial brow,
Gy-ant-wa,† Ho-ne-ya-was,‡ where are they ?
Sago-ye-wat-ha,§ he is silent now ;
No more will listening throngs his voice obey.
Like visions have the mighty passed away,
Their tears descend in rain drops, and their sighs
Are heard in wailing winds, when evening gray
Shadows the landscape, and their mournful eyes
Gleam in the misty light of moon-illuminated skies.
Gone are my tribes-men, and another race,
Born of the foam, disclose with plough and spade
Secrets of battle-field and burial place,
And hunting grounds, once dark with pleasant shade,
Bask in the golden light.

—Hosmer.

The region between the waters of the Cayuga and Seneca, was thickly dotted with the towns of the Iroquois. The site of our own village, with its rapids, superb fishing, and abundant game, its fertile soil, and easy access to the lakes on either side, was particularly attractive to the Cayugas, and, clung to by them with the greatest tenacity, was the last of their hunting grounds surrendered to the white man's greed.

Here, on historic ground, where lived and passed away successive generations of a vanished race, let us invoke the spirit of the past. She grants to our retrospective glance, a

* Brant.

† Corn Planter.

‡ Farmer's Brother.

§ Red Jacket.

vision of peace, a nation of red men, a brave, simple people, undisputed owners of the soil, busied with the vocations of peace, hunting, fishing and tilling the ground, worshipping the Great Spirit of their theology, in their own way, as their ancestors had done, for how long, we know not, having the vices, it is true, but also the virtues, of barbaric life; a proud confederacy—whose limits extended from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico—linked together by a *Totem-ic* tie, rivaling, in its completeness and efficiency, any union of states, of ancient, or modern times, carrying out the doctrine of State rights, in a confederation, guarding, with admirable discretion, against the anarchy, born of popular license, on the one hand, and the danger to liberty, engendered by arbitrary despotism, on the other, a free, hardy, independent race, meeting by their representatives in council, at the capital of their Nation to contract alliances, conclude treaties, declare war, and do all other things which a free and independent people may, of right, do.

In the Revolutionary struggle, British influence prevailed, to attach the Six Nations, with the exception of the Oneidas, to the royal side, and instigated and controlled by Johnson, Butler and Brant, they proved a dreaded foe to our troops, and a fearful scourge to our frontier settlements. So great was the devastation made by them, in their incursions, and so much, and justly, were they feared, that in February, 1779, Congress resolved to send a force to lay waste, and exterminate their settlements. In pursuance of this determination, General Sullivan, by order of General Washington, left Wyoming on the 1st of July, with five thousand men, for the Indian country, which was reached on the 28th of August, when the settlement at Chemung, together with the grain and other crops was destroyed. The day following, the battle of Newtown, (now Elmira,) took place. In this encounter, six hundred Indians and two hundred Tories, under the Butlers and Brant, were engaged. The contest was a desperate one, but the Indians and Tories, were vanquished and compelled to flee, and Sullivan encamped for the night on the field of action.

The next day, the town was destroyed. On the third day of September Catharine's town (whence the inhabitants had made a precipitate retreat, upon the news of the defeat of the Indians at Newtown,) was demolished. Pursuing its march on the east side of Seneca lake, into what is now Seneca County, the army arrived at Kendaia on the fifth, having, in the meantime, destroyed Peach Orchard, and numerous scattered houses and cornfields. Kendaia, is described in the journal of an officer, attached to the expedition, as "a fine town lying about one-half mile from the lake, abounding in apple trees, and evidently an old inhabited town, the houses large and elegant, some beautifully painted, the tombs, especially of the warriors, are *beautifully painted boxes*, built over the graves, of planks hewn out of timber." On the seventh, the army passed the north end or outlet, of Seneca lake; on the next day, Colonel Harper was sent with a detachment of men, to destroy the settlement at Skoi yase. From Kanadesaga, (Geneva,) the army moved to the Genesee country, its track marked by devastation, destruction, flames and death. The Indians, inferior in number, surprised in their own strongholds which they thought inaccessible, dispirited by their defeat at Newtown, demoralized by the rapid movements and the unrelenting, vengeful blows dealt them, could not rally, and the victorious army, having followed the retreating enemy as far as Genesee, retraced its steps, completing on the return, the devastation commenced, but not fully consummated, on the westward march. It reached Geneva on the 20th of September, from which place Colonel William Butler was sent with a detachment of five hundred men, to destroy the settlements on the east side of Cayuga lake. We learn from the journals of officers, accompanying Colonel Butler, that this detachment left Kanadesaga at 3 o'clock P. M., September 20th, and, marching along the outlet of the lake, eight miles, to an Indian town called Scawyace, encamped for the night. On the morning of the 21st, Colonel Butler—leaving Major Scott, with two hundred men, to finish the destruction of the town, and of the crops, not completed by Colonel Harper, on the 8th—proceeded, with the remainder of his command, on his march into the Cayuga country. On the 21st, Colonel Dearborn was detailed, with two hundred men, to destroy the settlements on the western banks of Cayuga lake, having accomplished which, he rejoined the main army near Newtown, on the 26th.

We have in our possession a copy of a map *—evidently made by an engineer belonging to Butler's detachment, as the entire route, from Geneva, around the foot of Cayuga lake and up on its eastern side, to Ithaca, thence to Newtown, is accurately laid down. Butler's detachment, after destroying the towns on the east side of Cayuga lake, rejoined the main army at Newtown on the 28th of September. Thus ended a campaign, in which, in a little over a month, the country of the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and Senecas was completely overrun and laid waste, their towns burned, their orchards destroyed, their cornfields consumed, their cattle captured or killed; all this, not so much in a spirit of retaliation, as to cut off their supplies, deprive them of their retreats, and cripple their operations. "By this movement of the American army, the social and political condition of the Seneca Nation was destroyed, and by these means, though necessarily severe, the influence of the English nation was curbed and controlled, and the murderous warfare of the tomahawk and knife, wielded alike by Indian and Tory, was arrested." Though an inevitable military necessity, it was a cruel blow, and well might Big-tree, years after, say to Washington when alluding to Sullivan, "Father, when your army entered the country of the Six Nations we called you the *Town destroyer*: to this day, when your name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling closer to the neck of their mothers." Driven back to Niagara, few of the Indians ever returned to their old hunting grounds; neglected and badly treated by their English allies, and insufficiently provided with food, sickness and death made fearful ravages among them during the cold winter following Sullivan's Campaign. In 1789, a treaty was concluded with the Six Nations whereby the Indians acknowledged allegiance to the general government, and ceded to the State of New York the lands lying east of the Seneca lake. This important event, so full of moment and of omen to the Red man, closes the second scene in the panorama of the past, for, with the conclusion of this treaty, the country was opened to the immigration of settlers from the eastern states, and new characters appear upon the stage. Nor was this attractive region long unoccupied. The remembrance of the beautiful waters of Cayuga and Seneca, the rich cornfields and abundant fruits, the vigorous soil, and the magnificent forests of the region between the lakes, did not fade from the minds of those who had traversed the country, in 1779, under Sullivan, and when, with peace, came a sense of security, settlers from the east were emboldened to tempt the trials and privations of frontier life, looking to the future for an ample reward.

When it is considered how important in its effects upon the Revolutionary struggle was the campaign against the Six Nations, and that this County was the scene of some of the most stirring events connected with it, the thought is suggested, that upon the eighth day of September, 1879, being the one hundredth anniversary of the destruction of the Indian settlement here, the Fawsetts, the Halseys, the Van Cleefs, the Dunlaps, the Southwicks, the McKnights, the Bears, the Gorhams, the Bowdishes, and others—the descendants of those hardy pioneers, who first settled in this County, and many of whom participated in that memorable incursion—be invited to meet here, and celebrate with the Waterloo Library and Historical Society the centennial of that campaign which, as its result, opened up to the emigrant, the beauties and agricultural wealth of Seneca County.

In 1791, Elkanah Watson, General Philip VanCortlandt, Jeremiah VanRensselaer and Stephen N. Bayard, made an extensive tour through the interior of New York in boats, by the way of Wood Creek, Oneida lake, Onondaga and Seneca rivers, to Cayuga lake, which they reached September 19th. We learn from the journal kept by Watson, that, after spending the night of the 19th, at the ferry-house, on the morning of the 20th, after a three miles sail to the north, they entered the narrow river connecting the Cayuga and Seneca lakes. They stemmed against a rapid current till they reached the foot of the Seneca falls, where they found Job Smith, the keeper of the carrying-place, living in a

* The original map from which this copy was made, was found among the papers of Capt. Thomas Machin, an artillery officer in General Sullivan's army, and with other papers, came into the possession of the late Jephth R. Simms, who presented it to the Waterloo Library and Historical Society. It is a copy of one of the maps of Lieutenant Lodge, a full account of which will be found in another place.—G. S. C.

comfortable log house, surrounded by a considerable improvement. The transit extended for a mile. Transporting their baggage by land, while their men forced the empty boats up the rapids, Watson and his party walked by a foot path two miles "to a place called Scauyes," then re-embarked and ascended the river, and passed through the outlet to Seneca lake, at a spot where twelve years before, the victorious army of Sullivan forded the river. "The sun was just setting behind the western hills as they entered the lake, which opened upon them like a new creation, rising to their view in picturesque and romantic beauty." They found Geneva a small, unhealthy village, containing twelve log and three frame houses. There, "much troubled by gamblers and fleas," they spent the night, and the next morning re-embarked and traversed the lake obliquely to Appletown where they remained two days.

Appletown is described as being a fine tract of land, formerly the head-quarters of the Seneca Nation, containing extensive orchards, and exhibiting many marks of the destruction wrought by Sullivan's conquering army. While there they attended a meeting at which one hundred and fifty people were present, and were justly astonished at what Watson terms a "prelude to the assembling of thousands destined shortly to possess this region."

On the 23d, the boat proceeded with a brisk gale to the outlet, while Watson, took a horse and traveled by an Indian path, obliquely across the town of Romulus,* seventeen miles to the point of starting on Cayuga lake. After a trip up the lake, during which they noticed the remains of an old Indian castle, on the eastern bank, and the town of Ovid, of which they speak admiringly, rising beautifully from the shore, with the tree tops resembling waving fields of grain in the distance, their expedition terminated, and they turned their faces homeward. The impression received in this journey, regarding

*The Military Tract was surveyed into twenty-eight townships, each township embracing one hundred lots of 600 acres. The territory composing the present Seneca County, consists of the original townships of Ovid, Romulus and Junius, in the Military Tract. The town of Peru, was erected in 1792, and embraced nearly, or quite all of the twenty-eight townships, including the whole of present Seneca County. This, however, was only a temporary expedient, and was superseded by the act of March 5th, 1794, (chap. 18) by which the Military Tract was erected into a County, called Onondaga. By this act, for the purposes of civil government, the twenty-eight townships were organized into eleven towns, and "All that part of said County, comprehending the townships of Romulus, Junius and Galen, together with the lands lying west of the townships of Hannibal and Cato, and north of the said township of Galen, and south of Lake Ontario, as also all that part of the lands reserved to the Cayuga Nation of Indians, lying on the west side of Cayuga lake, shall be erected into a town to be called by the name of Romulus."

By Chapter 24, of Laws of 1800, the limits of the town of Romulus, were closely defined and altered so as to include the territory, of the present towns of Varick and Romulus, and the act provided, that "the remaining part of Romulus, be and remain a separate town by the name of Washington." Thus creating the town of Washington, from the present north line of Varick, extending to Lake Ontario.

By Chapter 7, laws of 1803, the town of Junius, was created, and comprised all that part of Washington, lying north of the Seneca river, and so much south of the river, as is now included in Seneca Falls. A part of this territory is now in Wayne County. Chap. 138, Laws of 1823.

In 1808, Washington was changed to Fayette, thus entirely wiping out the name of Washington. In order to prevent confusion, it is very necessary that the difference between townships and towns should be fully understood. Although Junius was one of the original townships, it will have been seen, that it was swallowed up in the creation of the town of Romulus, and was resurrected again as a town, embracing not only its former territory, which included Waterloo, Tyre and Seneca Falls, but extending even north to Lake Ontario. In 1829, the towns of Waterloo, Seneca Falls and Tyre were created out of the town of Junius, and other towns have been taken from its northern territory, reducing it to its present limits. In 1817, the town of Covert was taken from Ovid, and in 1826, the town of Lodi, was taken from Covert. In 1830, the town of Varick was taken from Romulus. The numbers of lots found on the county maps are the original numbers of the lots, in the several townships of the Military Tract. The townships in the first instance were numbered, but before any land was disposed of by allotment to the soldiers, they were named by the Commissioners of the Land office.

The Military township of Hector, formerly connected with Ovid, and a part of the original County of Seneca, (1804) now comprises a town of Schuyler County, and part of the Military township of Ulysses, also originally a part of Seneca County, is now a part of Tompkins County. Chapter 184, Laws of 1817.

G. S. CONOVER.

our own locality, is indicated by an extract from the journal: "The map of the world cannot exhibit in any country, two lakes of equal magnitude as the Cayuga and Seneca, so singularly and so happily situated. What a fertile theme for poets, painters, philosophers and travelers for the last two thousand years, had they been placed in Italy. The country lying between these delightful lakes rises gradually and beautifully from the opposite shore towards the center, and, when cultivated by the vigorous arms of freemen, will become the Paradise and garden of America." He concludes his journal by giving detailed views and estimates for the opening of navigation from Seneca lake to the Hudson river. With prophetic vision he saw the future, and clearly and practically marked out the plan for its realization. He says, in conclusion, "Let the sane man realize the policy and necessity of the measure by exploring these waters in person, the first impression will not fail to be heightened into a degree of enthusiasm bordering on infatuation."

We have seen how an intelligent, unerring judgment guided the Indian in the selection of his dwelling place; how, when selling his lands, he reserved the fishery at Skoi-yase; how the soldiers under Sullivan readily comprehended the beauties and advantages of this inter-lake country, and with the advent of peace turned their steps hitherward; how, far-seeing capitalists and statesmen, intelligent, public-spirited men, took in at a glance the value of this region. We can readily imagine the young man from the old settlements of the east, hardy, vigorous, ambitious, eager to make for himself a home and a competence, stimulated by the glowing description given by the soldiers of the beautiful lake region, through which they had followed the fleeing savages, setting out to see with his own eyes this El Dorado. Following the track of the army by Newtown to Seneca lake, down the lake and through its narrow outlet bordered with massive forest trees, which, sometimes fallen, obstruct his boat, he nears the place where Waterloo now stands. Passing a forest of rustling pines he comes to an Island covered with verdure. Here commence the rapids, where the stream widening and curving, eddies and whirls and foams over its rocky bed. He finds himself in a valley from which, by a gentle slope, the ground rises to the north and south. Oaks and maples attest the richness of the soil. The pleasant elevation of the ground on the north, indicating sites for future homes, and dotted with the cleared fields and the relics of the Indian town; the south side exhibiting the traces of the important fishing industry carried on there for years by the Indians, the tributary streams running in from north and south, the rapid river having an immense lake reservoir and waiting only for intelligent industry to develop its power, its bed of building stone, the superior facilities for fishing and hunting, the water communication with the Seneca and Cayuga lakes, and thence, in no distant future, with the Hudson on the east, Lake Ontario on the north and the Susquehanna on the south, all these advantages might well lead him to say, "I have found a spot where I will make my home."

Many were attracted, and emigration rapidly followed; rapidly, if you take into consideration, the unsettled condition of a new country, just emerging from a war, which had drained her resources, and well nigh exhausted her vitality. The log mill, that most important and interesting historical landmark, was built in 1794. In 1807, Elisha Williams, of Hudson, bought six hundred and forty acres of land, covering the present site of Waterloo, north of the river, and in his honor the settlement was called New Hudson. In 1816, that name was dropped, and the present one adopted. The family names given to the streets, years after, Williams, Elisha, Virginia, Elizabeth, and the grand old family residence, built for him by his agent, Reuben Swift,—by whose son, Moses H. Swift, the house, still known to old residents, as "the Mansion," is owned and occupied,—alone remain mementoes of him, who once owned the land where Waterloo is built. From 1815 to 1820, the growth of the town was rapid, and in 1824, the village, then a half-shire, and with splendid prospects for the future, was incorporated. That date is an appropriate closing of a third period, which forms a historic epoch.

I have, in this brief review, indicated three salient points of interest and study:

1. The country, under the peaceful occupation of the Indians. 2. The Revolutionary period, embracing Sullivan's campaign, as its most prominent feature, closing with the extermination of the Red men, and the opening up to settlers of their abandoned lands. 3. The

settlement by the whites, in which we are most directly and personally interested. That such study should take an organized, systematic form, is the object of this organization, and of our gathering here to-night.

I have alluded to that common impulse, which, within the last few years, has turned backward the eyes and thoughts of the nation and communities. For some years, a few of the citizens of this town, have had under consideration its past history, and felt the need of an organized effort to rescue from oblivion, reminiscences and traditions of its early settlers. Rev. Dr. Gridley waited for no association of laborers, but with zeal, intelligence and industry, pursued his investigations, and has collected and published a history of Waterloo, which is surprising in its completeness, and for which, the grateful thanks of the community are eminently due him. In March, 1875, the Waterloo Historical Society was formed, holding its meetings, for a time, at the residences of members, until permission was obtained to occupy this room. Papers relating to the early history of the town, were contributed by different members, relics and mementoes of early days were collected, and when, finally, a proposition was made by Mr. Thomas Fatzinger, to give the sum of five thousand dollars, since increased to six thousand dollars, to be invested for the purchase of a library, the only condition imposed, being, that the Historical Society should become custodians and trustees of his noble gift, then the Library and Historical Society was duly organized, under the State law. We have now a membership of nearly one hundred, we have a library of thirteen hundred volumes, and a collection of antiquities, and valuable relics and curiosities, well worthy of inspection.

The society has already made for itself a good name and reputation, and there remains for it, I trust, a future of usefulness and promise, and an influence in controlling and shaping the intellectual growth and progress of the town, and moulding the characters of those, who are to be the men and women of the future.

In whatever aspect viewed, the past is worthy of the study of all. There comes to every one, sooner or later, a time in life when the eye of the mind is turned to the past, in sadness, or in reverie. The thoughtful, treasure up its lessons and gather wisdom from its experiences. The Student Hieronymus, in Longfellow's *Hyperion*, wearied and saddened by disappointment, sought for peace. The Divinity he had invoked bade him go to the fountain of Oblivion, in the deepest solitude of the Black Forest, and cast a parchment scroll she put into his hand, into its waters. He went upon his quest, he sought and found the Fountain, but "on its brink he paused, and gazed into the dark waters with a steadfast look, and as he gazed, he beheld, far down in their silent depths, dim and ill-defined outlines, wavering to and fro, like the folds of a white garment in the twilight. Then more distinct and permanent shapes arose,—familiar to his mind, yet forgotten and remembered again, as the fragments of a dream; till at length, far, far below him he beheld the great City of the Past, with silent marble streets, and moss-grown walls, and spires uprising with a wave-like flickering motion. And, amid the crowd that thronged those streets, he beheld faces once familiar and dear to him, and heard voices saying: 'Oh, forget us not;' and then he heard the distant, mournful sound of funeral bells, that were tolling below, in the City of the Past."

This legend is the expression of a great truth. The past, is ever beckoning and ever crying for us, to listen to its warnings and its teachings. A desire to be remembered, is a common instinct of humanity; it is an incentive to do well, and to leave a good name behind us; it prompts the fervent prayer: "Lord, keep my memory green!" It is due to those who braved the toils and privations of frontier life, in order that they might bequeath to us the comforts by which we are surrounded, that we keep alive the recollection of their dangers and hardships. It is due to him who has endowed this society so generously, for the public good, that by a hearty co-operation in its work, we show a grateful appreciation of the benefit conferred. And more, it is due to ourselves that we thrust not aside the means and appliances for culture and intellectual growth this society affords, culture not only for the head but for the heart. One of the most lovely attributes of humanity, is that which impresses upon the soul the *love of home*. Side by side with the love for the mother, is that kindred feeling which fixes upon the mind in ineffaceable

characters, and photographs indelibly, all the memories of childhood and the associations of home, which neither age nor distance ever weakens, which still lives amid the ravings of delirium, and asserts itself amid the incoherences of approaching dissolution. The same instinct of our nature, extended and broadened, embraces all the familiar faces, all the well-known scenes pertaining to and surrounding our childhood, and reaches back to gather carefully the traditions and legends clustering around the place of our birth, and to preserve the memories of its founders, builders and benefactors. Produced still farther, the same feeling becomes an exalted love of country. In like manner, the study of local history begets the desire for the acquisition of a knowledge of general history. The mind, strengthened by use, expanded, developed, does not stop in its search, but seeks for universal information. When we consider, that, by the munificence of Mr. Thomas Fatzinger, a Library has been secured in perpetuity, a library which in ten years, from his donation alone, would amount to five thousand volumes, I think we cannot fail to appreciate the inestimable benefit conferred upon the town, a benefit not temporary, but lasting. As long as literature can find a devotee, or the past a reverent worshipper, as long as memory survives, or hope is vouchsafed to mortals, books cannot die. I see no reason why, a century hence, those who come after us, may not meet to celebrate the Centennial of the Waterloo Library and Historical Society, and to recall with loving, grateful praise, his name, on whose foundation gift, the noble structure, then to be existed, was built. It needs no prophetic vision, looking forward ten years, to behold our Society under a roof of its own building, with ample hall for meetings and lectures, an alcoved library, a daily issue of books, a reading room, where at all times magazines and papers from all parts of the world, invite perusal, and a collection of relics and curiosities repaying hours of study and inspection. I see it a place of resort for young and old, its walls hung with paintings and engravings and adorned with statuary, presenting, in fine, all the means for, and incentives to, æsthetic and intellectual cultivation. Within its walls will be engendered an intellectual spirit, which will go out, pervading, educating and refining all classes, entering all homes, and justly rendering our village the pride and boast of our citizens.

Nine years have elapsed since the foregoing paper was read before the Waterloo Library and Historical Society. The suggestion therein made, that in 1879, being the one hundredth anniversary of the Western Expedition against the Six Nations, under Gen. Sullivan, the citizens of Seneca County, should be invited to unite with the society, in celebrating the Centennial of that Campaign, which, as its result, opened up to the emigrant the beauties, and agricultural wealth of Seneca County, was adopted, and, under the auspices of the society, with the hearty and zealous co-operation, of the best citizens of the county, there was consummated, at Waterloo, September 3d, 1879, a Celebration which proved successful, beyond the most sanguine expectations of its promoters and friends.

On the 23d day of April, 1878, Thomas Fatzinger, the honored founder of the Library was called to his rest. With characteristic thoughtfulness, for the well being of the institution, for which he had, from its organization, manifested so deep an interest, he made provision in his will, for an endowment of five thousand dollars additional, to the like amount previously contributed by him to the library fund. His widow, Mrs. F. P. H. Fatzinger, moved alike by her own generous impulses, and by a desire to honor his memory, and to make complete his benefactions, contributed seven thousand dollars to the fund, for the erection of a Library building. To this amount, the citizens of the town and a few generous hearted former residents, added the sum of six thousand dollars.

Thus provided, the trustees were enabled to construct a building admirably adapted to the purpose for which it is designed, the completion of which, and its occupancy by the society, in December, 1883, makes literal fulfillment of the hope expressed in the concluding paragraphs of the the above paper.

August, 1886.

S. R. W.



I am Yours &c.
D. V. Cortlandt

Biographical Sketch of Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt.

BY REV. DAVID CRAFT.

PHILIP VAN CORTLANDT, eldest son of Lieutenant Governor Pierre and Joanna Van Cortlandt, was born in the city of New York, on the first day of September, 1749. Soon after his birth, his father and mother removed to the Manor House, in Westchester County. At the age of fifteen years, he was sent to Coldenham Academy, in Orange County, New York. After that he was engaged in the employ of a surveyor, and became a practical surveyor. Governor Tryon offered him a Major's commission, in a regiment raised in the Manor of Cortlandt, of which James Verplanck was Colonel, which was accepted, and the duties for a time performed. In 1774, Governor Tryon, accompanied by his wife and Secretary, Colonel Fanning, visited the Manor House, and tried to gain the influence of his father, Pierre Van Cortlandt, for the crown, in which attempt he did not succeed. Tryon also offered the son Philip an additional appointment, but he threw the commission into the fire, and subsequently accepted an appointment, and was elected as Member of the Provincial Convention of New York from Westchester County.

Immediately after the battles of Lexington and Concord, a commission was sent to Philip Van Cortlandt, as Lieutenant Colonel in the Fourth Battalion of New York troops, under the command of General Montgomery. This commission was dated, June 18th, 1775, and signed by John Hancock, President of Congress. In the spring of 1776, he reported to the Commander-in-Chief at New York City, who gave him orders to join General Schuyler, and wait the disposition of the army. After Colonel Van Cortlandt's return to Ticonderoga, General Gates arrived on his retreat from Canada, and took command, and he sent Col-

onel Van Cortlandt to Skeensborough, (now Whitehall), where for a time he took command, (Colonel Wynkoop being ill). Subsequently he joined General Washington at Kingsbridge, and acted as aid, to the Commander-in-Chief. The British rear at this time landed at Throgg's Neck, and shortly after the battle of White Plains was fought. After the battle, General Washington filled up one of the blanks furnished him by Congress, with the name of Philip Van Cortlandt, which bears date, Nov. 30th, 1776, and sent him a commission as Colonel, by express. Colonel Van Cortlandt was in charge of the 2d Regiment, Poor's Brigade, at the memorable battle of Saratoga, which resulted in the surrender of Burgoyne. In 1779, he served in the entire campaign against the Indians, rendering important service in opening the road to Wyoming. He was present at the surrender of Cornwallis and was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General, by brevet, for gallant conduct at Yorktown. He was one of the thirty-eight patriots who ratified the Declaration of Independence, on horseback, at White Plains, on the 9th day of July, 1776.

After the close of the war, he returned to the Manor House in the Town of Cortlandt, County of Westchester. He was a member of the New York State Convention which ratified the U. S. Constitution in 1788. He was chosen the first Supervisor of the town of Cortlandt in 1788. His other public services were: A member of the New York State Assembly in 1789 and 1790, and of the State Senate from 1791 to 1793. He was elected to Congress, in 1793, and continued to represent his district for sixteen successive years and then declined re-election. In 1812, he was chosen an Elector for President and Vice-President of the United States. He was also one of the original members of the Order of Cincinnati and its first Treasurer.

Col. Van Cortlandt was never married. He died at the Manor House, at Croton, Town of Cortlandt, Westchester County, New York, at the age of eighty-two, Nov. 21st, 1831. He was on terms of great intimacy with General Lafayette, and when that nobleman visited this country in 1824, entertained him at the Manor House, and accompanied him on his memorable tour through the United States.

Livingston County.

(GENESEO).

LIVINGSTON COUNTY.

(GENESEO).

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN

SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE IROQUOIS IN 1779—

HELD AT GENESEO, N. Y., SEPTEMBER 16th, 1879.

The Secretary of the Livingston County Historical Society, Norman Seymour, Esq., of Mount Morris, in reporting an account of a Pioneer meeting held in that county, as published in the *Mount Morris Union*, August 23, 1877, said: "We would suggest, at this early day, that in 1879, the Centennial of General Sullivan's Campaign, in 1779, be celebrated by the Pioneer Association at 'Little Beard's Town,' the place where the heroic Boyd and Parker fell, on the road between Geneseo and Cuylerville, and also that at some future time the annual gathering of the Association be held at the historic grounds of 'Squakie Hill.'" This was the first suggestion as to the observance of the centennial in Livingston County.

At the annual meeting of the Livingston County Historical Society, held January 14th, 1879, the Pioneer Society having recommended at its last meeting in 1878, that a Centennial Celebration of General Sullivan's march through the county, in 1779, be observed, and having appointed a committee consisting of Richard Johnson of Groveland, Samuel P. Allen of Geneseo, Norman Seymour of Mount Morris, H. C. Coe of Conesus, Niel Stewart of York, to take the matter in charge, a resolution was passed by the Historical Society, recommending its observance, and the following committee was appointed, viz.: A. A. Hendee, Geneseo; Wm. W. White, Ossian; Dr. F. M. Perrine, Dansville; Dr. L. J. Ames, Mount Morris, and Richard Johnson, Groveland. Mr. Norman Seymour stated that he had held an interview with ex-Governor Horatio Seymour, who had promised to be present and give an address.

The committees of the Pioneer and Historical Societies met at the Globe Hotel, Geneseo, April 26th, to fix the place of holding the Centennial. Much discussion was had as to the place of the celebration, the contest being between Geneseo and Mount Morris, but Geneseo was finally chosen.

[From the Livingston Republican, Sept. 11, 1879.]

C E N T E N N I A L .

1779.—SEPT. 16.—1879.

On the first day of August, 1878, we wrote and published the following paragraph :

A CENTENNIAL AT HOME.

The expedition of Gen. Sullivan into the Genesee Country, was in 1779, and the centennial of that event, will, therefore, occur next year. The 15th of September is the exact date of the bloody event, which took place in Groveland, and ended by the massacre of Boyd and Parker, near Beard's creek in the town of Leicester. We suggest, that timely preparations be made by the Pioneer or Historical Society, to celebrate the centennial so near at hand, upon the spot where the capture of Boyd took place, where he was put to death, or at some place convenient of access to the people generally.

At the Pioneer meeting, on the 15th of the same month, Hon. Rich and Johnson, of Groveland, called attention to the matter, and, at his suggestion, a committee was appointed, to consider and recommend, to the winter meeting of the executive committee, such steps as seemed appropriate, to secure a proper observance of the event referred to, in the above article. This was done; the subsequent steps in the matter, are so recent, as to be familiar to all our readers. And now, we are close upon the day fixed for the celebration. The chief labor, in making the arrangements, has been performed by a general committee, consisting of Colonel John Rorbach, Charles Jones and William A. Brodie, Esqs., and we believe the result will show, that they have performed their duties with efficiency and good judgment.

At a meeting of citizens, held at Concert Hall, on Friday evening, committees were appointed, to go through all the streets of the village, and roads of the town, to solicit contributions of provisions, etc.—for delivering at Agricultural Hall, on Tuesday morning next, in order that the military, firemen and bands, may be supplied with a lunch. These provisions will be received by persons in waiting, and, at the

hour of lunch, will be served up by fifty young ladies and gentlemen.

At the appointed hour, the procession will be formed, and led by General James Wood, passing through the principal streets and under arches covered with evergreens. Flags will also be displayed at several points on the route, as announced in the official programme, in this paper. It is safe to say, that, with the military, the firemen and bands, and the great crowd of people, the display will greatly surpass anything heretofore seen in the county.

The general committee, having the arrangements of the Sullivan Centennial Celebration in charge, completed the programme, and the following is the list of officers, as selected :

President of the day, Dr. Daniel H. Fitzhugh, of Groveland.

1st Vice-President, Norman Seymour, Esq., of Mt. Morris.

2nd Vice President, Hon. B. F. Angel, of Geneseo, and the following Vice-Presidents from the several towns :

AVON—A. A. Hendee, Fred Pearson, George H. Nowlen.

CALEDONIA—Alex. Ferguson, Dugald E. Cameron, Wm. Hamilton.

CONESUS—Jotham Clark, Sen., Solomon Hitchcock, Hiram Boyd.

GENESEO—Col. F. W. Butler, Charles Jones, Col. John Rorbach.

GROVELAND—Richard Johnson, Wm. A. Mills, George S. Ewart.

LEICESTER—Eli Botsford, James H. Bolton, Henry Tilton.

LIMA—Richard Peck, Ambrose Hyde, William R. McNair.

LIVONIA—Solomon Woodruff, Backus Gibbs, B. J. Blake.

MT. MORRIS—M. H. Mills, Lucius C. Bingham, L. J. Ames.

N. DANSVILLE—Hon. James Faulkner, Jr., Alonzo Bradner, Dr. F. M. Perrine.

NUNDA—Samuel Swain, Capt. James Lemen, E. O. Dickinson.

OSSIAN—Wm. M. White, Isaac Hampton, Corydon Hyde.

PORTAGE—Charles W. Bennett, John Fitch, B. T. Kneeland.

SPARTA—John Shepard, E. L. McFetridge, John M. Campbell.

SPRINGWATER—Orson Walbridge, John S. Wiley, D. C. Snyder.

WEST SPARTA—W. J. Slaughter, John W. McNair, L. B. Field.

YORK—Geo. W. Root, S. Blakeslee, H. E. Smith.

SECRETARIES:—E. H. Davis, A. O. Bunnell, S. P. Allen, A. T. Norton, C. K. Sanders.

CHIEF MARSHAL—General James Wood.

The following committee of arrangements was appointed: Charles Jones, Colonel Henry L. Arnold and William A. Brodie, of Geneseo; Norman Seymour, of Mt. Morris; Major A. A. Hendee, of Avon.

[From the Livingston Republican, Geneseo, N. Y., Thursday, September 18, 1879.]

THE SULLIVAN CENTENNIAL.

FIFTEEN THOUSAND PEOPLE PRESENT—SPLENDID DECORATIONS AND PROCESSIONS.

The Sullivan Centennial has just been honored by the largest assemblage ever before seen in Livingston County. The morning of the 16th, looked unpropitious, but as the day advanced, the clouds lifted and the weather proved just right for comfort. The previous rain had laid the dust, and the great throng which poured in, had as enjoyable a day as could be desired. The trains brought the military and band from Rochester, the firemen and several bands from Dansville, Mt. Morris, Nunda, Avon, Lima and Cuylerville, while by nine o'clock, every road leading hither, was full of people in carriages, and on horseback. In fact, a large share of the adult population of the county, seemed to have turned out, to do honor to the occasion. A large delegation of pioneers and other distinguished gentlemen came from Wyoming County. The delegation consisted of Geo. Tomlinson, H. T. Brooks, Hon. Augustus Frank, Hon. James H. Loomis, and many others. Letters were received from Ex-Gov. Horatio Seymour, Gov. McClellan, of New Jersey, Hon. Geo. W. Clinton, of Buffalo, Chief Justice Sanford E. Church and Judges Folger and Danforth of the Court of Appeals, Hon. Roscoe Conkling, Hon. W. W. Campbell, of Cherry Valley, Rev. Dr. Gridley, of Waterloo, Hon. W. P. Letchworth and O. H. Marshall, Esq., of Buffalo, and many others, but we have not room for them. The absence of Governors Seymour and McClellan, was a disappointment to many thousands. The committee delayed their announcements, until a very late hour, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they would be present, but as has been announced, Gov. McClellan was taken very ill, only three or four days before the meeting, and up to the morning of the 16th, there was reason to look for Gov. Seymour, as he had given a verbal promise, after his letter was written, to be present, if possible. Dr. Fitzhugh was to have presided, but he was taken ill at Bay City, Michigan, and was unable to be present. In his absence, Norman Seymour, Esq., presided and performed the duties with great satisfaction.

The village of Geneseo, never before looked so gay and attractive. Almost every residence and place of business, along the line of march, was decorated, some of them in a profuse and elaborate manner. Large flags were strung across the streets at various points. The Hook and Ladder Company, erected at the upper end of Main street, an arch of

which the component parts were ladders. It was very tastefully made and trimmed throughout with evergreens. In the open spaces were hung axes, and ropes and other paraphernalia, and in the upper triangle was the name of the company. Coming southward, the next arch was the one erected by the Wadsworth Hose, a large square structure with openings each way. This was more massive in its build than the other, was covered profusely with evergreens, and like the other, adorned with flags. The only other large arch, was the one built in front of the Normal school; this also was solidly built, and well trimmed with evergreen. The top of the structure was an arch, on each side of which was a motto, the one facing south was "Education, the Nation's Safety." The other "Ignorance, the Parent of Crime." While mentioning the mottoes displayed, we must take note of that of the sheriff. The gate posts at the entrance to the Court House grounds, were covered with evergreens, and surmounted by an arch on which was the motto, "Civilization overcomes Barbarism." All the county buildings were tastefully and profusely decorated. On Park street, Mr. O'Grady displayed on a canvas extending the whole width of the street, the old Irish welcome "Cead Mille Fealthe," meaning "a hundred thousand welcomes." There was no part of the village, to which the enthusiasm did not extend. Centre and Second and Elm, and even to North and Court and Elizabeth, where almost every resident made a creditable attempt at decoration. In front of the residence of Dr. Lauderdale, from the spacious veranda in front, were hung a part of the large and precious collection made by Dr. John V. Lauderdale, consisting of Indian blankets, robes of buckskin, bows and arrows, and other Indian belongings collected in Arizona, New Mexico, California, and the other frontier posts, to which this young surgeon of the United States army has been attached. This last display attracted much attention, and was viewed and commented on all through the day. Where every one was anxious to do honor to the day, and make the exercises a credit and a success, we could not particularize even if space allowed, but must make an exception in favor of the Chief Marshal's head-quarters, where the portraits of Gen. Grant and President Lincoln, were hung out, and in front of Jay Schuyler's, where a large and splendid portrait of Washington, and a large likeness of General Sullivan, were exposed to view. On every side was plainly evident the utmost desire to contribute in every way to the success of the celebration, and the honor of the day. A fine large portrait of Washington, was also displayed before the residence of Mr. Geo. Mercer, on Second street.

The unavoidable delays of such an occasion compelled the Marshal to cut short the line of march, greatly to his own regret and that of

hundreds of people who had taken positions for seeing the procession. At Agricultural Hall on the Fair Grounds the most ample arrangements had been made for satisfying the wants of the invited guests, officers, military, firemen, bands, etc. Substantial tables enclosed the entire building, and from each side and ends a host of waiters, including many ladies, came out with baskets of everything to satisfy hunger. At the hour for lunch, the tables were surrounded, and such were the facilities, that no time was lost in satisfying every one who came. And when all were served, there was enough left of meats, bread, coffee, pies, cake, etc., to feed twice as many more. The contribution for this purpose from the people of the village and town, was most profuse and generous. And right here let us say, that throughout, the preparations and arrangements by Col. John Rorbach and W. A. Brodie, Esq., were really as perfect and satisfactory as it was possible to make them. They devoted themselves to the work, with a zeal and success which are beyond praise. Everybody who was present owes them a debt of gratitude.

Our fire departments were early on the alert and at 7 o'clock had assembled and marched down to the depot, to receive the guests. The escort consisted of the Wadsworth Hose Co., the Steamer Co., and the Hook and Ladder Co., of this village, numbering in all about 100 men. Coming on the train from Dansville, were the Union Hose, Thos. O'Meara, Foreman; Protectives, F. W. Krien, Foreman; and Hook and Ladder Company, Daniel Price, Foreman, and Active Hose Company of Mt. Morris, Jas. Barrett, Foreman, all of which were escorted to the village and entertained in the most liberal manner by the Wadsworth Hose Co., which organization had arranged the store lately occupied by Smith Brothers, for the reception of visiting firemen. And soon, while the cannon thundered forth its greetings, the next train came in bringing six companies of the 54th Regiment, National Guard, commanded by Major Weitzel. There were 300 men in line, who made a fine appearance. Col. Geo. Hyland, Jr., of Brig. Gen. Briggs' staff was also among the officers. The splendid band of the 54th, led the regiment, and their music was greatly admired. At the same time, came a delegation from Avon, consisting of the Avon Hook and Ladder Co., Orrin Sackett, Foreman; the Avon Engine Co., J. B. Benedict, Foreman; the Extinguisher Co. of Avon, McLaughlin, Foreman. Later in the day, the Nunda Hose Co., came in under the command of Altha Paine, Foreman, and the Engine Co., under the direction of O. H. Cook, Foreman. Perhaps at this point, it may be well to mention the distinguished guests which the Wadsworth Hose Co. received. Among them were Geo. Hyland, Esq., Chief Engineer of the Fire Department of Dansville; C. J. Crabb, Assistant Engineer of the de-

partment of Batavia; H. W. Matthews of the Alerts of Avon; Henry Wigg, Assistant Engineer of the town of Mt. Morris and W. S. Newman of Avon, the recently elected President of the New York State Firemen's Association. It is perhaps unnecessary to mention, that the distinguished guests were cordially received and well entertained. The Wadsworth Hose Co. kept open house during the day, for all firemen and their efforts in this direction were fully appreciated and enjoyed.

The procession formed at 10:30 in the following order:

FIRST DIVISION.

Chief Marshal Brig. Gen. James Wood and Aids, General Pratt, Major C. F. Wadsworth and Otto Kelsey preceding the 54th Regiment and band, under the command of Maj. John N. Weitzel, with Lieut. F. W. Eikart of Company F., Adjutant.

SECOND DIVISION.

Containing carriages with officers, speakers, distinguished guests and survivors of the War of 1812, prominent among whom was Doctor D. H. Bissell, with Aids Col. Strang, Hyland and Richard L. Doty.

THIRD DIVISION.

Veterans of the late war, and a company of Calithumpians with Aids Majors Eldridge and Culbertson and Geo. S. Williams.

FOURTH DIVISION.

Preceded by the Dansville Band and the different fire companies in attendance, with hose carriages, fire department of Geneseo, Capts. Scott, Sackett and Van Zandt as Aids.

FIFTH DIVISION.

Lima Band with Pioneers and citizens generally. Capt. Chapin and R. A. Kneeland as Aids.

SIXTH DIVISION.

Cuylerville Band and delegation from Normal School. The scholars of this institution had been trained in the singing of the Star Spangled Banner, which it was designed to sing while the procession was passing, but its progress was so rapid, that the first verse only was sung.

The procession marched to the Fair Grounds, where, in Agricultural Hall, the citizens of the town generally had sent their contributions of provisions, in quantities abundant enough to have satisfied the hunger of a crowd of three times the dimensions. From early in the morning, the waiters were occupied in cutting up and preparing the food for the guests. Meats and fowls and bread and pastry and the choicest of preserves and pickles, were spread out in profusion for all the guests, who honored the Sullivan Centennial of Livingston County with their presence.

Lunch being concluded, the officers, speakers and invited guests repaired to the grand stand, which was already surrounded by thousands of people. The seats on the east side of the trotting course were full, and the judges' stand was reserved for representatives of the press. Norman Seymour, Esq., called to order and said :

OPENING REMARKS BY NORMAN SEYMOUR, ESQ.

FELLOW CITIZENS :

We have gathered here to-day, to commemorate the expedition of Gen. John Sullivan, and his brave army, against the Six Nations, the Iroquois, one hundred years ago. Before that event, so fearful had been the atrocities of the Indians, "Who hung like the cythe of death" upon the defenceless whites, on the border settlements, in the Valley of the Mohawk, Cherry Valley, and Wyoming, that Gen. Washington determined to chastise them. In his order to Gen. Sullivan, he said, "The immediate objects, are the fatal destruction of the hostile tribes of the Six Nations, the devastation of their settlements, and the capture of as many prisoners, of every age and sex, as possible."

Washington appreciated the vast importance of the expedition, and selected this able General; the results of the campaign, brought quiet to the land, and emigration from Pennsylvania and the east set in, and in a few years brought about the famous treaty of "Big Tree." Let us do honor to the memory of the indomitable, and brave soldiers of that campaign, many of whom, became the pioneers of the Genesee country; its delightful valleys, genial climate, and luxuriant soil, induced them to make their homes in this land.

Inheriting the New England type of true manhood, they assisted in laying broad, deep, and enduring, the foundation of our illustrious commonwealth; on our hillsides, and at almost every hamlet, they erected rude temples, consecrated to the worship of the God of their fathers. In August, 1841, a very large assembly, presided over by the Revolutionary hero, Major Moses VanCampen, met at Little Beardstown, Gennishee, the spot where the brave Boyd and Parker, attached to Sullivan's Expedition, were so inhumanly put to death. On that occasion, Judge Samuel Treat, now of St. Louis, pronounced a just and fitting tribute to the memory of these brave men. Their remains were taken to Mt. Hope, Rochester, where Gov. Seward delivered a very touching address. To this day, no monument marks their resting place. But I am not expected to speak in detail of Gen. Sullivan's devastating march, and of its effect upon the young republic. The distinguished and eloquent historian, from Pennsylvania, who is with us, will more fully than ever before, bring out the facts connected with that effective and successful expedition.

Fellow citizens, to-day we tread upon the soil, where first by the treaty of 1797, the Indian title was extinguished to the "Genesee Country," "The pre-emption line," one mile east of Geneva, to Lake Erie, in all embracing six million acres. Here at Big Tree, this famous treaty was signed, one of the most important that was ever made with

any of the Six Nations. Here, just below, on this western slope, three thousand Indians, for over twenty days, gathered around their council fires, before Robert Morris, the distinguished financier of the Revolution, by his son, Thomas Morris of Kanandaigua, assisted the U. S. Commissioner, Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford, Conn., consummated this noted treaty. This convocation of Indian chiefs and United States officials, met in the unfinished log house, covered with boughs, of the Messrs. James and William Wadsworth, the noble pioneers of our valley. The result of this grand council, at once opened more fully to civilization, the country in which we dwell.

Citizens of Livingston County, as to-day we have met by thousands, to commemorate the bravery, and lofty patriotism of General Sullivan and his army, so in September, 1897, will we gather upon this historic ground, and recall the stirring events of the famous "Treaty of Big Tree," the outgrowth of the memorable expedition of Gen. Sullivan, which to-day we honor.

In this valley, there should be erected monuments, that for all time shall mark the spot where occurred the crowning results of Sullivan's Expedition, where the bloody trail of the Iroquois found its death, and where the Senecas, who, for centuries, had guarded the western door to the "Long House," for the last time in the Gennishee, covered up their council fires, and with sullen tread, marched to their homes in the west.

Prayer was then offered by Rev. L. Parsons, D. D., of Mount Morris.

The Glee Club then rendered the words, "My Country, 'tis of Thee," to the tune of America, with fine effect.

Hon. A. L. Childs, of Waterloo, the Poet of the occasion, then read the poem. It was greatly admired, and Mr. Childs was the recipient of many compliments.

JOHN SULLIVAN'S MARCH

BY A. L. CHILDS.

In memory of the olden time
 With merry hearts, with faces beaming,
 In long procession, grand, sublime,
 We march with Freedom's banner streaming.

We bring fresh wreaths and lilies fair,
 With incense sweet the air perfuming,
 With love and veneration rare,
 To greet our Century Tree now blooming !

Blooming with Faith and Hope and Pride ;
 Blooming with blessings ; peace bestowing ;
 Safe from the storms on every side,
 Safe in Freedom's soil now growing.

We know the hand that planted the seed,
 Where woods were wild and ground unbroken ;
 And we cheer the generous hearted deed,
 As these scenes of joy to-day betoken !

Though generations have gone since then,
And scenes of life are often shifted,
We see John Sullivan and his men,
As mists of a hundred years are lifted.

God bless the soldiers of Seventy-Nine,
For their brave deeds of soldier bearing !
Breaking the chain of the Iroquois line,
Bringing the peace we are this day sharing.

Where Onondaga and Mohawk brave,
Oneida, Cayuga and Seneca founded
That union of tribes that terror gave,
Where the Tuscarora war-whoop sounded.

Allied with Freedom's bitterest foe,
With poisoned arrow and scalping knife,
With flaming torch, they marching go,
To murder the young Republic's life !

God bless the heroes of Seventy-Nine !
Their work was blest : their efforts untiring,
And a hundred years show no decline
Of the patriot fire, our hearts inspiring.

Where the savage yell and war-whoop rung,
And smoke from Indian wigwam curling,
Now anthems of praise to God are sung,
And our starry banner is unfurling !

Where stealthy step of moccasin feet,
With death the trail of the white man treading,
Are the busy scenes of the village street
And the homes with sweet contentment shedding.

Where the swift canoe went gliding through
The waters of the lake and river,
Now the steamers grand, plow through the blue
And freight from distant ports deliver.

Where bended bow would arrows throw
With death to the white man, swiftly flying ;
Where the war club gave its deadly blow
To the tortured pale faced victim dying ;

Now the church is seen, and the school yard green,
And the homes where Peace and Love are dwelling ;
Where the aged sire, calm and serene,
The tale of the olden time is telling.

No tears can we shed, for the red man fled ;
Driven out by the sires before us,
And we bless the heroes by Sullivan led,
In a grand, triumphal chorus !

As the monster oak, by the axman's stroke
Falls down to the ground like the thunder,
As its branches wide are torn from its side,
While the flowers of spring are plowed under ;

No mourning 'is made for the oak tree shade,
We miss not the bloom of the flowers,
The march of Freemen shall not be delayed
In this beautiful land of ours.

We squander no grief on warrior chief ;
To mourn for the past we will never :
In God and in Country we rest our belief,
And trust they will triumph forever !

Then onward we march, 'neath Heaven's blue arch,
As Sullivan's heroes before us !
And sing by the way as freemen to-day,
In a heartfelt, victorious chorus !

In the Spirit land stands Sullivan's band,
In that far distant home in glory :
Through a hundred years, a procession appears,
Far-famed in the world's great story !

Through the long ravine of the past are seen
The aged fathers and mothers, too ;
From the mountain height of a century's flight,
We can witness the grand review !

In this grand parade, of a century made,
The forms of our sires we now behold !
We see in their face, that goodness and grace,
That marked them as patriot men of old !

There is Franklin's fire on electric wire,
All over the land the glad news flashing ;
And the cable spread in the ocean bed,
Where our vessels are the proud waves dashing.

Through the gloom of night, shines the bright headlight
Of the railway engine with its roar,
As it rushes by like a twinkling eye
From Atlantic coast, to Pacific shore !

And there now appears, in this march of years,
The wonders of science and genius grand,
To our ears now come, the busy hum
Of the work-shops scattered through our land !

On the distant plain is the golden grain,
And the reapers stand with folded arms ;
While the great machine reaps the harvest clean,
And the man is king of the fruitful farms.

In this pageant wide we witness with pride
 Our institutions of learning and law ;
 While the whisper tone of the telephone,
 Speaks loud of wonders the world never saw !

Our soldiers in blue are marching there, too,
 And carry the banner through mountain glen.
 Though covered with scars, they wear now the star
 In that distant land with Sullivan's men.

The red, white and blue ; those colors so true,
 Triumphant a hundred years ago ;
 Preserved and kept bright, are still the delight
 Of the hosts that are marching here below !

When the grand review of a century new
 Dawns on our land, we hope and pray
 That the patriot men who are marching then
 May be true as the freemen are to-day !

The 54th Regimental band played some fine music, when W. H. Bogart, Esq., of Cayuga County, was introduced.

REMARKS OF W. H. BOGART, ESQ.

Mr. Bogart made a short address, in which, after congratulating the citizens, on the success that had attended their efforts at celebration, he said :

I recognize in General John Sullivan and his soldiers, the proper men for the time. God bless the heroes of '79. Men were patriots and heroes in those days. I recognize no decline of patriotic fire, to-day. That you have gathered from your farms and fire-sides, to do honor to an occasion like this, is, to me, evidence sufficient that, did the occasion require, you would be as ready and willing to do battle, in the cause of civilization, as they were. Let us give full credit to the Indian, consider the circumstances under which he was placed, but at the same time we must prefer the village, and the sweets of a civilized home, to his barbaric wigwam. I prefer the churches, whose numerous spires pierce the clouds, in this valley, and the school-yards, that echo with the gleeful shouts of children, to the Indian war cry, "Death to the white man." For one, I waste no tears, no sympathy, and squander no grief on the red man. The events of a century pass, in grand parade, before us, in memory, to-day, but I can recall nothing, in all that grand history, pregnant with events of greater moment, to civilization, than the march of General Sullivan and his men, not even when Franklin drew electricity from the clouds, and fired the train that gives intelligence to the world. I congratulate you, citizens of Livingston, on the success that attends your efforts to-day ; Be always as true to the call of duty, as you have been on this occasion, and as your firemen have always proven themselves, and equal triumph shall always cover you with glory.

The Historian of the day, Rev. David Craft, of Wyalusing, Pa., was then introduced, who gave an interesting historical address. Rev. Mr. Craft's historical addresses at all of the centennials, having been thoroughly revised and consolidated, will be found in another place, in this volume.

After music by the Dansville Band, Gen. A. S. Diven, of Elmira, spoke as follows :

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

After the exhaustive narrative of the campaign, one hundred years ago, by my learned friend, it would be folly for me to attempt any description of the event we are met to celebrate. As the celebration of the battle of Newtown, (an important incident in the campaign,) was proposed, I thought to read up the history of events connected with the expedition, and more especially to make myself acquainted with the character and history of the people, against whom this formidable demonstration was made.

If any one would appreciate the labor that our learned historian must have bestowed upon the interesting narrative with which he has favored us, let him enter upon the study of the history of the Six Nations.

With a reasonably fair library before me, I commenced this study.

For a long time all I could find in history relating to this people, described them as a Confederation, not of six but of five nations.

The division of these nations into tribes, and the relation of the tribes to the nations, and one nation to another, all resting upon tradition, with no written constitution or laws, leads the student of history into ways that will sorely tax his patience, if not completely bewilder him. Then, as to the personal history of distinguished individuals of these nations, the confusion is, if possible, still greater. I pored over the history of a Madam Montour ; the more I examined, the more I was bewildered.

At one time I was perusing the history of an accomplished French woman who had cast her lot, from romance or caprice, among the Indians. She was friendly to the white people. Admitted to the hospitality of the Penns, and the best of Philadelphia society. Again she was the incarnate fiend, reveling in the blood of defenceless prisoners. I finally found my way out of this mystery, by discovering that there were two women of the same name. The goodness and refinement of the one, a good deal exaggerated, as well as the ferocity, of the other.

Then, as to the celebrated Chieftain, Brant ; such contradiction of his character, and his deeds, sent me in search of two chieftains, of the same name, without any confirmation of this quality, I am left with almost conclusive evidence that Brant was the bloodiest fiend at the Wyoming Massacre, with evidence equally conclusive, that he was not within three hundred miles of them at the time.

In fact, with an attempt to reconcile conflicting history, with regard to these original occupants of these fair hills and valleys, I gave up in despair. I shall never give lessons in Indian history.

One thing in relation to the Indian, is not in doubt, that he possessed all this fair land, that it was his home,—his, the forest to hunt, the streams to fish, the fields to plant. That they are his no longer, is equally true. That he has been dispossessed, by fraud and violence, rather than by fair and just dealing, I think too evident. That he should have resisted his ejection from so fair a heritage, even with cruelty to the intruder, admits of palliation.

With what blood curdling horror we talk of the tomahawk, and scalping knife, as if the tomahawk were a more cruel weapon than the bayonet, or the scalping knife than the sabre.

How our sensibilities revolt at Indian cruelty to unoffending women and children, and the aged.

What death is more torturing than starvation, and when we take from a people the food to sustain life, do we not subject the unoffending to the most miserable death ?

What holy horror we exclaim against the torture inflicted by the Indian upon his enemy ! Have we never heard of equally cruel torture by the white man ? What of the wild beasts in the amphitheatre of refined Rome ? What of the inquisitions of Spain and

Italy? What of the burning at the stake in England? Alas, for poor humanity! What of the burning, drowning, and hanging for witchcraft, by our Puritan fathers?

The Indian is a man with like passions as other men; for any act of cruelty practiced by him, you can find a parallel in the best of your races; for every act of disinterested generosity found among our own race, you can find a parallel among the red men. I had rather be the advocate of the Indian before a just tribunal, than of the white man. Our persecution of this unfortunate race, is still going on, and will, until we receive the red man as a fellow citizen, and recognize him, in all things, as a brother.

There have been noble examples of devotion to the interest of the red man, in this country. Enough has been done to prove the Indian susceptible of high civilization. But for every act of kindness to this race, we may cite ten of fraud. While the avarice of mankind exceeds his benevolence, this will continue.

It may be thought by some of you, that this is not a fitting occasion to plead the cause of the red man. Pardon me for thinking it eminently so. There is danger in celebrating a victory over these people, that we remember only as cruel savages, with no redeeming quality, with nothing to palliate their offences. Justice to an enemy, is what just men should always accord.

From the time when France and England were contending for their part of our continent, these savages were sought by both parties as allies, each striving by specious provisions to engage them on their side. The same was true with the English government and the colonies desiring our revolution. The English promised to protect the Indian in the possession of these rivers, lakes, valleys and hills, if they would assist them. There had been little in the past to show that the people of the colonies would afford them such protection.

In their incursions on our frontier settlements, they were told by their British allies, that they were defending their homes against the intruder.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, as this campaign affected our struggle for independence, I rejoice at its success; as it affected the Indian, my rejoicing is mingled with regret.

There is a cause for rejoicing on this day, in which I can unite with you in gratitude, mingled with regrets.

It is not in that a battle was fought one hundred years ago, but that a hundred years have passed without a battle. Not that a hundred years ago, a victorious army marched through these vales and over these hills carrying devastation and ruin in its track—laying waste and making desolate the land—but that for a hundred years the march of Peace has been onward, bearing in its track progress and civilization. Compare this march of Peace, with that of War. Compare these conquests—you have been told of the conquests of a military campaign in its march through this valley—behold the conquests of Peace, in the march of Industry, of Progress. The wilderness has been converted into fruitful fields and smiling orchards. The wild beast has given place to herds and flocks; the rough path of the savage, to the smooth highway and the railroad; the smoky wigwam for the beautiful painted house, filled with the comforts of sweet home; the village of huddled huts for the town with shaded streets, with churches, schools and halls. Conquests, compared with which, the most brilliant military successes are as nothing.

Let us not, then, so much rejoice that a hundred years ago, the note of war resounded through this valley, as that for a hundred years, war's havoc has never disturbed our peaceful habitations. Thank heaven we have but one campaign to celebrate, and that, was a hundred years ago, and pray that we may have no other for centuries to come, "until men shall learn war no more, until swords shall be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks; until peace on earth and good will to men, shall prevail throughout the world."

HON. GEO. W. PATTERSON, long an honored resident of this county, was then introduced. He spoke as follows :

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

I am allowed, as I understand, about five minutes to talk to you. I would like it much better if they had said five hours, because I could hold out that long, now.

I have a few words to say to you, that are not written. The gentlemen who preceded me, gave you some of the written, and some of the unwritten history of Livingston County. I recollect, that sixty-one years ago, I stood upon the spot where the battle, which has been referred to, was fought, over in Groveland. I not only stood there, but I went to the graves of those who were slain in that battle.

I don't know whether the people of Livingston County, have erected any monument to the memory of those, who were slain there or not, but this I do say, if the people of Livingston County do not, within the next year, erect a monument on the spot, where those men were buried, *do it yourselves*.

When I was there, sixty-one years ago, some of the bones of those brave men were uncovered, that is to say, that the ground had fallen away, and had mixed with the bones, a portion of which were then uncovered. Whether it remains so, to this day, or not, I do not know, but I beg of you, *ladies* of Groveland, if the gentlemen do not do it, see to it, that there is a monument erected there.

I have always heard a great deal of the sufferings of the white people, who came to this valley. Suppose some foreign nation should invade your shores, and come here to despoil you of your heritage, what do you think you would do ? Would you not do just the same as those Indians did ? Yes, every man of you, or you are not fit to be called a man. They did what other people would do, if they had to leave this valley, upon the equal of which the sun does not shine. That race of Indians has passed away. They were a people not calculated to build up such a country as this.

They were near neighbors of mine, when I lived on the other side of the river, and I never found anything but friendship at their hands, not under any circumstances. I may say that there is one of them now living, that bears my name.

I will tell you an anecdote of an old Presbyterian deacon, who came out to see the Genesee Valley, and the spots of historical interest. When he came, I was living on the other side of the river, and I went with him, to show him what General Sullivan and his men had done. I remember showing him over York. Then we came over the crossing at the old ferry, and came over to Geneseo, called upon the Messrs. Wadsworth ; went on to Hermitage, called upon Colonel Fitzhugh ; went to Mount Morris, and there we called upon the Sleepers, Stanleys and Millers ; went over to Leicester, where we saw the Joneses, and Whites, and Lymans, and back to my own old home, and when the old deacon was asked what he thought of the country he saw, he said he had never seen anything that at all compared with it. It exceeded anything that he had ever heard of, except what was said of the soil of Ohio, and that was, that two pounds of the soil would make three pounds of *clear hog's fat*. And that good old deacon sold his old homestead, and he and his family moved out beyond the town of Warsaw, where his remains now lie.

Now, my friends, I want you, one and all, to recollect that you live in the valley of the Genesee, and I want you to recollect, that you can never go from here and find another country as good as this.

Governor Patterson handed us the names of the following London-derry men, who were in the army of General Sullivan, in 1779, at Little Beardstown : Jonathan Black, James Boyce, Bishop Coster, Nicholas Dodge, Samuel Ayres, Robert Hodgart, Timothy Harrington, John Mead, Peter Jenkins, Alexander McMasters, Joseph Mack, Joseph McFarland, Nathan Plummer.

Hon. B. F. Angel moved a vote of thanks, to the speakers and poet, which was adopted.

After another song by the Glee Club, the 54th band led the multitude in singing the Doxology, to the tune of Old Hundred, and the throng dispersed.

No accident of a serious nature occurred, and at an early hour, the vast crowds had dispersed, and gone to their homes.

At the annual meeting of the Livingston County Historical Society, held January, 1880, at Geneseo, Dr. M. H. Mills, of Mt. Morris, occupied the chair.

Mr. Norman Seymour offered the following resolutions, which were adopted :

WHEREAS, The centennial of the battle, skirmishes, and memorable expedition of General John Sullivan, in 1779, against the Iroquois, (the Six Nations,) have, during the past year, been most appropriately observed, at Elmira, Waterloo, Geneseo and Aurora ; therefore,

Resolved, That our Assemblyman and Senator at Albany, be requested to take earnest measures, to procure the passage of an act, authorizing the Secretary of State to cause to be prepared and published the proceedings of the Centennial Celebrations of 1879, including the official action of the respective local authorities, with a full report of all the town and county committees, having had celebrations in charge ; and also, a full statement of the exercises, civil, military, etc., all historical speeches and addresses, and poems delivered at such gatherings, together with the complete newspaper reports, given in the several counties, as well as the record of public meetings held, to arrange for these several centennial celebrations.

Resolved, That the Livingston County Historical Society, hereby, tenders its hearty acknowledgments, to the citizens of Geneseo, for the generous and magnificent manner, in which they entertained the thousands who were present in their town, on the observance of General Sullivan's Centennial ; that we recall, with pleasure, the beauty of their village, which, with the cordial greeting of its citizens, added so greatly to the festivities and gayeties of the memorable occasion ; their generosity and patriotism, history will perpetuate ; the record of which will be eagerly read, by the thousands who will gather at the second centennial observance, of General Sullivan's expedition into the Genesee Valley.

Resolved, That these Resolutions be offered to our county and Rochester papers, for publication, and a copy forwarded to our Senator and Representative at Albany, also, to all papers published at Elmira, Waterloo and Aurora.

REMOVAL OF THE REMAINS OF LIEUTENANT BOYD AND OTHERS OF GENERAL SULLIVAN'S ARMY, IN 1841.

The disastrous fate of Lieutenant Boyd, and the scouting party under his command, has been fully mentioned, and vividly portrayed, in the journals of the officers of General Sullivan's army, and in the histories of that campaign. The ceremonies attendant upon the disinterment, and removal of the remains of these heroic martyrs of the Revolution, in 1841, from the place, in Livingston County, where they had fallen, and

been buried by their companions in arms, some sixty-two years before, were of such an imposing character, that a brief history of the same, it was thought, would be appropriate, in connection with the account of the centennial celebration of Livingston County. A few years since, George H. Harris, Esq., of Rochester, made a full investigation, and became thoroughly familiar with all the proceedings, and in response to a request made to him, he has furnished the following narrative of the occurrence:—G. S. C.

REMOVAL TO MOUNT HOPE CEMETERY AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., 1841,
OF THE REMAINS OF LIEUTENANT THOMAS BOYD, AND
OTHER SOLDIERS OF GENERAL SULLIVAN'S ARMY.

BY GEORGE H. HARRIS.

[Author of "*Aboriginal Occupation of the Lower Genesee Country*," etc.]

While collecting material for his *Sketches of Rochester*, published in 1838, the late Henry O'Reilly became impressed with the neglect of the American people to honor the last resting places of their country's defenders. In 1841, he commenced to agitate the subject, by voice and pen, and residents of Western New York were awakened, to a sense of their obligations to those heroes, who still slumbered, in obscure graves, in the Genesee valley.

The proposition advanced, by Mr. O'Reilly, to provide a burial lot for soldiers of the Revolution, in Mount Hope cemetery, at Rochester, and remove thereto the remains of those members of General Sullivan's army, who fell and were buried in Livingston County, met with public approval. The first decisive action in the matter, was recorded* as follows :

ARMORY OF WILLIAMS' LIGHT INFANTRY, }
ROCHESTER, N. Y., July 2, 1841. }

At a special meeting of this corps, on Friday evening, the following was adopted:—

Resolved, That we cordially approve of the recommendations, which have been made, for the removal, to some selected spot, of the remains of the brave and generous Boyd, who, in 1779, fell a victim to the savage barbarity and treachery of the infamous Colonel Butler, while, with a detachment of General Sullivan's command, he was endeavoring to drive the savage enemy from the valley of the Genesee.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to co-operate with other committees that may hereafter be appointed for the purpose of effecting such removal.

* *Notices of Sullivan's Campaign*, 1842, by Henry O'Reilly. The exact language of original documents and writings has been employed in this article, as nearly as possible.

The President named as such committee James Miller, Robert A. Hall and Henry Shears, Jr.

JOSEPH PUTNAM, President.

F. F. PARKER, Secretary.

Several other military companies, the common council and literary associations of Rochester, concurred in the resolutions of Williams' Light Infantry, and appointed committees as below :

July 5, Union Grays : H. P. Dannals, David Moody, Charles Hubbell.

July 8, Rochester City Cadets : Hiram A. Tucker, James L. Elwood, D. M. Dewey.

July 9, Artillery Corps : G. S. Jennings, J. W. VanVleck, N. B. Gardiner.

July 10, German Grenadiers : Peter Klein, George Ellwanger.

July 13, Common Council : Aldermen Erickson, Cady, Field.

Mechanics Literary Association : George Arnold, Samuel Bayliss, J. C. Stevens.

Athenæum : N. T. Rochester, Henry O'Rielly, L. W. Smith, James C. Wells.

July 15, at 8 P. M., these delegates met at the office of H. A. Tucker, No. 8 Reynolds Arcade, and organized a general committee of arrangements, of which Henry O'Rielly was made chairman, and James L. Elwood, secretary : it was

Resolved, That this general committee concurs heartily in the proposed selection of a tract at Mount Hope, for receiving the remains, and for erecting a monument to commemorate the services, of the honored dead of the Revolutionary War. * * * * *

Resolved, That a committee of one from each body here represented, be appointed to select a suitable tract at Mount Hope, and to report to this committee, preparatory to requesting the corporation to dedicate that tract to the purposes herein contemplated. * *

Resolved, That immediate measures be taken for ascertaining the grave, and removing to Mount Hope, the remains of the gallant Boyd, the first Revolutionary officer, who was slaughtered in the Genesee Valley, during General Sullivan's expedition, against the allied British and Indian forces. * * * * *

IN COMMON COUNCIL, July 27, 1841.

Present: Mayor Elijah F. Smith, Aldermen Whitbeck, Robbins, Mack, Selye, Cady, Southerin, Erickson.

By Alderman Southerin : Memorial from several military corps, and other citizens of Rochester, for an appropriation of a part of Section R, Mount Hope, as a burial place for Revolutionary soldiers.

Referred to committee on Mount Hope, with power to act as to any immediate interments.

Committee on Mount Hope : W. J. SOUTHERIN,
ERASMUS D. SMITH,
GEORGE ARNOLD.

The following communication was presented :

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,)
ALBANY, August 4, 1841.)

GENTLEMEN :

I am directed by the Commander-in-Chief, to express his thanks for the invitation conveyed in your communication of the 2nd inst., and to say in reply, that, unless detain

by unforeseen public business at Buffalo, it will give him great pleasure to unite with you in the ceremonies of the 21st inst.

I am, with great respect,
Your obedient servant,
RUFUS KING, Adjutant General.

Letters of commendation were also received, by the general committee, from the State Senate, (then in session at Buffalo, as a Court for the Correction of Errors), Wm. L. Stone, Hon. Wm. W. Campbell, George Dawson and others.

IN COMMON COUNCIL, August 10, 1841.

Present: the Mayor, the Recorder, Aldermen Whitbeck, Robbins, Mack, Selyé, Cady, Field, Howell, Southerin.

The Mayor presented a communication from the general committee of arrangements, for removing the remains of Lieutenant Boyd, and other Revolutionary soldiers, from the Genesee valley to the hill set apart for that purpose at Mount Hope, inviting the common council to attend the solemnities, on the 20th and 21st inst.

Resolved, That this board accept the invitation.

Propositions to erect monuments over the graves of General Sullivan's soldiers, where they were buried in Groveland and Leicester, had been previously made, by residents of those towns, and, in deference to the expressed sentiment of many citizens, who thought it unwise to attempt a removal of the bodies, measures were taken to enlist their sympathy and co-operation. August 12, a call was issued for an assemblage of the citizens of Livingston County, to consider Mr. O'Reilly's proposition.

This meeting was largely attended, at the court house in Geneseo, August 14. Colonel David A. Miller was chosen chairman, and S. W. Smith and O. M. Willey, secretaries. Explanatory addresses were made by C. H. Bryan and Henry O'Reilly, whereupon it was

Resolved, That we duly appreciate the praiseworthy and patriotic exertions of the citizens of Rochester, in establishing in the cemetery at Mount Hope, a suitable place for the public interment, in Western New York, of such of the Revolutionary patriots, as helped fight the battles of our country.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to make all necessary arrangements for the purpose of conveying to Cuylerville, the remains of those soldiers of Lieutenant Boyd's detachment, who fell in Groveland, in time for the exercises of the 10th.

C. H. Bryan, W. T. Cuyler, D. H. Bissell, R. Sleeper, J. Henderson, H. Jones, John R. Murray, Jr., Allen Ayrault, Samuel Treat, E. K. Hammett, W. W. Weed, W. H. Stanley and D. P. Bissell, were designated such committee.

Scottsville and other towns held meetings of approval, and appointed large delegations, to attend the ceremonies of removal; while the entire delegation from Rochester was invited to breakfast, with the citizens of Mount Morris, on the morning of August 20th.

According to official and traditionary reports, seventeen of Boyd's party, including Corporal Calhoun and brave Hanyerry—the Oneida,—were buried where they fell, September 13, 1779, on the present Boyd farm, in Groveland. Lieutenant Boyd and Sergeant Parker were captured, taken across the Genesee river to Little Beard's town, (De-o-nun-da-ga-o, the site of Cuylerville,) and tortured. Their bodies were buried by members of Captain Michael Simpson's company, to which they belonged, under the direction of Orderly Sergeant John Salmon. The grave was dug under a clump of wild plum trees, at the junction of two small streams, which form Beard's creek. This spot was afterwards described and identified by Major Parr, Major Moses VanCampen, Captain Elnathan Perry, Sergeant John Salmon, and Paul Sanborn, all of General Sullivan's army; and Elijah Hunt and Horatio Jones, captives among the Senecas, at the time of General Sullivan's invasion. Several of these men were present at the burial of Boyd and Parker, and in after years, became pioneers of the Genesee valley.

While searching for the grave of Boyd and Parker, August 7, 1841, members of the Rochester and Livingston County committees, found some bones about two feet from the edge of the steep bank, at the junction of the two creeks, and within fifty feet of the road between Cuylerville and Geneseo. These relics were eighteen inches below the surface, and overgrown by the roots of dead plum trees. Doctor Thaddeus Garlock, of Moscow, examined the bones, as they were unearthed, and pronounced them portions of two human skeletons. They were greatly decayed, and no trace of skull was discovered—a convincing evidence that they were the remains of Boyd and Parker—both of whom were beheaded by the Indians.

There were also present at the disinterment, Henry O'Reilly, W. H. Cheney and George Byington, of Rochester, Colonel Cuyler and S. L. Phelps, of Cuylerville, Captain David Shepard, of Geneseo, and some twenty others, residents of Livingston County. The bones were placed in the care of a member of the committee, at Cuylerville, and soon after sealed in a large urn, made from solid wood by Augustus Beardsley. Subsequently, a mound was raised over the spot. At the ceremonies of the 20th inst., a resolution, offered by Mr. O'Reilly, was unanimously adopted, by the thousands present, naming the streams Boyd's creek and Parker's creek, to "commemorate the names and services of those martyrs through all time, while grass grows and water runs."

August 16, members of the Livingston County committee disinterred, at Groveland, quite a number of human bones, in different stages of decay, many teeth perfectly sound, and four pewter buttons, marked "U. S. A." It was stated, by old settlers, that the place had been previously explored, in 1807, and many relics taken away. Those found by the committee, were removed to Cuylerville, where the bones were secured in a stout box (also built by Mr. Beardsley), four feet high, and two feet square. The buttons were, subsequently, deposited in the Rochester Athenæum.

On the afternoon of August 19, a delegation, consisting of five military companies, the committees with invited guests, and two bands, left Rochester in a flotilla of six boats, via the Genesee valley canal. Mayor Elijah F. Smith, Aldermen W. J. Southerin, H. Whitbeck and Stephen Charles, with many citizens, proceeded to Cuylerville in carriages. The delegation reached Mount Morris on the following morning, breakfasted, paraded, and returned to Cuylerville, where the military and many citizens dined under a bower, while the mayor and councilmen, the committees, survivors of the Revolution, Major General Stevens and staff, and other guests, were entertained at the residence of Colonel Cuyler. A procession was then formed, and proceeding to the mound, escorted the remains of Boyd and his fellow patriots to a grove, near the residence of Colonel Cuyler, where the assembled thousands were called to order.

Major Moses VanCampen, aged 85, Captain El Nathan Perry, aged 80, and Paul Sanborn,* 79—all former members of Gen. Sullivan's army—and other soldiers of the Revolution, occupied seats on the platform. The exercises were opened with prayer, by Rev. Mr. Gillett, of Moscow, and a dirge by Adams' band. Samuel Treat, Esq., of Geneseo, addressed the audience, "in a strain of eloquence and manly feeling, highly honorable to him, as a historian and a scholar," embodying in his remarks a concise history of the events, that led to the martyrdom of the brave men, whose honored relics were before him.

Major Moses Van Campen, as President of the day, made a brief and affecting speech, ending thus :

"GENTLEMEN :

I, now, with these, my worthy companions, and the only two surviving members present, of the army of General Sullivan, and in the name of the committee of Livingston County, surrender to you these sacred relics, for an honorable interment at Mount Hope, where you will pay to them the highest tribute of respect."

* As General Sullivan's army entered the Genesee Castle, (now Cuylerville), Mr. Sanborn was the first to discover the mangled bodies of Boyd and Parker, while the blood was still flowing from their wounds ; and he was also present at their burial.

The mayor of Rochester responded to the sentiments expressed, and formally accepted "the remains of those heroic men;" a trust which imposed on the citizens of Rochester, "the duty of rendering their resting place in that cemetery, an appropriate mausoleum for those, whose services in the cause of freedom, entitled them to honor, in death as in life."

The flotilla took its departure from Cuylerville, an hour before sunset, and its arrival at Rochester, at sunrise, August 21, was announced by the firing of a national salute. At ten o'clock, a procession was formed on the north side of Buffalo (West Main) street, with right resting on Elizabeth street, facing the boats in the Erie canal. As the remains were borne slowly along the line, the band discoursed a low and mournful dirge, the military presented arms, and the great concourse of people uncovered. The line was formed, as described below, but marched in reversed order:

Governor Wm. H. Seward,*	Chancellor Frederick Whittlesey,
Adjutant General Rufus King,	Surgeon General McNaughton.
Major General John A. Granger,	Colonel George W. Beamis,
Major General Hestor L. Stevens,	
Brigadier General Joseph Wood,	Brigadier General W. E. Lathrop,
Colonel John Allen,	Colonel E. Darwin Smith,
Colonel Jason Bassett,	
Lieutenant Colonel Geo. W. Goodhue,	Major Amon Bronson,
Major Samuel Richardson,	Major William Churchill.
Livingston County Committee.	
Rochester Committee.	
Mayor and Common Council.	
Rev. Messrs. Tucker, Carlton and Tooker.	
Revolutionary Soldiers.	
Pall Bearers.	
Hearse.	
Colonel Amos Sawyer, Marshal of the Day.	
Williams' Light Infantry, Rochester Union Grays, Rochester City Cadets,	
German Grenadiers, Rochester Artillery Corps, Fire	
Company No. 4, Fire Company No. 6.	

* Governor Seward's staff arrived in Rochester, on the evening of August 20, at 8 o'clock. On the morning of the 21st, William Hayden, an engineer on the Tonawanda railroad, left Rochester for Batavia, where he received the Governor, and returning, reached Rochester at 10:20; making the journey of sixty-two miles, in two hours and twenty minutes—the fastest time ever made on a railroad at that date. Governor Seward joined the procession at the entrance of Mount Hope.

"When the cavalcade got in motion," says a writer of the day, "it presented a scene highly interesting and imposing. The procession extended as far as the eye could reach—consisting of double and treble rows of carriages, besides large numbers on horseback. Thousands of spectators lined the sides of the streets, or appeared at the windows, in the numerous balconies, and on the tops of houses. Every eminence and elevated place was crowded with people. Along the whole line of march, (through Main and St. Paul streets) the roadsides were thronged with foot passengers, wending their way to the scene of final ceremonies. Upon arriving at Mount Hope, the military companies formed a line around the hill, designated as the burial place of Revolutionary patriots, where the wooden receptacles, containing the remains, were deposited in their final resting place."

Rev. Elisha Tucker read the burial service of the Church of England, and delivered a short and impressive address of dedication, closing as follows :

"This beautiful spot on Mount Hope, has been generously presented to your Committee of Arrangements, as a cemetery for the remains of Revolutionary soldiers, who have died, or may hereafter die, in the valley of the Genesee ; and we do, therefore, on behalf of the citizens of Rochester and of this valley, and in the name of our country and of our country's God, most solemnly appropriate this ground to that sacred purpose."

Chancellor Whittlesey introduced Governor Wm. H. Seward, from whose address we quote :

"We see in this event, a brief record of what our fathers suffered in the achievement of our Independence ; their sufferings in the wilderness, death in battle and death by torture. The bones before us are the remains of some of those who thus suffered. We know not all their names. No history has put on record their names, or their deeds. We simply know that they fell in defence of their country ; and knowing this, we see here the proud spectacle of a whole people—a free people—assembled to do honor to these dry bones, gathered from among the clods of the valley. * * * *
It is because they did their duty, and fell in doing their duty, that we are doing honor to their mouldering remains. God forgive the man, who does not feel his blood grow warmer at the recollection of the daring, the devotion, the patriotism of those who thus acted and fell !"

The exercises were ended by a salute of three volleys, and the vast assemblage was dismissed.

Having thus narrated the history connected with the removal of the remains of the gallant Lieutenant Boyd, and his associates, more than forty-five years ago, it is not our province to pursue the subject further, or to extend our narrative, to subsequent matters connected therewith.

Aurora.

(CAYUGA COUNTY).

AURORA CENTENNIAL.

The following account of the proceedings and exercises, of the Centennial Celebration at Aurora, Cayuga County, September 24, 1879, from the *Auburn Daily Advertiser*, has been kindly furnished by Hon. William H. Bogart, of Aurora :

[FROM THE AUBURN DAILY ADVERTISER.]

AURORA'S CELEBRATION OF THE CENTENNIAL OF COLONEL

BUTLER'S DESTRUCTION OF THE ANCIENT

INDIAN VILLAGE.

A morning unpropitious, because of cold winds and heavy rain, did not abate the patriotic ardor of the good people of Aurora, for, amid the peltings of the pitiless storm, the broad banners of our free land were unfolded, and the triumphal arches erected, that betokened, so unmistakably, the commemoration of some great event.

Passing along the main street, we noticed, at almost every step, some strikingly appropriate and pleasing motto, connected with, or memorial of, the 24th day of September, 1779.

Without attempting a description of all, and possibly, of many of the most worthy, we speak of the display of flags, emblems, mottoes, and the well displayed resolution of Congress, relative to this Indian War, on and about the hotel, as being peculiarly attractive, and interesting. The residence of the late E. W. Arns, a portion of which is still the original log-cabin of the early days, displayed as its motto, "The wigwam fell, and the log cabin arose." An evergreen arch spanned the street, between the Presbyterian church and the academy, bearing the mottoes, "Gwah U Gwah, Welcome Civilization." "Scalps in 1779, Brains in 1879." The appropriate motto on the depot building was, "From the trail to the track." At the southern line of lot 34, being the military lot, occupied by the village of Aurora, was an arch, with the inscription, "The end of

savage dominion," on one end, and "We live on soldiers' land," on the other end, this being the first celebration ever held, on land given by the government to soldiers. The residence of Henry A. Morgan was profusely decorated, and bore the motto, "We live on the soldiers' land." Also, the home of C. B. Morgan, especially for the evening illumination, and of Col. E. B. Morgan, on whose iron door was the inscription, "The first inhabitant."

At 10 o'clock, one hundred years ago Wednesday, a detachment of soldiers, under Col. William Butler, left Chonodote, (Aurora), after they had burned fourteen dwellings, occupied by the hostile Indians; so that day, at the hour of 10, the bell in the tower of the Presbyterian church, was tolled fourteen times, by Mr. Alfred Tait, the sexton.

FORMING PROCESSION.

At 1 o'clock, the bright sunshine coming out, as if to crown with gladness, the anniversary of the bloodless victory, C. B. Morgan, Esq., as Marshal of the day, formed the procession, in front of the hotel, and led by the Union Springs cornet band, marched to the locality known as the "Old Foundation." This place is at the northern extremity of the village, on the northern bank of a ravine, and on the bank of the lake, about fifteen rods from the shore. Here, on a plot of ground, about two rods by three, never plowed, but being as left by its first settlers, save the changes made, naturally, by the lapse of time, was erected, nearly one hundred years ago, by Roswell Franklin, the first dwelling of a white man, in this region.

The depression made by excavating for the cellar, is now distinctly marked, also, the place where was the foundation of the chimney, outside the dwelling. A little distance to the south, on the same plot, and near the south-west corner, is the little grave of a child, being the first white person who died in this county.

* * * * * * *

Arriving at the "Old Foundation," Col. E. B. Morgan, as President of the day, announced the order of exercises, which was first, a dirge, "Dreams of my Childhood," by the band, and then a few appropriate introductory remarks, by Col. Morgan, alluding to the settlement of Mr. Franklin, whom he well remembered, and who, sixty-five years ago, he said, took me by the hand, though but a boy, and told me something of the scenes and times, connected with his coming to this place, and also, of those which were marked periods, in his settlement and life in

this locality. I remember well, his sending me for an ax, with which he cut off a portion of the wood, which formed the threshold of his house, that stood on this spot, and which was the first house erected by a white man in Western New York, (Military Tract.) I hold in my hand, and now present for your inspection, the identical piece of wood, which I have very carefully preserved. Col. Morgan then took from a wrapping of newspaper, a piece of wood about two inches in diameter, and fourteen inches in length, which, together with a smaller piece, cut at the same time, from a stump, which Mr. Franklin used as a mortar, in which to pound corn he exhibited to the applauding people.

President Morgan then announced the presence of the Rev. W. S. Franklin, a grandson of Roswell Franklin, who lost so many relatives in the massacre at Wyoming, and whose father was the Roswell Franklin, who built on the "Old Foundation" where we now stand.

The Rev. Mr. Franklin remarked, that he was only a figure-head in history, and would not detain the people, in the bleak wind, to hear anything he might, under other circumstances, be pleased to say.

He would remark, however, that he was well aware that the events we had met, to-day, to commemorate, as well as other events so intimately connected with the history of our early settlements, should not be passed over lightly, still, inasmuch as Rev. Dr. Hawley and the Hon. W. H. Bogart were specially prepared, to speak on this occasion, of so much local and historical interest, and under the shelter of the public hall, he would detain them no longer.

"Sweet Home," was then played by the band, after which President Morgan announced that, soon there would be a suitable monument erected on this spot, which announcement was greeted, by the citizens of Aurora in particular, with most earnest applause.

ACADEMY HALL EXERCISES.

The procession now re-formed, and marched to Wells College, to be joined by the teachers and students, and thence to Academy Hall, for the remaining exercises. As the procession approached the College, five Indian Chiefs appeared, in the rear of the buildings, shaking a white handkerchief, as a token of peace, which was responded to, with a similar token, by Marshal C. B. Morgan, when they came out from their hiding place, and joined in the march of the procession, to the hall, where they were the observed of all observers.

On the wall, in rear of the platform, were United States, French, Spanish and Dutch flags, beautifully intermingled, representing the several nationalities that assisted us in the war. In the center of this grouping

of flags, was a large shield, bearing the dates, "1779," and "1879," crossed over its surface being the sword of General Gates, and the bow of an Indian. Above, and on either side of this shield, were streamers bearing, one the words "Chonodote," the other "Aurora." On the eastern wall was, on a white cloth, a perfect representation, at this time, of the monument of Colonel Wm. Butler, as it now stands at Elmira,* with fragmentary portions of the inscriptions thereon, being all that are now visible. On the western wall was the motto, "Retribution, not Vengeance." All seats and all available standing room being occupied and quiet observed, the Rev. Dr. Aikman, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Aurora, opened the exercises with a prayer replete with the promptings of a patriotic heart in behalf of a people, country and government that he loved, not forgetting in his noble Christian purpose, and in his pleadings for God's continued mercy and favor, the remaining "remnant, weak and small" of those Indian tribes from whom our fathers suffered so much.

W. H. Bogart, Esq., as Vice-President then read several letters from friends unavoidably absent, among which we present the following from Ex-Governor Horatio Seymour :

UTICA, Sept. 20, 1879.

TO THE CITIZENS OF AURORA AND CAYUGA LAKE :—

I wish, for many reasons, I could be at Aurora on the 24th inst., but I do not feel able to leave home at this time. It has been a matter of great regret to me, that I could not take part in the celebrations along the line of General Sullivan's march, as one of my grandfathers was an officer in a New Jersey Regiment, which was engaged in the campaign against the Iroquois.† I should like to have followed his trail, through the forests which then covered our State, to have stood at prominent points, where he must have overlooked lakes and rivers, or the broad acres of nature. The battle-fields carry our minds back to the past, in a way so fresh and clear, that one feels as if he had been an actor in their stirring events. These celebrations not only excite an interest in the past, but they call our attention to the great changes, which have been made, in the course of a century, and make us see, more clearly, what we now enjoy, and also give some foresight into the future. It is no small gain to the people of New York, to be taught that they have a history surpassing that of all other sections of our country, in its influence upon the civilization, governments, and customs of our people. Until they are made familiar with the colonial and revolutionary events, they can not gain a clear conception of the causes, which have shaped and directed the destinies of this continent.

So far, all the histories of our Union, are provincial in their aspects, and lack the unity which gives a clear conception of causes and consequences, of great control and lasting influences. What has taken place in this State, is not set forth in its full proportions, and hence, we feel that some things are wanting, to make it complete and clear.

I wish to make a suggestion about your celebration, which I have made to others, who have taken parts in the memorial services, along the line of the march of General Sullivan's army.

* Rev. Mr. Craft gives the place of burial of Col. Wm. Butler, as Pittsburgh, Pa., see Page 373.

† See Page 42.

I think the State will publish the proceedings and addresses on those occasions, as it did those of the celebrations of 1877. If it does, the book will go into all of our public libraries. In time, all that is said and done at these gatherings, will be read with great interest, not only on account of the historical facts set forth, but also, for the reason that they will show those who come, a hundred years from now, how such affairs were conducted.

Little incidents may be of great value to them, as they may throw light on our manners, customs, etc. I hope you will collect and keep with care, every account which is published, and what is said and done, at your place, on the 24th inst. This will enable you to aid the Secretary of State, when he makes up his book, in pursuance of the directions of the Legislature.

I am truly yours, etc.,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

TO WILLIAM H. BOGART, ESQ.

After reading a letter from Hon. Lucius Robinson, Governor of New York, regretting his inability to be present, also a letter from Rev. T. A. Hendricks of Union Springs, the following was read from Mayor Osborne of Auburn:

AUBURN, N. Y., Sept. 22d, 1879.

My Dear Sir:—I have your letter of the 19th inst., inviting me to the centennial commemoration of historical incidents, connected with Gen. Sullivan's march during the Revolution, to be held in Aurora, on the 24th inst

Every incident connected with our Revolutionary struggle, is becoming more and more dear as time goes by, and this generation does well in handing down to future generations, and preserving for their example, the heroic deeds of our fathers, to the end that they may be taught, that while men pass away, and their places are filled by others, the memory of good and heroic deeds is not forgotten.

Until this morning, I hoped to accept your kind invitation, but I find I shall, in all probability, be called away on important business matters.

Truly,

D. M. OSBORNE.

WM. H. BOGART, ESQ., AURORA, N. Y.:

Mr. Bogart then introduced the Rev. David Craft, of Wyalusing, Pa., as the real historian of these remarkable events in our early history.

Mr. Craft's historical addresses, at the four centennial celebrations have been consolidated and thoroughly revised by him, and will appear elsewhere in this volume.

Colonel Morgan then introduced the Rev. Charles Hawley, D. D., of Auburn, N. Y., President of the Cayuga County Historical Society, who delivered the following address:

ADDRESS BY REV. DR. CHARLES HAWLEY.

Mr. President:

The event of a hundred years ago, which we have come together to celebrate, has all the connections of history to give it the dignity we now accord it, after this lapse of a century. Trivial as it might otherwise appear, it proved to be the last of a series of events, that preceded the downfall of a proud and powerful nation, which had long held this ground, whose castle overlooked the waters, and guarded the shores of this now classic lake, and whose canton was the fairest of the famous Iroquois confederacy. In-

deed, the burning of the Cayuga town, Chonodote, on the 24th of September, 1779, with the destruction of its cornfields, gardens and orchards, covering almost the very site of this village of Aurora, with its comfort and culture, its seat of learning and generosity of wealth, its tasteful grounds and attractive homes, was among the finishing strokes in that succession of heavy blows, under which the great confederacy itself, once holding the gateways of the continent, from the Hudson to the Mississippi, was shattered to pieces. It completed the Sullivan Campaign against the Senecas and Cayugas, being the last of the forty towns destroyed, in that relentless and fiery march, that left naught but desolation in its track, and thus concluded a long and tragic period in American history.

Already, for more than a century, France and England had been in conflict over this same territory, striving with the arts of diplomacy, the force of arms, and even the persuasions of religion, to secure on the one side or the other, the alliance of the Iroquois nations, and thus the mastery of the new world. It was not a struggle of mere colonial ambition, between the settlements of New France on the St. Lawrence and the English colony of New York, which had already wrested from the possession of the Dutch, the tide waters of the Hudson; least of all was it, as the first glance over the history might lead us to suppose, a question solely of commerce with the native tribes, a strife for the beaver trade and like products of the chase, they were so ready to exchange for brandy and fire-arms, largely as these articles figured in the early competitions and resources of the colonies.

The real struggle was one of ideas, inherent in the rival civilizations, which had already broken the peace of Europe, and was now seeking an ampler theatre on this new continent. It was the long drawn conflict between liberty and power, with changes of place and combatants, renewed on the hunting grounds and battle-fields of the Iroquois, till at length, it laid their homes in ashes, despoiled them of their cherished domain, and trampled out the last vestige of their ancient glory.

It is well, therefore, that such consideration has been given by way of research and demonstration, to the Sullivan Expedition, the centennial observances of which have done so much to illustrate the history, and, we trust, to quicken the patriotism of the country.

It is no longer a military raid, finding an apology for its cruelties, only in the direst necessities of the war. It is rather seen now, in the larger cycle of events, to mark a most distinct epoch of our Revolutionary conflict, by associating it, as does no other of its military achievements, with that older struggle, which gave birth to the Revolution itself, and made it worth all of the sacrifice and valor it cost to achieve it, and has cost to maintain its principles, to this hour.

If we would appreciate the motives which led to the expedition, with the results immediately aimed at in its plan, we must go back in our thought, to the winter of 1778-9, after three years of well-nigh fruitless war.

In every direction, the outlook was gloomy and depressing. The first enthusiasm kindled by the Declaration of Independence, was fast dying out, and the prospects for fresh military operations, dreary and discouraging. Dissensions, and party feuds had broken out in Congress, where so much depended on harmony of action. Moreover, that body had deteriorated in personal character and statesmanship, since the Declaration in 1776, had rallied the united Colonies to arms. Jefferson himself, had withdrawn from the national councils, and was serving his State as Governor. Benjamin Harrison, also a conspicuous figure in that Congress, had retired to the position of Speaker, of the Virginia House of Delegates. Other illustrious Virginians, as George Mason, Chancellor Wythe, Edward Pendleton, with representatives from other states, scarcely less distinguished in the memorable Congress of 1776, were occupied with the immediate concerns, of their several localities, or with their private affairs. It was a sorry picture of the times, and even of men as it shaped itself in the solicitudes of Washington, and as he has actually drawn it, in the freedom of private correspondence. We find him mourning with a patriot's grief, over the degeneracy which had befallen the whole country, "the idleness, dissipation, extravagance with speculation and speculation, inspired by an insatiable thirst for riches, which seem to rule every other consideration, and every order of

men." Indeed, the letters of Washington, written a hundred years ago, within sight of Independence Hall, where Congress was now wrangling over personal ambitions, to the utter neglect of the public interests, sound very much like the lament of our day, over the imbecility, self-seeking and corruptions, of modern political life and manners, as compared with what we vainly imagine to have been the purer days of the Republic. Think of this great and good man, under his burden of disproportionate responsibility, in the third year of the war, shocked by the unseemly gayety, even revelry of the Capitol, while his brave soldiers hard by, were suffering every privation in their winter tents, writing thus of the National Congress: "An assembly, a concert, a dinner, a supper, that will cost three or four hundred pounds, will not only take off men from acting in their (the public) business, but even from thinking of it, while a great part of the officers of our army are quitting the service, and the more virtuous few, rather than do this, are sinking by sure degrees into beggary and want." Such glimpses disclosed by history, of times with which we are wont to associate only sacrifice and patriotic devotion, will not increase our esteem for average human nature, but may serve to teach us, that what we are prone to call the degeneracy of the times, is only history repeating itself; and that it is ever the virtue of the few, against the selfishness of the many, that saves a good cause, in the supreme hour of its peril.

It was in the midst of such painful anxieties at the prospect of affairs and with abated confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of Congress, that Washington framed the policy of the summer campaign of 1779. It was to act upon the defensive along the Atlantic border and operate vigorously, to put an end to the ravages of Indian warfare upon the defenceless settlements.

The chief center of these savage raids, such as had desolated Wyoming and Cherry Valley the previous summer, was the British fort at Niagara, between which and our own Fort Schuyler, lay for the most part the six Iroquois nations, which, with the exception of a part of the Oneidas, were in active alliance with the English. Lafayette had already proposed, for this summer campaign, the conquest of Canada with the aid of the French naval forces; and the project was regarded with favor by a large majority of Congress, who appeared to think, "It needed only some such dashing blow to end the war."

But Washington vigorously opposed the scheme, as beyond the military resources of the country, and on grounds of expediency as well. If it were practicable, and success attended it, he saw that it might lead to the re-establishment of France in Canada, and prove a temptation to subordinate American interests to her old ambitions on this continent. Moreover, he saw in the present French alliance, one cause of the false security, which was paralyzing the patriotism of the country, and deemed it unwise to multiply national obligations, by asking assistance from ever so sincere an ally, that was not indispensable. The plan of a direct attack upon Canada, as proposed by Lafayette, gave way to the less imposing but more memorable expedition against the Indian allies of the English, which, if successful, would attain substantially the same results. Its purpose was the utter destruction of their towns, and, as far as possible, all means of subsistence, by laying waste their territory, as the only effectual method of dealing with a savage foe.

As early as April, and as a part of the campaign, an expedition from Fort Schuyler of 600 men, in command of Colonel Van Schaick, surprised the Onondaga towns, and destroyed them, returning to the fort without the loss of a man. This decisive blow at the central Iroquois nation, and the ancient capital of the confederacy, struck terror through the cantons, and did much to secure the success of the campaign. It left General Sullivan, who, by midsummer, had concentrated 3,000 troops at Wyoming, to operate directly against the Senecas and Cayugas. At Tioga, he was joined by General James Clinton with 1,700 men, swelling his entire command to not far from 5,000 regulars from New Jersey, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania and New York. The first encounter with the enemy in force, was at Newtown, six miles below the present site of Elmira, where Brant had made a stand with about 1,000 warriors, and some 250 regulars and Tories, protected by breastworks, and in a strong position. After a brisk but short fight, the enemy gave way, with considerable loss, that of the victors being only three killed and thirty-one

wounded. This was the only serious resistance to the invading army, and for the rest of the march, its work was one of simple destruction, burning deserted towns, and ravaging fields of standing corn, now fast ripening for the harvest. Nothing was left; and so general was the havoc, that the fugitives sought refuge for the winter at Niagara, where cooped up in huts built for them around the fort, and fed on salt meat, the scurvy broke out among them, and a number died.

It was on the return of the army from the Genesee country, and at, or near, where Geneva now stands, that Colonel William Butler, of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, was detached, with 600 men, to lay waste the Cayuga canton, with the same unsparing hand. An Oneida sachem, with several warriors of that well disposed tribe, here interceded with General Sullivan, to spare the Cayugas, who, it was claimed, were at least neutral, and it was agreed that they should accompany Colonel Butler, and if the Cayugas were found in their villages, to persuade them to acknowledge subjection to the Federal arms, and thus save their canton from destruction. A part of the detachment consisted of three companies of Morgan's corps of riflemen, especially skilled in Indian warfare. Two years before, when Burgoyne's Indian allies had become the dread of the American troops, especially the militia, Washington sent Colonel Morgan, with five hundred of his riflemen in aid of the Northern army, to fight these savages after their own fashion; "They are all chosen men," said he, "selected from the army at large, and well acquainted with the use of rifles, and with that mode of fighting. I expect the most eminent services from them, and I shall be mistaken, if their presence does not go far toward producing general desertion among the savages." Not only at Stillwater, where Burgoyne was defeated, but in other of the most important engagements of the war, they performed distinguished service. The flag they carried into battle, bore this inscription: "1776, XI. Virg'n Regt. Morgan's Rifle Corps." Each was an unerring marksman, and their united charge upon a savage foe, is said to have been terrible.

Colonel William Butler was an experienced officer, known for his bravery and skill, and particularly qualified for the service, with which he was here entrusted. After the battle of Monmouth, he was sent to garrison the middle fort of Schoharie, on the Mohawk border, exposed, continually, to Indian raids, and was with General Clinton, at the junction made with General Sullivan, at Tioga, where he was assigned to General Hand's brigade. I must notice, here, a strange and persistent error of our most accredited historians, who give the command of the detachment to Colonel Zebulon Butler, famous for his heroic, but ineffectual defense of Wyoming, the preceding summer. Not a little sentiment has been wasted, on the poetic justice of entrusting to this brave soldier, the duty of avenging the cruel massacre, which followed his defeat by the Indians and Tories, in the Wyoming Valley, while the simple fact is, that he was returned to his old post, on the Susquehanna, and was not in the Sullivan Expedition.

It was on Monday, September 20, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, so definite is the journal from which I quote, that Colonel Butler, with his detachment, left Kanadesaga, near the foot of Seneca lake, and proceeded along the outlet, for a distance of eight miles, to the site of the Indian town, Scau-yase, which had been destroyed by Colonel Harper, on the outward march of the main army.

Early next morning, Major Scott was temporarily detached, with two hundred men, to destroy the corn in the vicinity, while Butler continued his march, eight and one-half miles, to the Cayuga outlet, which the troops crossed, at a point where the stream was several rods wide, wading breast deep in the water. Here they struck the Cayuga village of Choharo, known to the Jesuit fathers, a hundred years before, as Tichero, or "place of rushes," and named by them, as one of their mission sites, St. Stephen, four leagues, or ten miles, according to the *Relations*, from Goiogouen, the castle of St. Joseph. Choharo had maintained its ancient site, on the northern extremity of the lake, and on what is now the farm of John La Rowe, but had dwindled to two or three houses, each, however, capable of holding several families. Butler found the place deserted, and fired the buildings. He was now rejoined by Major Scott, and continued his course, along the principal trail, half a mile back from the lake, burning scattered houses, and destroying

the crops, on the route, till within a mile of the castle, where the army halted for the night, having made eighteen miles on the second day's march, without, as yet, encountering the sight of an Indian.

Early the next morning, they were at the far famed capital of the Cayugas, which they found to consist of fifteen very large houses of squared logs, superior in their construction to any the army had as yet seen in the Indian country, with two out-lying villages, containing respectively, thirteen and fourteen large houses, with several scattered dwellings, the whole comprising a commodious town, of about fifty inhabitants in all, situated in the midst of extensive cornfields, with gardens and orchards, abounding in vegetables and fruits, but completely abandoned of its inhabitants.

As seen by Greenhalgh, the traveler, a hundred years before, it consisted of three villages about a mile from each other, having, in all, about a hundred houses. "They intend," he adds, "the next spring to build all their houses together, and stockade them. They have an abundance of corn, and lay within two or three miles from the lake."

This was in 1677, twenty-eight years after the first Jesuit mission was founded here, by the brave and gentle Menard, who, during the single year of his labors, to win this fierce people to the Christian faith, encountered almost every form of indignity and peril. Once a maddened warrior rushed at him with knife in hand, to cut his throat; and, repeatedly, in some freak of fury, a tomahawk would be hurled at his head, and his escape would be as if by miracle. The little children, even, would beset him in the streets, hooting or screaming at him, as if he were a lunatic; and it is recorded, that he wore to the day of his death, many years afterward, amid the forests of upper Michigan, the scars of the scratches with which these little tormentors covered his face, in the streets of Cayuga.

Here, also, on the resumption of the mission, in 1678, one year after Greenhalgh's visit, was the scene of the missionary labors of that devoted and accomplished Jesuit, Stephen de Carheil, for sixteen years, regarded in his time as a saint and a genius of the highest order, sacrificing noble talents, through which, had he remained in France, he could have attained the highest honors, both literary and ecclesiastical—eager only for the fate of his brethren, who had bedewed Canada with their blood, and had already won the coveted crown of martyrdom. Although a guest of the distinguished chief, Saonchiowaga, the steadfast friend alike of the missions and the French, he, too, ran his gauntlet of perils among the fierce and insolent people, exposed to every whim of the savage, sometimes chased with the hatchet, sometimes pelted with stones, finding refuge in the lodge of his patron, or within the more sacred enclosure of his bark chapel, until after sixteen years of hard but almost fruitless labor, he was plundered of what little he possessed, and driven forever from the canton, by Orehaone, the great war chief of the Cayugas, and the Five Nations. This was in 1684, when France was fast losing her hold upon the friendship of the Iroquois, and the arms of the Duke of York were being nailed up in their villages, as the symbol of their alliance with Great Britain. But now, in 1779, the times had turned, and the contest is between England and her own colonies, in which the Cayugas, true to their traditions, retained their ancient allegiance, and were furnishing their quota of warriors to harass defenceless settlements with burning and massacre, in retaliation for which, their own homes and fields were now being laid waste. Evidences of their active participation in the existing war, were not wanting about their deserted castle, notwithstanding the claim of the Oneidas on their behalf. Muskets with the brand of the United States, beside soldier coats of blue, faced with white, the well known continental uniform, taken, doubtless, from prisoners or stripped from dead soldiers, were discovered by Butler's men while ransacking the town. More than all, a number of scalps, as if freshly taken, were found hung up in their houses, as they were wont to do with these peculiar trophies of their prowess.

The Oneida sachem and his warriors, had no answer to Colonel Butler, when showed these silent witnesses of the hostility, not to say perfidy, of their Cayuga brothers, but to ejaculate assent to the justice of their punishment.

Nothing more remained, but to give the place over to the fate which had been visited upon the towns of the Onondagas and Senecas; and without further delay, the troops

went to their work with a will, cutting up the standing corn, covering about 110 acres, until nightfall, without completing the task. The place also teemed with such fruits as apples, plums and peaches, and with such vegetables as potatoes, pumpkins, squashes, turnips, beans and onions, with all the signs of provident comfort.

If game in the forests, and wild fowl on the lake, were as abundant then, as to the eyes of Father Raffeix, in 1672, when more than a thousand deer were killed, in a season, in the vicinity, and the lake swarmed with geese and ducks, even in the winter time, while in the spring, the very air was darkened, with clouds of all sorts of game, then the Cayugas, up to the hour of the destruction of their canton, must have had all the conditions of plenty, averse, as they were, by nature and habit, to peace. In Raffeix's time, the town boasted three hundred warriors, despite a long and wasting war with the Andastes; and, as if forecasting their future strength, the Father adds, "a prodigious number of small children." One of the journals of Butler's expedition, mentions the finding of a quantity of salt, reminding us again, of the observant Jesuit, in his account of the seven or eight salt springs, he was shown, in the vicinity of Tichero, ten miles away, especially attractive to wild pigeons, where he often saw from seven to eight hundred caught, in a single stroke of the net.

It was not until the afternoon of Thursday, the 23d inst., that the work of ruin was completed. The order of procedure was, to fill the spacious houses with the corn, vegetables and fruits, after cutting down the orchards or girdling the trees, and then set fire to the town, careful to leave naught, that could shelter or feed the inhabitants, should they venture to return; and this, on the eve of approaching winter.

It was four o'clock in the afternoon, when Butler left Goiogouen, a completed ruin, and moved, with the army, to the remaining village, distant about four miles, and located at, or near, the spot where we are now assembled; and where, ten years after, was built the first house, by the first settler, who ventured to fix his abode within the ancient territory of the Cayugas. It was known as Chonodote, from its extensive peach orchard, which contained, at this time, not less than 1,500 trees, thrifty, and loaded with fruit. Here, too, as at Goiogouen, were found apples and plums in profusion, with a large breadth of growing corn, and other supplies in abundance, for the approaching winter; and the monotonous work of ruin, was plied with all possible dispatch. The town, consisting of fourteen houses, chiefly old buildings, was fired at ten o'clock Friday morning, and the troops moved on, and after a march of sixteen and a half miles, encamped on "a pleasant hill, overlooking a finely watered plain," not having from the beginning to the end of the expedition, encountered the presence, nor heard the sound of an Indian.

A march of ten and a half miles, the next day, (Saturday,) over rough hills, and through tangled swamps, brought them to the site of Dehorisscanadia or Coreorgonel, as named in one journal, peopled by a remnant, a tribe of the subjugated Catawbas, located some three miles above the head of the lake, which Colonel Dearborn, on his march down from the west side, had already left a smoking ruin.

Thus fell the Cayugas, with the other nations of the Iroquois confederacy, the history of which is so largely that of the country itself from its earliest settlement, to the formation of the republic.

And here we may well pause to ask, what gave the Iroquois this distinction and made them such an important factor in the problem of destiny? It could not have been one to their numbers, or the largeness of the territory, which was their fixed abode. The "Song House," as they were wont to call their immediate territory, where stood their castles and other towns, stretched only from the Mohawk to the Genesee; and in the height of their power, they could muster hardly 2,500 warriors, and numbered less than 11,000 souls.

These last figures fall short of their present population, though a century has passed since they disappeared from history, without a country they call their own, or bond of government, broken into groups, and living on reservations or under agencies. There are, to-day, in the United States and Canada, more than 13,000 bearing the Iroquois names

and lineage.* This is a larger number than the most reliable estimates gave them, in the palmy days of their strength ; larger than in 1649, when they overthrew the great Huron nation, the friend and ally of the French, on their western border, and scoured the forests of Michigan for a stray Indian that may have escaped the general massacre ; or in 1668, when they had extirpated their nearer neighbors, the Neuters and the Eries, besides humiliating the French to their own terms, and filling Canada with misery and blood ; or in 1672, when after many a fierce encounter, with alternate defeat and victory, they swept their ancient enemies, the Andastes, from both sides of the Susquehanna, along its main and west branches ; larger than when the war shout of an Iroquois struck terror, alike through the settlements of New England and on the banks of the Illinois, or at any period of their terrific prowess which has won for them the title of the " Romans of the West."

Their geographical position was, doubtless, a leading condition of their pre-eminence over the other aboriginal nations with which they contend for the mastery, as it manifestly was in the kindred strife between the French and English colonies. It included within their immediate sway, says Bancroft, " The headlands, not of the Hudson only, but of the rivers that flow to the gulfs of Mexico and the St. Lawrence, the bays of the Chesapeake and Delaware.

It gave them the same command on the war path, in whatever direction their interest or ambition might lead, that New York holds, as the Empire State, of the natural highways of commerce from the Atlantic to the west. This, however, would have been of less advantage to these native lords of the soil, but for their superiority in other respects.

If they are to be estimated by their political system, dating its origin back into the dimness of legendary tradition, they were wise above their time ; and we may ask whence the wisdom that could frame a government at once, so elastic to natural freedom and yet so girded with the strong bands of federal union, so nicely adjusted with check and balance, and yet so suited to a wild democracy, that it excites the surprise and admiration of modern political science. Each nation was a sovereign republic and yet all were held together in a league which made the concurrence of each, in representative council, essential in matters pertaining to the common welfare. The Union stood in an unwritten constitution, and no parchment could have rendered it more sacred or indissoluble. Public opinion was the source of authority, and law was founded in precedents handed down in oral tradition.

Individual honor and popular esteem enforced loyalty and obedience, and in the absence of courts and juries, the offender found his sure and speedy punishment in the shame and contempt that crushed him, beyond hope and pardon. Personal worth, alone could win place and distinction, and official position, was as permanent as the meritorious conduct by which it was attained. No emolument was attached to office or station, and the popular choice was the sole reward of virtue and valor. Their annals consisted in deeds pictured in simple and truthful symbols which told their own story, and their war songs preserved the renown of their heroes. Their sachems were as prudent in council as their braves were terrible in battle. The skilled diplomacy of Europe found its match in the Council Chamber at Onondaga, and no eloquence moved to speedier or more determined action, than that which fell from their orators, with all the charm of nature and skill of logic, rivaling the studied arts of culture.

They were scarcely more haughty in their bearing toward the savage nations with whom they were in conflict, than in their demands of Onontio at Quebec or Corlear at Fort Orange. Allies they were of one or the other, French or English, as best suited the purpose in hand, but they repelled with characteristic pride, subjection to either. They buried the hatchet or dug it up again ; planted the tree of peace or cut it down, to serve the ambition or need of the hour.

*Former and present number of our Indians, by Colonel Garrick Mallery, U. S. Army.—*Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1877.

English fire-arms which put them at such an advantage with their enemies proved more acceptable than French missionaries whose teachings were of humility and peace. The superiority thus gained, however, in the end procured their downfall. In the after fortunes of the Iroquois, when to retain their territory, if not their ancient prestige, they otherwise could have made common cause with the other native nations and swept the English from American soil. But they had either destroyed their natural allies, or converted them into implacable enemies, and so at last, it was their alliance with the English, ending of necessity in absolute dependence, that sealed their fate. They fell with the independence of the colonies, but not until they had, however, unwittingly, turned the scale in favor of liberty.

None of the actors in the struggle that antedates the Revolution, could have foreseen the grand results as they now stand out in the light of history. Each and all were needed to prepare the way for the Republic, in which liberty and law could dwell together. To-day we rehearse the story that we may see, in part at least, what it cost to rear this fair fabric of freedom and Christian civilization, and the debt we owe to those who shall come after us, that through no fault of ours, shall a single one of its blessings fail from among men.

Hon. W. H. Bogart was then called on, by President Morgan, to make the closing address, and after a few pleasing preliminary remarks continued by saying :

That he was in the position of a lady who gives a party and prefers the guests should speak. The Rev. Mr. Franklin, who is himself a history, need not to have uttered one word, but only to stand up before you, a relic—a descendant from that day when men fought for their lives. He told you Rev. Dr. Hawley and Mr. Bogart, were full of history. It is true, in relation to the one who has just preceded me, (Dr. Hawley.)

Mr. Bogart spoke of the conflicts of the war, and said the torch of war is sometimes used to light men to their liberty.

As one of the citizens of Aurora, I am filled with gratitude to you, and the venerable clergy here present, that we have rescued one hundred years from the history of the past. We would ask, whether we are not repaid for our labors, in behalf of this great occasion, for taking the diamond that a hundred years has dusted over, and setting it in the casket of history, for our present gratification, for the use and admiration of future generations. Our country has a history that equals in interest that of France, England, or the great snow-land of Russia. That our soldiers have come to the front and wrought deeds of valor, along the sweet Susquehanna—our beautiful Cayuga, and the fair lakes and rivers—bright threads of silver that ran through this land.

Men have come forward and spoken words and performed deeds that make our country's annals so glorious. You young people here to-day, may forget the remarks made on this occasion, but do not forget that we have taken up the thread of an hundred years ago, have reached back over the thousands over whom our mothers have wept tears of sorrow, thus connecting the links of the long chain uniting the future with the past. You can say to-day to other communities, that we bequeath to them a wonderful history—a history which though sowed in sorrow, was reaped in joy.

Though the morning came, (he concluded,) with the tears of dismal rain, yet ever faithful to duty, prepared our feast, our arches, and our illuminations and though no one came to join with us in our festivities, history had come and that, for us, was enough. [Applause.] And to-night, we hope to renew the bright bonfires in peaceful remembrance of the days when Old War stood up and showed his flaming visage.

THE ILLUMINATIONS.

The illuminations in the evening were very attractive, presenting along the line of Main street a scene of variegated beauty and fairy splendor, worthy of such an intelligent and highly cultured people, and not the least exciting feature of this closing centennial anniversary scene, was the bonfires on the lake shore, being promptly answered by Seneca County people along the western bank, in the same manner, heart responding to heart, in the memory of a joyful deliverance, in the long past, and for the present priceless privileges and bounteous blessings, that are now the portion of a highly favored and duly grateful people.

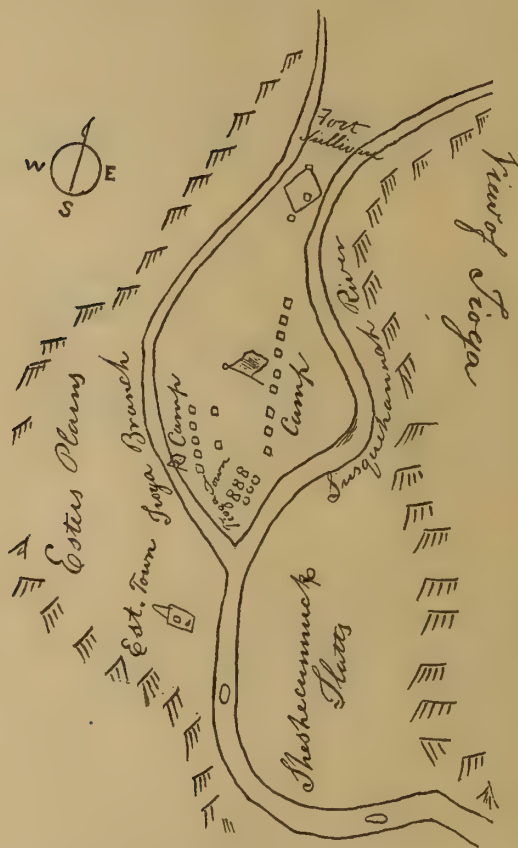
AURORA NOTES.

We inadvertently omitted in our report of the centennial proceedings to state, that a wooden arm chair painted black and brought from Washington's Library at Mount Vernon, and now in the possession of Colonel Morgan, was carried in the procession, and occupied by Colonel Morgan, in Academy Hall, as President of the day.

It is worthy of mention, that besides the Rev. W. S. Franklin now of Syracuse, Mr. S. N. Franklin of Ledyard, also a son of Roswell Franklin, was present at the celebration. Three daughters are also living, Mrs. Almira Hovey in Wisconsin, Mrs. Ann Eliza White in Genoa, and Mrs. Pamela Brady in Ohio.

There is a memorial window, bearing the name, date of birth, and death of Roswell Franklin, the first settler, in the Presbyterian church at Aurora.

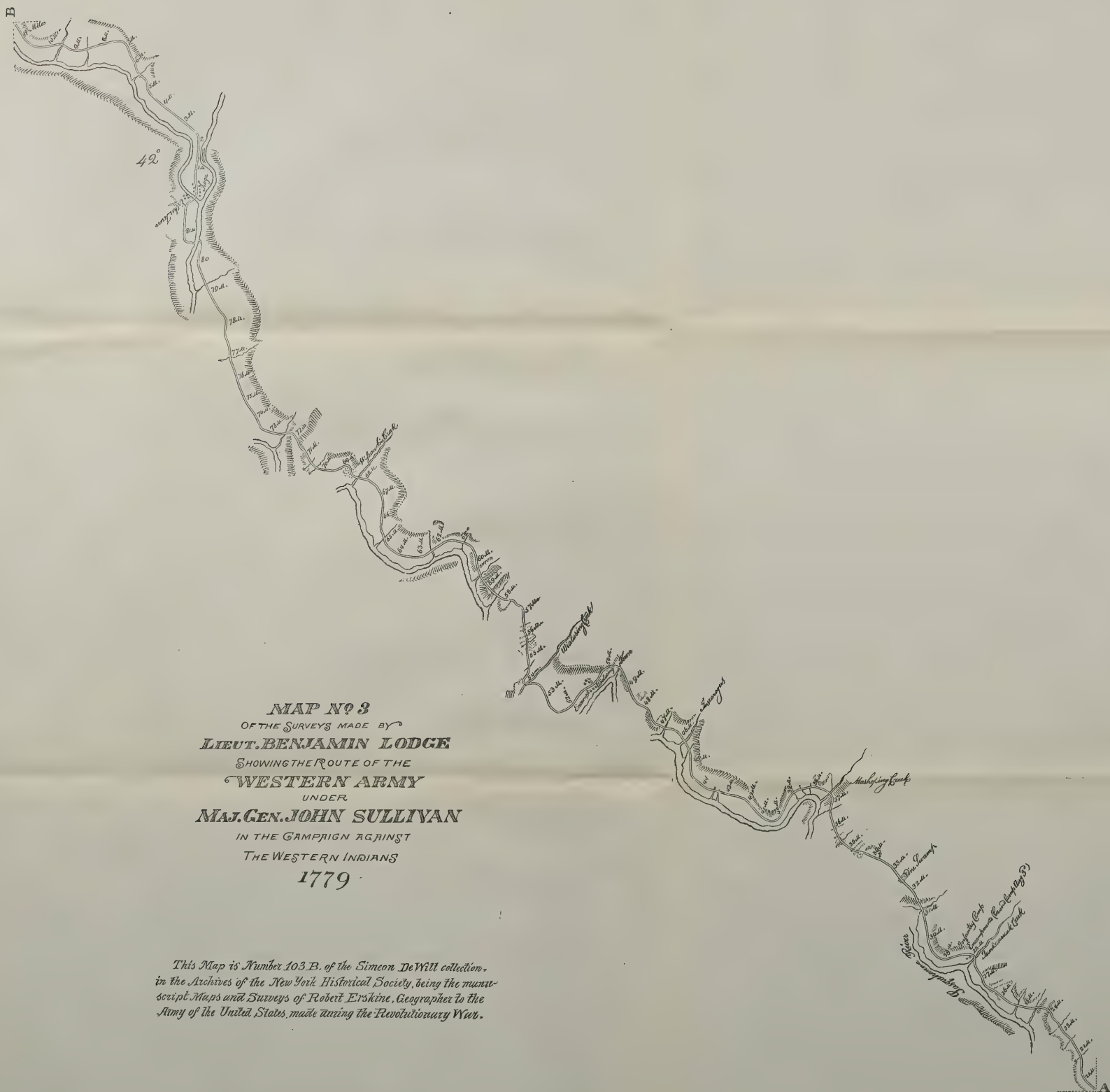
VIEW OF TIOGA, (PENN).



[The above is a *fac simile* of a sketch in the Journal of Captain Charles Nukerck, and was accidentally omitted from page 220.]

ERRATA.

- Page 11—Line 34 from top of page, for "hear," read "near."
Page 13—Line 10 from top of page, for "five," read "fire."
Page 15—Line 13 from top of page, for "June," read "April."
Page 76—Line 38 from top of page, for "houses," read "horses."
Page 338—Line 8 from top of page, insert "John," before "Johnson."
Page 339—Line 37 from top of page, strike out "other," before "vegetables."
Page 344—Line 16 from top of page, insert the word "been," before "opened."
Page 347—Line 47 from top of page, for "Poor," read "Maxwell."
Page 348—Line 19 from top of page, for "flat," read "fleet."
Page 350—Line 20 from top of page, for "Newtycharming," read "Newtychanning."
Page 377—Line 4 of first foot note—strike out the words: "In 1887, North Elmira."



This Map is Number 103 B. of the Simcon DeWitt collection, in the Archives of the New York Historical Society, being the manuscript Maps and Surveys of Robert Erskine, Geographer to the Army of the United States, made during the Revolutionary War.

The map shows a route starting from the bottom left, passing through several lakes and mountains, and ending at the top right. The route is marked with numbers 1 through 10. Key locations include 'Cherokee Falls', 'Shawnee Lake', 'Canaan Lake', 'Hugayya River', and 'Hugayya Falls'. The map also shows various geographical features like mountains, rivers, and trails. A scale bar at the bottom indicates distances in miles and feet. The title 'MAP No 5' is prominently displayed in the center, followed by 'OF THE SURVEYS MADE BY LIEUT. BENJAMIN LODGE' and 'SHOWING THE ROUTE OF THE'.

MAP N^O 5
OF THE SURVEYS MADE BY
LIEUT. BENJAMIN LODGE
SHOWING THE ROUTE OF THE
WESTERN ARMY
UNDER
MAJ. GEN. JOHN SULLIVAN
IN THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST
THE WESTERN INDIANS
1779

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY

Do not
remove
the card
from this
Pocket.

Acme Library Card Pocket
Under Pat. "Ref. Index File."
Made by LIBRARY BUREAU

